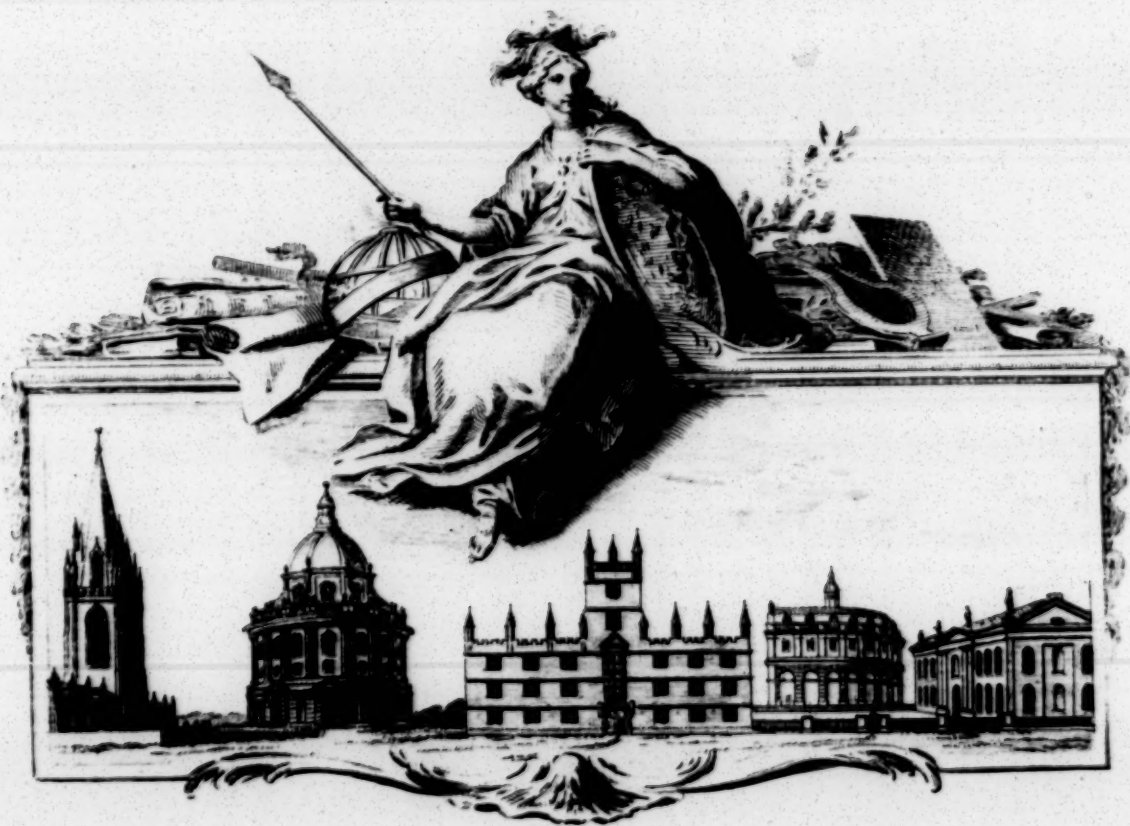


THE
WORKS
OF THE
RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD,
GEORGE HOOPER, D.D.
LATE LORD BISHOP OF
BATH AND WELLS.



OXFORD,
Printed at the THEATRE for JAMES FLETCHER in the *Turl*; and Sold by
J. RIVINGTON and J. FLETCHER in *Pater-Noster Row*, LONDON.
MDCCLVII.



GENERAL PREFACE.

a

with

The General Preface.

with an *aliquid forsan desideratur*, in the margin, than to presume to guess at what was to be supplied. The *Comment* was printed in the year 1728, the year after the Author died; but the *Notes*, having waited for the above-mentioned Edition of *Tertullian*, were never published till now: And they are here immediately subjoined to the *Conjectures on the Valentinian Heresy*, because, the Subject of both being the same, they mutually illustrate each other; and were indeed both at first intended to accompany the same Work, *viz.* the new Edition of *Tertullian adv. Valentinianos*, which our Author tells us, p. 326, he had been preparing for the Press; the *Conjectures*, by way of *Prolegomena*, or Introduction; and the *Notes*, in their proper capacity, by way of settling the Readings, and explaining the Meaning of the several Texts, to which they respectively belong. But the *Notes not being at hand*, as he adds in the same page, when the *Conjectures* were printed, they were laid aside. As for the Tract of *Tertullian*, to which they related, I cannot be sure whether ever any particular Copy of it had been revised and corrected by his Lordship, in order to serve as the Text for them; if it had, it is not now to be found amongst his Papers: It would otherwise have been here printed with the *Notes*, as it was originally designed to have been.

But though these *Notes* were never printed before, they were not unknown to the Learned. Our Author had mentioned them, under the title of *Emendationes & Observationes*, at the end of his *Conjectures on the Valentinian Heresy*, and acquainted his Readers with the Accident, (just now spoken of,) that prevented them from being subjoined to that Work. And such was the Learning and Judgment, as well as Sagacity and Ingenuity, by which he had distinguished himself in these his *Conjectures* on the Origin and Tenets of the *Valentinians*, as made all those, who were inquisitive into the State of the Primitive Church, and the many heterodox and extravagant Opinions, that from time to time sprung
up

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up therein, extremely desirous to see his *Notes* on *Tertullian's* Treatise against that Sect; and the more so, as they conceived, that what he should offer in explanation of *Tertullian*, would be equally explanatory of *Irenæus* on the same Subject; (as his *Conjectures* had before been;) and consequently prove a very useful Key to the Writings of both these antient and venerable Fathers: as in fact it will be found to be. They therefore intreated his Lordship to resume so curious and useful a Subject; and, as he had already obliged them with his *Conjectures*, do them the favour to print his *Notes* likewise. To this Request he so far consented, as to order them to be transcribed, and sent abroad, as above-mentioned; which he thought would be a good opportunity of communicating them to the Public. This is above Thirty Years ago. In all which time, I have not heard a word from thence concerning them: whether it be, that they miscarried by the way; or else, which I rather think, the Edition of *Tertullian*, of which they were designed to make a part, being laid aside, they were laid aside with it. But however this may be, and whatever may have befallen them abroad; certain it is, that length of Time has not diminished ought of the high Opinion, that has always been entertained of them at home. The Learned of our own Country have all along had them in their thoughts, and been continually enquiring after them: And some, who knew that I had a Copy of them in my hands, have often expressed their wishes to see them in print. Among whom, I must not omit to mention the late learned and worthy Master of *University-College*, *Dr. Cockman*, who having, for some years before his Death, undertaken an Edition of *Tertullian's* Works, and wanting these Papers for the same purpose, for which they had been formerly sent abroad, desired I would favour his Design so far, as to let him have a Transcript of them; which I promised to do, with proper Leave. But he died, before I had an opportunity to deliver them into his hands. Otherwise, the Use he

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would have made of them would probably have prevented their being printed now.

I have been the longer in my Account of these *Notes*, because they are the only *Part* (or *entire Article*) of this *Collection*, that has not been printed before. And from what has been said of them it appears, that they were intended for the Press by the Author himself, and that they are now printed at the Desire of many that have thought them worthy of it. As to the *Other Parts*, they were all published before; but some of them so many years ago, that they have long since been out of print, and were become extremely scarce. And others of them were always very difficult to be got, no more Copies having been printed at first, than some few for Presents to Friends. In which cases, there was hardly any other way left of coming at either, but to get them reprinted. Which way therefore several Gentlemen of Learning, both here and elsewhere, who were sensible of the Worth and Usefulness of these Writings, and lamented they should be in so few hands, determined to take; and, knowing I had the Honour to be acquainted with Bishop HOOPER's Family, and had formerly been intrusted by the Bishop himself with the Care of publishing one of his learned Works, desired I would intercede with them for Leave to publish the rest. This I very readily consented to do, having the same Opinion of them, which these Gentlemen had; and being moreover apprehensive, that, should they not be collected together, and reprinted, while there were People living, who could vouch for their being His, some of them might gradually be thrown by, and forgot; (especially as his Name was to none of them, but his *Sermons*;) and He might lose the Credit, and the Publick the Advantage of them: consequences, which it became one, who had received so many Obligations from his Lordship, and wished well to the Interests of Religion and Learning, to endeavour to prevent. I therefore took the first opportunity to apply to his Lordship's nearest
Relation

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Relation for the Leave desired; who readily granted it, and kindly furnished me with such Books and Papers, as were necessary for carrying on the Edition: desiring every thing might be done in a manner worthy of his Lordship's Character.

On my opening the Books that were sent me, I found our Author himself had made many Additions and Alterations in most of them; some in Copies interleaved for that purpose, others in the Margins, and many in loose Papers; all which, as they were evidently designed by him as Materials for new Editions of the respective *Parts*, to which they belong, are here faithfully transcribed, and inserted in their proper Places, (which Places were most of them marked by his Lordship himself,) that no *Part* might want any Improvement he intended it. Among the *loose Papers*, I found one, which appears to be a *Preface* he had drawn up to his *Review* of his *ENQUIRY into the State of the Antient Weights and Measures*; which, as it contains a brief Recapitulation of what that *ENQUIRY* treats of at large; and accounts for the many Particulars, in which this Edition of it will appear to differ from the former, and particularly for the Insertion of some Paragraphs concerning the Dimensions of *Solomon's BRAZEN-SEA*, which reach from p. 487, l. 40, to p. 491, l. 21, (where he himself had directed they should come in,) I think proper to give the Reader here in words at length. It is as follows:

“The *ENQUIRY*, that is here in some manner *re-*
“*viewed*, was made in Search of an Hypothesis that
“might give a consistent Account of the Three Old Mea-
“sures there mentioned. It supposes the *Phœnician Mi-*
“*na* (whether the same with the *Egyptian*, or no) to
“have been the Weight of a *Cube* of Water made by
“their *Palm*. This Weight divided into 100 parts, as
“the *Cube-Palm* might be, if divided into five parts,
“equal to 25 Parallelepipedums, divided again by 4,
“being a Notable, and the first Square Number. This
b “Weight

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“ Weight to have been the Silver-Weight, and, if re-
 “ quiring further Division, divided forward by 6, a Num-
 “ ber of the readiest Divisions, and which was also remark-
 “ able, upon a singular account, both by the *Egyptian Geo-*
 “ nomy, and by the *Chaldean Astronomy*. This *Phœni-*
 “ *cian Palm* is supposed to be the same that was intro-
 “ duced by *Solon* at *Athens*; and its *Mina* too the same:
 “ And it is shewn, that the *Attick Palm* was probably
 “ our modern *English*, and that the *Mina* was very little
 “ unequal to $68\frac{3}{4}$ of our *Grains*. This is supposed to
 “ be the Weight of an Original *Phœnician Mina*; by
 “ the $\frac{1}{100}$ th of which, taken in various Numbers, the *Chal-*
 “ *deans* to the East, and the *Grecians* to the West, rec-
 “ koned their Silver: the *Chaldeans* reckoning up 120 of
 “ those little Pieces for their *Mina*, and the *Grecians*,
 “ some of them, 96; all of them, either East or West,
 “ sometimes choosing to reckon by twice their little
 “ Weights, and making a double *Mina*. This Difference
 “ of *single* and *double* seems to have been in use both by
 “ the *Israelites*, who doubled the *Phœnician Mina*, and
 “ by the *Eubœans* in *Greece*, who had a *Mina* double to
 “ the *Attick*; as well as by the *Chaldeans*, who had their
 “ double *Mina* too. And now, to return to the single
 “ *Phœnician Mina* of 100 little Weights, and a lesser
 “ *Mina* equal to 96 of them: This lesser *Mina* may be
 “ supposed to have been taken into use by such Na-
 “ tions, as thought 96 to be the more convenient Num-
 “ ber for a *Mina*, by reason of its Partibility, it having
 “ its Half, its Quarter, its Eighth Part, its Sixteenth
 “ Part, and its Two and Thirtieth, as divided by 48—
 “ 24—12—6 and 3, as well as 2: This Numbering by
 “ 12, a double 6, being in frequent Use, as well as the
 “ 10, the double Number of the *Egyptian 5*; it appear-
 “ ing by the Scripture, that, in that *Eastern Country*,
 “ the Number 12 was often reckoned by, as well as the
 “ Number 10. This reckoning of a single *Pound* by 96
 “ such little Weights, of which the *Phœnician* reckoned
 “ 100, made another kind of *Mina*, short by 4 of the
 “ *Phœnician*,

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“*Phœnician*, which has been properly called a *Litra*,
“every Dozen of them being reckoned for a little Uni-
“ty, an *Uncia*; and that Unity again subdivided by Eight
“Parts, each of which is equal to the $\frac{1}{100}$ th of an Original *Mina*.”

“So much for the *Phœnicians* and the *Atticks*, with
“whom the Reckoning by Hundreds prevailed. But of
“the *Romans* it is observable, that they reckoned com-
“monly by *Litra*’s, the *Uncia* being a noted Partition of
“their *As* or *Libra*, and the Eighth a common Parti-
“tion of the *Uncia*: and this way, it is extremely pro-
“bable, was taken up from the *Greek* Parts of *Italy*, and
“was practised in *Sicily*, and in some Nations of *Greece*
“itself, if not by all the *Dorians*. Now as to these *Ro-*
“*mans*, it is further known, that when they made their
“*Denarius* equal to an *Attick Drachma*, they had thence-
“forwards a double Account of that little Money, one
“by 100ds, as the *Atticks* reckoned, which was the *Mi-*
“*na*, and to them a new *Libra* or *Litra*; and the other
“by 96ths, which was the old *Italick Litra*. For these
“two different Reckonings there was an easy Agreement
“to be made by the Money-Scriveners; *24 of the one
“*Litra*’s, the *Attick Libra*, being equal to 25 of the
“other: but it is all the while likewise to be observed,
“that the *Roman Libra*, then used for common Weight,
“was not the same with this *Attick Libra*, though di-
“vided by the same Numbers; but was indeed Three
“Quarters only of the other: And this too might then
“very well be understood by those that were acquainted
“with the several Dealings by Weight, and so brought
“to a convenient Equality.”

“These are the Particulars, into which the ENQUIRY
“searches, and some of which it establishes upon very
“probable Grounds; endeavouring, by such Computa-
“tions compared one with another, to give the Value of
“the *Phœnician* Coins by the known Old *Attick*, and of
“the *Roman* Coins by the Contemporary *Attick*; those

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“two Coins being observed, since their first Agreement,
“to have risen and fallen together in their Weight.”

“For the comparing the different Weights of the several Coins with the *Attick Drachma*, the Decimal Arithmetick was found very convenient; for thereby the Number of *Drachma's*, as many as ever could be contained in any Number of *Mina's* named in any Author, might in the Progreffional Order be easily found, and that Number looked upon as the greatest that could be desired, and which needs not be made greater by one more, and much less by the Addition of any Tenth of such a one.”

“The Particulars of this Hypothesis are endeavoured to be warranted by Authorities of Antient Writers; and, as to the main, may appear to be agreeable to themselves and those Authorities, and at least as consonantly, as any other Hypothesis that has been yet offered. By the Method of the ENQUIRY, it may appear, that it was not intended as a Doctrinal Institution for Learners, but merely as an Hypothesis proposed to the Examination of the Knowing: And accordingly, when it was published, it was not by many Copies, but by 200, or 300 only; half of which were given by the Author to his Friends, and the other half left to be sold by the Printer, if any would buy them. For the sake of those that may have those Copies, as many of the *Review* are printed, to be dispersed in the same manner, and at as easy a Rate, as may be, to the Buyer. It is but short, and such as has been *prepared above Three Years since*, consisting of such Alterations, as were caused by my own cursory Observations, or by those of some few Friends, that had communicated theirs to me. — And it appearing, that the several Errors, that had occasioned these Alterations, were not such, as at all affected the Truth of this Hypothesis, it is further carried on to an Examination of it by the Account it will give of the *Capacity* of *Solomon's BRAZEN-SEA*; which Account, if
“found

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“found more easy, and more natural, than some that
“have been formerly given, may finally help to recom-
“mend the Probability of the Hypothesis.”

This is the *Preface*, which our Author had drawn up to his *Review* of his *ENQUIRY into the State of the Antient Weights and Measures*. By which it appears, that the *Review* itself consisted of such *Additions and Alterations*, as he himself had made, or his learned Friends had communicated to him. It appears too, that this *Review* had been *prepared by him above Three Years* before the *Preface* was written. By which, I presume, he means, that it had been so long put together, and made ready for the Press. And yet I do not find any thing among his Papers, which shews it to have been in such forwardness. So that if there was ever any finished Copy of it, I fear it is lost. But though we have it not in Form, we have the Substance of it; we have the Apparatus made for it; (which may, after all, be the whole of what is meant by its being *prepared*;) we have the *Additions and Alterations*, of which it was to consist, as well those made by his Lordship himself, as those that were sent him by his Correspondents; the former in his own hand-writing, the latter in theirs. And as the First Edition came out with so many *Errors*, occasioned partly by his being at a great Distance from the Press, and partly by other Accidents; it was but doing Justice to This, to lay hold of these Helps, to make it more correct. These therefore I began to consider, with reference to the several Places, to which they belonged. But I had not proceeded far, before I perceived, that many of the *Errors*, noted by our Author and his Friends, were such as had happened in the *Calculations*; of which as I was not a competent Judge, I thought it necessary to call in the Assistance of some Person well versed in Mathematical Studies, and particularly Decimal Arithmetick, who might go over the *Calculations*, and correct them, where he found any Mistakes. For which Work I knew no body so well qualified,

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fied, as the Reverend Mr. *Bliss*, our worthy *Savilian* Professor of *Geometry*; who is allowed, by all that know him, to be a very accurate, as well as able Master of Computation. Into his hands therefore I put both the *ENQUIRY*, and the Papers relating to it; desiring him to compare them together, and make such Alterations, as were necessary. Which I doubt not but he has done. "For he has carefully examined and recomputed all the Numbers, and carried them to more places in the Decimals, than they had been carried to in the former Edition. But he has not presumed to make any Alteration in the Original Numbers, upon which those *Calculations* were founded, except where his Lordship's Copy, corrected with his own hand, and his other Papers, authorized it." This was a right Method of proceeding: And whatever Improvements have been made, in this *Part*, by so much Care, tempered with so much Caution, the Reader will know to whom he is indebted for them. At the same time, I must not omit to inform him, that the Professor, to whom he will find himself so much obliged for rectifying the *Calculations*, was employed not only by the Consent, but at the Request of the worthy Family, who communicated the Materials, I have been speaking of; and whose earnest Desire it was, that they might be applied in such a manner, as would prove most beneficial to the Work.

And thus much for the Papers, I have received from the Family; and the Use that has been made of them. I must now go on to inform the Reader, what he is further to expect from this *Edition*. I have before observed, that the two *Posthumous Parts* of these Works are printed *verbatim* from the *Manuscripts*. The like Care has been taken with regard to the Other *Parts*. For where our Author, or his Friends had made no Correction, or where I had not the justest Reason to apprehend some Mistake, that had escaped their Correction; I have (as I thought it the Duty of a faithful Editor to do) strictly adhered to the Printed Copies; except

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cept in a very few instances, where a local, or antiquated Word was to be exchanged for one of more general and current Use. I must likewise except the *Quotations* and *References*, in which the Reader will find many Alterations and Additions; which, I hope, will be of service to him, when he comes to peruse the several *Parts*, to which they relate. For whereas, in some of these learned Pieces, the Authorities of a multitude of Writers were to be appealed to, it was extremely difficult; I may say, scarce possible, not to be sometimes mistaken in citing them. For, these Authorities were either set down at large, or only referred to. In both which cases, as there was room for Mistakes, so Mistakes had in fact happened. Where the Authorities were set down at large, some Errors had been committed in transcribing them; which could no otherwise be corrected, than by having recourse to the respective Books, from whence they were taken: which was therefore done, and the Errors corrected. Where the Authorities were only referred to, Notice had not always been given, in what Part of the Author they were to be found; and sometimes the Notice, that had been given, was wrong. These therefore were to be looked out; and the *Book*, *Chapter*, *Section*, &c. noted in the Margin, for the Reader's use: a Work, which often required some Time, as well as Patience. Notwithstanding which, I can truly affirm, that there is not a Passage of any consequence either quoted at large, or referred to, throughout this whole *Collection*, that I have not examined by its proper Author, in order to see that it answered the Purpose, for which it was alledged. And sometimes, where I thought it necessary, I have presumed to add a *Quotation*, or *Reference* of my own.

In *collecting* these Pieces together, and assigning them their proper places in this *Volume*, it was necessary to follow some *Order*. The most natural seemed to be, to range them according to the respective Times, in which they were first Published. But there were Two of them,

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that could not be conveniently placed according to this Method; viz. the *Calculation of the Credibility of Human Testimony*, and the *Notes on Tertullian's Tract against the Valentinians*; the former requiring to be placed next the *Infallible Guide*, on account of the Similitude of the Subjects; the latter, for the same Reason, next the *Conjectures on the Valentinian Heresy*. Where therefore the Reader will find them. Nor could the *Sermons* be placed according to the Series of the Times, in which they were Preached, without disturbing the Order of the Other *Parts*; and are therefore put at the End, as is usual in these *Collections*.

And now if it should be asked, Whether this *Collection*, which I have here been giving an Account of, contains the *Whole* of Bishop HOOPER's Works? I answer, I cannot say it does. There are some few Things of His both in *Print*, and in *Manuscript*, that are not taken into it. The *former* are chiefly such, as were occasioned by some Disputes that happened about the Beginning of this Century; and, being proper to the Times in which they were written, are now laid aside, to make way for those of more general Importance. And as to the *latter*, though his Lordship was pleased to exempt them from the common Fate of his Other Papers, which he burnt with his own hands a little before his Death; yet the Orders, he gave about them, were such, as rather discouraged, than recommended their Publication.

If any Complaint should be made for Want of a *General Index*, my Apology must be, That, having found no *Index* to any particular *Part* of this *Collection*, I had not Time to draw up one to the *Whole*. The Reason, why our Author himself made no *Index* to any of his *Works*, was, I presume, because he had prefixed large and copious *Tables of Contents* to such of them as were of any length; which he thought would be sufficient to direct a Reader, who had any Knowledge of the several Subjects he was treating of, to every thing he should have occasion to look after, without any other Assistance
of

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of this kind. And if his Lordship himself thought this a good Reason for omitting further Direction, (as he seems to have done,) I must, in my turn, beg leave to claim the Benefit of it.

Thus much I thought proper to premise, by way of *Preface* to the following *Collection*, in order to acquaint the Reader what I have done in preparing it for the Press. And now I shall not detain him from perusing the *Collection* itself, by presuming to recommend it to his Approbation: it being sufficient to have assured him, that it contains the genuine *Works* of the Great Author, whose Name it bears: a Prelate of the most extensive Learning, and exemplary Goodness; one of the brightest Ornaments of his high Order; the Delight of his Diocese, while living; and the constant Theme of their most pious Remembrance, and grateful Acknowledgments, ever since his Decease.

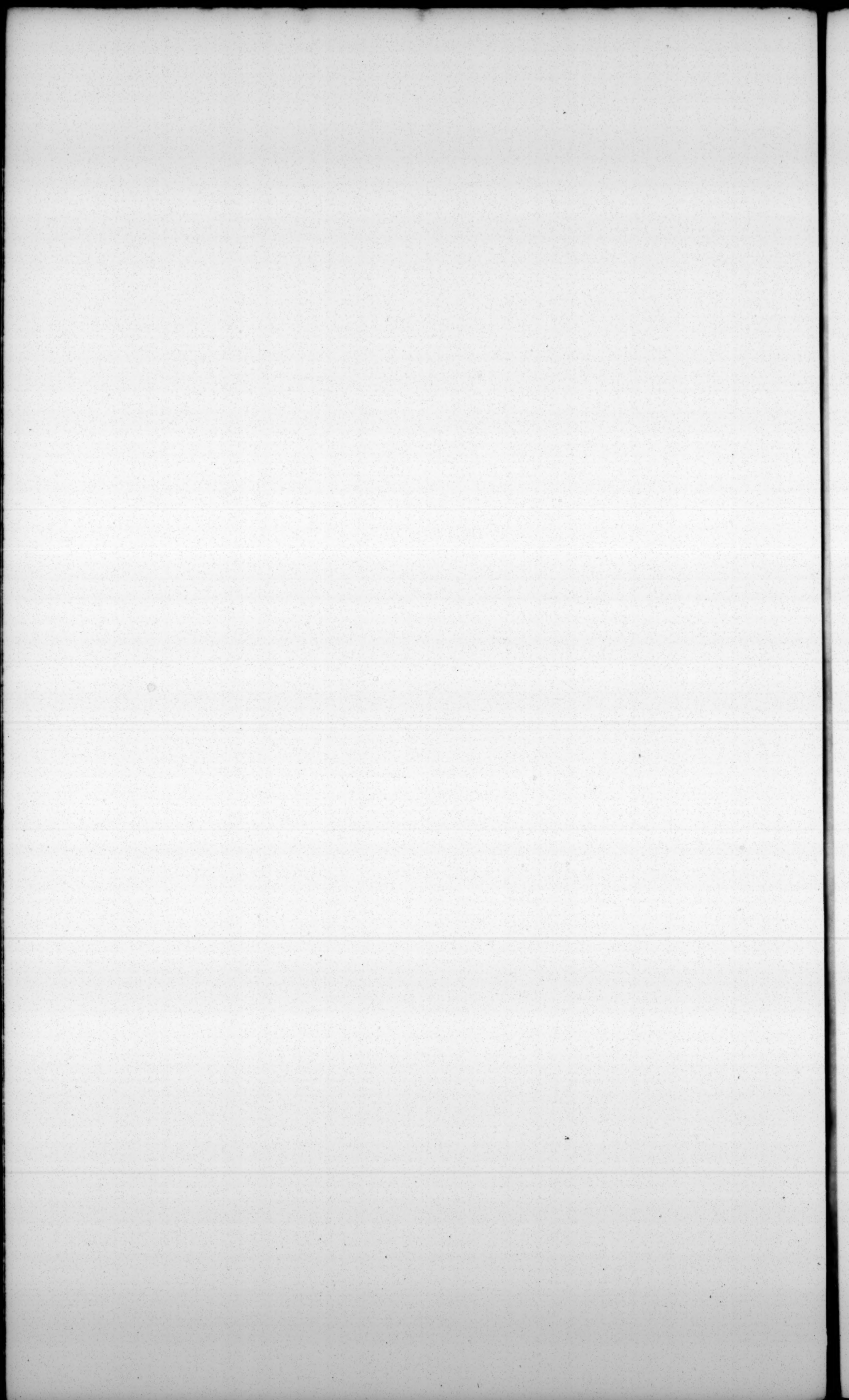
But, for a more finished Character of our Author, (for it was not the Design of this *Preface* to speak of *Him* any farther, than as he was connected with his *Works*,) I beg leave to refer the Reader to the following EPI TAPH*, which was written by a Gentleman of the greatest Veracity, as well as Learning; one, who is allowed to be as good a Judge of Merit in general, as he certainly was well acquainted with that of the Great Prelate he celebrates: And it is as just and true in every Article, as it is classical and elegant.

CHRIST-CHURCH,
Aug. 20. 1757.

THO. HUNT.

* Inscribed on his Lordship's *Monument* in the Cathedral-Church of *Wells*.

In hoc Sacrario cineres suos requiescere voluit
 Reverendus admodum Præsul,
 GEORGIUS HOOPERUS, S. T. P.
 Magnum Ecclesiæ *Anglicanæ* decus.
 Scientias quippe maximè reconditas,
 Mathesin universam,
 Antiquitates patrias exterasque,
 Linguas pæne omnes, quotquot aut Oriens protulit, aut Occidens,
 Jus Civile, Municipale, Canonicum,
 Elegantiorum literarum venustate temperaverat.
 Theologiam verò
 Assiduâ Sacri Codicis & primorum Patrum lectione,
 Quasi omnes alias Scientias ignorare maluisset,
 Totam penitus hauserat,
 Saniolem haud dubiè amplexus.
 Summo tamen eruditionis amore semper incensus
 Non ita studiis se totum tradidit,
 Ut arduis negotiis impar,
 Aut hominum ignarus,
 Aut difficilis, inconcinnus, asper evaderet.
 Inerat enim illi
 Comitæ aulis Principum dignâ
 Christiana Simplicitas condita;
 Ingenium non ad literas magis,
 Quàm ad res agendas habile & versatile;
 Mira in conciliandis sibi hominibus Solertia,
 Sed animarum Saluti unicè intenta.
 Ita cùm artes doctrinasque longè diffitas conjungeret,
 Summisque honoribus par
 Nullum unquam ambiret;
 Aditum sibi ad famam eximiam,
 Ad primarios tam in Republicâ, quàm Ecclesiâ viros,
 Ad Reginarum denique pientissimarum
 MARIÆ & ANNÆ patrociniū,
 Virtute solâ patefecit.
 Itaque ab illâ Decanatu *Cantuariensi*,
 Ab hac, Infulâ primò *Sanct. Asaphensi*,
 Deinde *Bathono-Wellensi* ornatus est.
 Quo in munere amplissimo
 Cùm gregi suo fideliter invigilaret,
 Inopes occulto plerumque Munificentia fonte,
 Sed perenni, ubere, latè fluenti reficeret,
 Presbyteros suos indulgentiâ paternâ foveret,
 Impigerrimos quosque, etiam ruri latentes,
 In lucem & splendorem nec opinantes evocaret;
 Bonorum omnium amorem & observantiam meruit,
 Posteris morum exemplar pulcherrimum reliquit.
 Obiit VI *Septembris*, A. D. MDCCXXVII.
 Ætatis LXXXVII.



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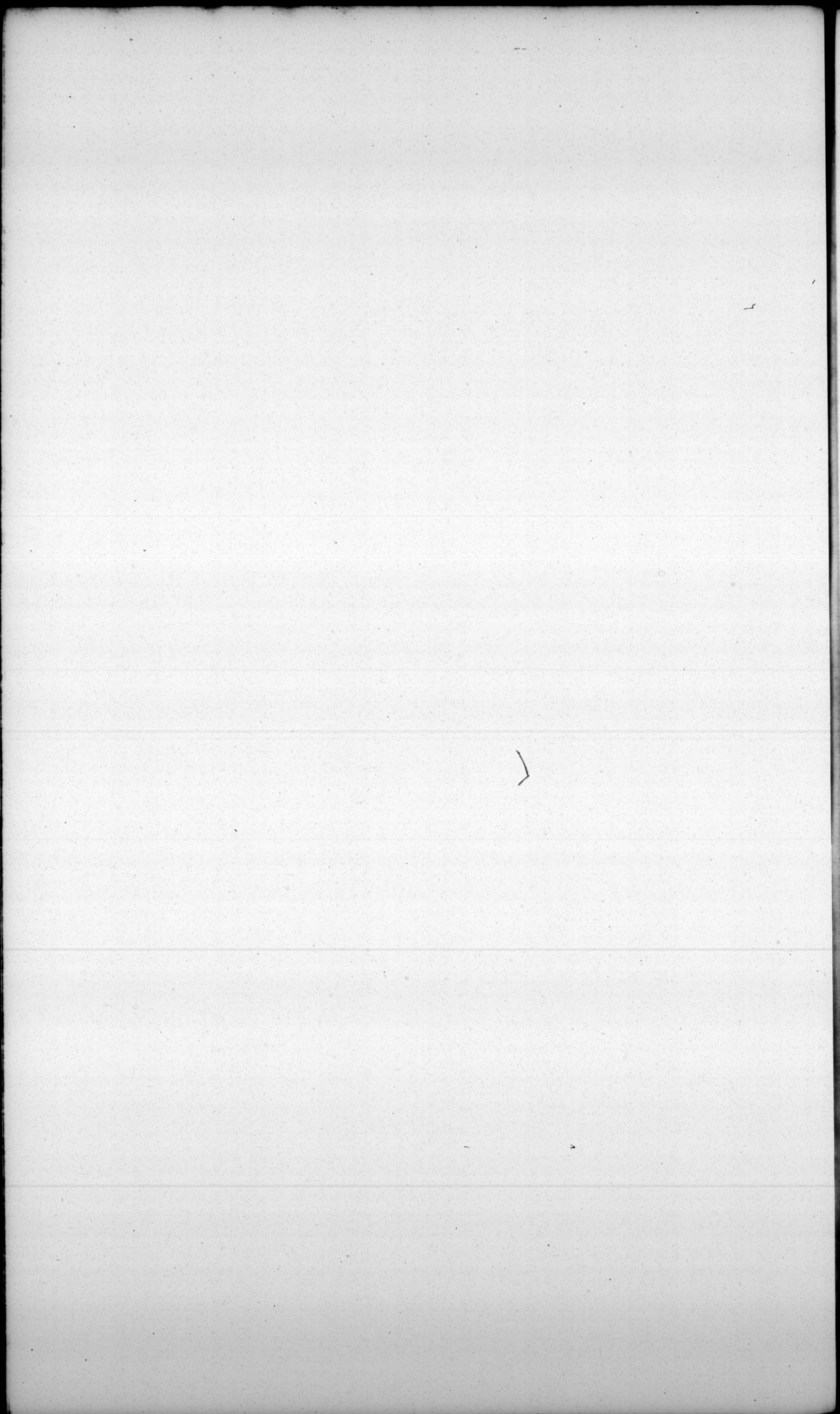
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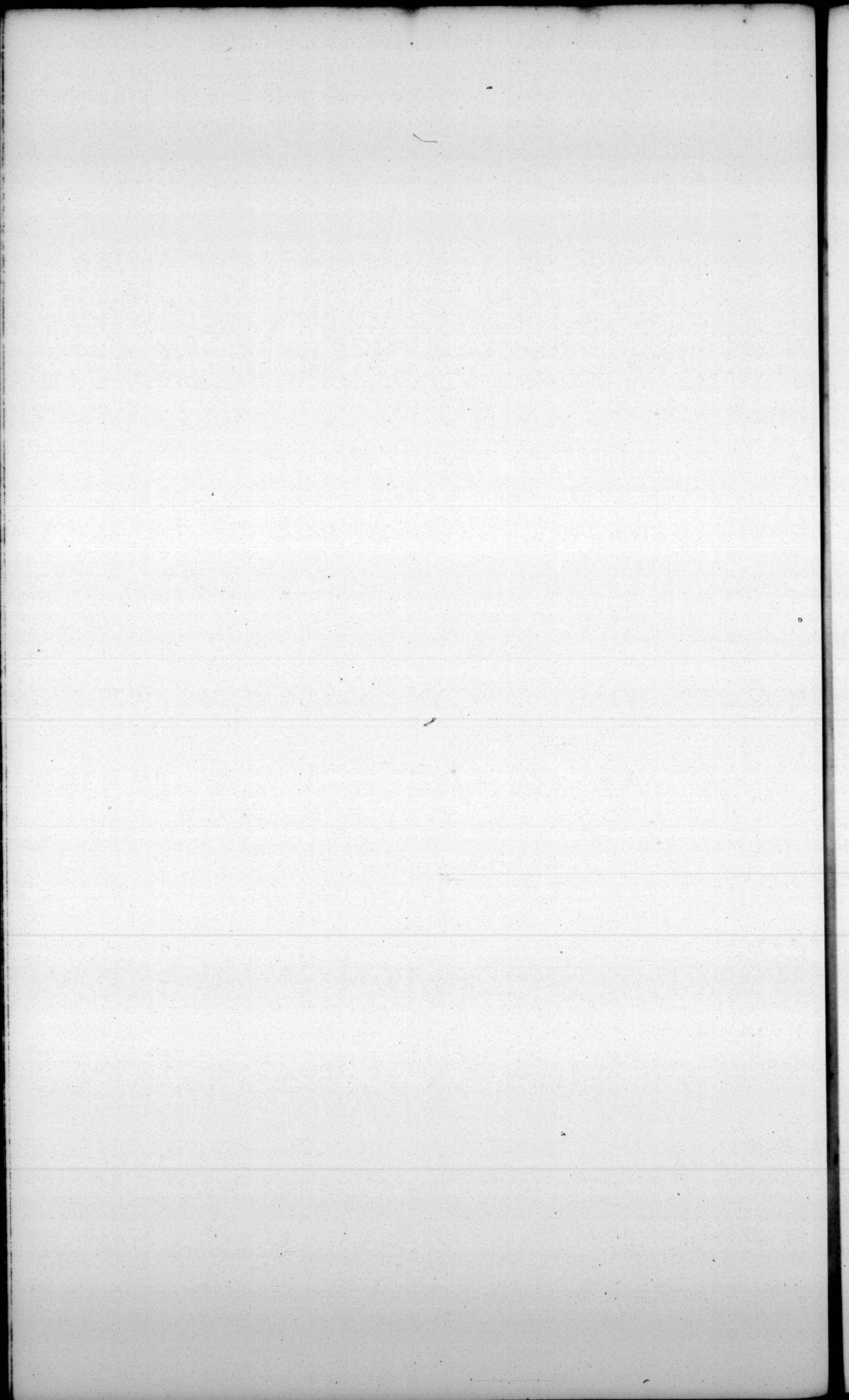
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THE
C H U R C H
O F
E N G L A N D
FREE FROM THE
I M P U T A T I O N
O F
P O P E R Y.



T H E
C H U R C H O F E N G L A N D
F R E E F R O M T H E
I M P U T A T I O N
O F
P O P E R Y.*

THE Case between the Church of *England* and the *Dis-
senters* from it, requiring not much of Learning or Spec-
ulation; it might well seem to be no difficult matter
to see into the bottom of it, and clear the difference.

*The Im-
putation
of Popery
upon the
Church of
England,
is —*

And indeed the Duty of Obedience in things indiffe-
rent, and the Obligation of each Christian to preserve the Unity of the
Church are so convincing; and the Expedience of some Ceremonies
in general, and the Innocence of ours in particular so plain; that the
Reconciliation of our Brethren to us, upon the view of our Reasons,
and the Answers we have given to their Scruples, might be easily ex-
pected; were there not some general Prejudice upon the minds of
otherwise well-disposed men, that, like an interposing mist, either di-
verts the light that is ready to come in, or lets it not appear in its
own colour.

And this seems to be no other than the Opinion many have been
possess'd with, that our Worship is Popery; and that to return to our
Communion is to make a step towards *Rome*, and to join company
with those that are going thither. For this conceit once entertained,
a Minister of the Church of *England* is a disguised Emissary of the
Romish Church; and all the Arguments and Persuasions he offers for
Conformity, are received no better, than if he was endeavouring to
pervert to the Papal Superstition. If we speak to them of the *Com-
mon-Prayer*, they think of the *Mass*; and while we discourse to them
of the Fitness and Lawfulness of Kneeling at the Communion, they
imagine nothing else but the Worship of the Host, and the Doctrine
of Transubstantiation.

* This Discourse was written and printed at the Request of Dr. *Compton*, Bishop of *London*, about the year
1682; and was reprinted by the Author, at his own expence, in 1716, and given to his Clergy, at his Trien-
nial Visitation, the year following; from a Copy of which latter Impression it is now chiefly published. There
was also an Edition of it printed in the *LONDON-Cases* in 1694, which has likewise been collated.

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By whose Malice and Artifice soever this Prejudice has been raised and cherished; they, we must confess, have gained their point by it: they have stopt the ears, and blinded the eyes of those that otherwise would know the voice, and distinguish the persons of their Brethren. The Aversion of the People deservedly raised against Popery, they have had the skill to turn against the greatest and best Church of the Reformation: and they have had the pleasure to put her under the most sensible affliction of lying under an imputation she so much abhors, and hearing herself reckoned amongst those she has so openly and so justly condemned.

None can be ignorant how far this Prejudice has prevailed, and with what success; though indeed it is a conceit so unlikely and inconsistent, that we might well expect no rational person should have entertained it. And did not Popery let us know what gross absurdities may find credit with the ignorant, it would be very hard to imagine how any belief should be given to such an Impossibility: Transubstantiation itself being as conceivable a thing, as that a Protestant, really of our Church, should be a Papist too; and any other contradiction as easily reconciled as that.

Neither can they fairly object *Ignorance* and an Implicite Belief to the Papists, who know so little the Constitution of the Protestant Religion, as not to see it in our Church; and who resign themselves to their Teachers so far, as with the same credulity to call our Church *Popish*, with which the *Papists* are taught to call it Heretical.

So Causeless, I hope, and Groundless will this mischievous Calumny appear to all those that shall consider; and all those will be willing to consider, that do not wilfully chuse a mistake so scandalously unjust to a great Reformed Church, and so destructive and ruinous to the whole Reformation. As therefore they would not be found ignorant of the Religion they profess; as they would not continue so highly uncharitable to their Brethren; nor be guilty of the Ruin of what they would be thought so much to contend for: if there be in them any love of Truth, any care of Justice, any tenderness of Conscience, any concern for the Publick Cause and our Common Religion, let them think of these things.

I. Notoriously
False:
and —

In the first place therefore, to begin with the Unreasonableness in general of this Jealousy, wherewith some men are prepossessed. Who would not stand amazed to hear that Church styled *Popish*, the Purity of whose Faith has been declared so expressly, so illustriously attested and spoken of through all the World? Know they, or care they what they say, that say this of a Church, that has solemnly and positively disowned all the Usurped Authority, and condemned all the false Doctrines of the *Roman* See, its Supremacy, Infallibility, Transubstantion, Worship of Angels and Saints, Purgatory, &c. that has not done this in a corner, or in the ear, but proclaimed it on the house-top; that, like a City set upon a Hill, has been as high and eminent on the one side, as *Rome* itself, with its seven boasted Hills,
has

has been on the other; and has as remarkably opposed the Errors of that Church, as ever they had been advanced? What a new wonder must this be to the World, to hear the Church constituted by *Cranmer* and *Ridley*, accused of Popery; the Faith and Worship suspected to be Unreformed, which was delivered down to us by those great Martyrs? Is this the Reward of a Church, whose Sons have given so loud a Testimony against the *Roman*, in their Lives and by their Deaths; who have still born the burden and heat of the Day; who have felt the fiercest rage of the Enemy, and have returned them the deadliest wounds; who have been foremost still in all Encounters, all along in the last Age, and in our own, the famous and the victorious Champions of the Protestant Cause? If this Church, and these Men, after the Declaration made in our Articles, after repeated Subscriptions and Abrenunciations, after all this zealous opposition of Popery, must be yet suspected of Popery; as well on the other side may the Decrees of the Council of *Trent* be said to comply with the Reformation, and the Pope himself be thought a Protestant.

One would imagine from the suspicions of these men that traduce us, that there was some small inconsiderable difference betwixt the Papists and us; something that might easily be reconciled: not that we differ as much from them, in all necessary Points, as those very persons they pretend to follow. For let all the Harmony of Protestant Confessions be consulted, and see if we are not of the Harmony, and our Articles do not conspire with theirs; if ours are not as express, and as directly opposite to the *Roman* Church; if there can be any hopes of reconciling us, sooner than of reconciling them.

For though there are of the Protestants that retain not some indifferent Ceremonies which we have; (and that we might well do it you will see presently) yet it is to be supposed they would not stand out against the *Roman* Church on that account, if the rest were well agreed. If they could once allow their Transubstantiation, Worship of Images, &c. if they could endure their Superstitious Rites; they would not stick at what might remain of a little ancient Order and received Decency; and were that all, would as soon return to *Rome* as we.

Nothing can make an honest man suspect our Church of Popery, but his Ignorance what Popery is. He may take all that to be Popish, which the Papists do and believe; and presume those guilty of their Superstitions, who do not dissent to their whole Creed, and are not Nonconformists to their whole Practice: and in his opinion the purest Church of the Reformation must be that, which is most opposite to the Church of *Rome*. But he forgets then that the Church of *Rome* is Christian still, though abominably corrupted; that to run contrary to her in all things, must be to deny our God and Saviour; that by this Rule we must lay aside their Scripture as well as their Traditions, and neither give alms, fast, nor pray, because it is the Practice of that Church. He considers not that such an Anti-Papist

is in a much worse condition than the Papist himself; and that, if we take what the Pope proposes in gross and together, it is infinitely more dangerous to reject all, than to admit it.

By Popery therefore can be meant nothing, but the Corruptions that Church has suffered, and the Usurpations it has advanced. For the Faith of that Church was once as far spoken of, as now its Errors are; and had she continued in that Purity, we ought to have been of her Communion: and now we are to depart from her no otherwise, than she shall be found to have departed from herself, to have varied from the Truth, and to have corrupted the Doctrine that was once delivered to the Saints.

Now the Test whereby these Doctrines are to be examined, whether they are Popish, (that is corrupt) or no, is this; Whether or no they are Consonant to the Holy Scriptures: this being the common Principle and Touchstone with all Protestants, That nothing is to be believed or practised as necessary to Salvation, but what is contained in the Scripture; and that nothing is to be believed or practised in any manner whatsoever, that is contrariant to it. This is the Principle that is delivered to us with the New Testament, by the first Ages that received and transmitted it: and by this Test their Additional Traditional Doctrines fall; their Infallibility proves the greatest Falsity, and their Illimited Jurisdiction is cut off; the number of the Sacraments is retrenched; their Worship of the Host, of Images; their Prayers to Saints, for those in Purgatory, or in an unknown Tongue, are taken away; whatever was imposed as necessary to Salvation, and had no warrant from God's Word, or was otherwise proposed, and yet repugnant to it; such Errors and Corruptions as you will find marked out in our Book of Articles, and there distinctly condemned.

But though nothing is to be enjoined as necessary to Salvation, but what God himself, the Author of our Salvation, has declared; yet we are not to think that no Circumstance is to be used in his Service, that he has not distinctly commanded: this being no Protestant Doctrine, but the greatest Falsity. For then no Action that is even of Necessity to be performed, could be performed, had not God prescribed the Circumstance too. Whereas, on the contrary, there cannot be a plainer Truth than this in the world, that he who orders an Action to be performed, and orders no Circumstance, must be supposed therefore to leave the choice of the Circumstance to Discretion. And it is as clear, that in such Cases, where in private we are left to our private Choice; there in publick we are to be directed by the publick Discretion, the Election of the Superiors: provided always that in both Cases no Circumstance be used, that is contrary to the Intention of the Action, and the Will of God.

It was therefore in the Power of our Spiritual Governours, after they had retrenched, what they were constrained to take away, all that was unlawfully believed or practised, Idolatrous, Superstitious, or Erroneous; to retain or reject, as they should see Cause, all indifferent Circum-

Circumstantial things; which as they were not commanded by God, so neither were they forbidden by him. Innumerable Ceremonies therefore they cut off: some inseparable companions of the Falsities and Superstitions they had abolished, some impertinent to the main Action, others choaking or incumbring it: and some too they left; so few, that they rather expected to be asked, why no more; and those the freest from Offence, and the fittest to be retained. For they considered that an innocent useful Ceremony, which had either been laudably used before Popery came in, or was not proper to the Superstition to which it had been annexed; when purged of that Superstition, was restored to its Innocence and Indifference, and might be used as lawfully now, as in its first state. And therefore, though they took the liberty to leave off several Rites, however in themselves Innocent, and in use before Popery began, because they were of little Edification, yet they kept up others which appeared more necessary to the Church; and which at the same time might shew both their Temper and Moderation towards the Modern *Roman*, which they were forced to leave, and their respect to the Primitive, which they desired to imitate.

And with such a view as this, if you will look upon the Particulars for which we are accused, you will see how little of Popery (that is, Corruption or Superstition) there is to be found.

The Particulars in which we chiefly differ, are these: Government by Bishops, a Liturgy of some Ancient Prayers, Kneeling at the Communion, the Cross at Baptism, the Surplice, and the Observation of some Christian Fasts and Feasts.

First then, as to Government by Bishops: had it been a thing purely indifferent, we might have lawfully retained it; and our Church might have taken leave to have chosen a sort of Aristocracy, as others have been pleased with a kind of Democracy. But take it as it is, intimated in the Writings of the Apostles, and manifestly of their Institution; we then had been obliged to reduce it, if the *Roman* Government had been *Presbyterian*. When we found it therefore there, what reason had we to abolish it? Shall we allow the Pope so much Power, as to make that unlawful by his Use, which the Apostles and their Disciples have recommended to us by theirs?

2. As to our Liturgy of some Ancient Prayers: is it Popish as a set Form? Or as a Form of those Prayers? A set Form is so expedient and necessary to the Church, if but for the sake of the People, (that they may be sure to have no other Petitions suggested than what are fit, that their Devotion may not suffer by the weakness or indiscretion of the Minister, that they may know beforehand how to prepare their Thoughts, what frame of Spirit is to be brought to Church) that I may take leave to say, had a set Form been used, not only in the Superstitions of *Rome*, but in the Charms of a Magician, it ought how-

ever to be used in the Service of God. If the Papists, if the Heathens used set Forms, because it was the most certain, orderly and best considered Way, fittest for the Worship of a God; must we therefore be forbid? Because they did well, are we therefore to do worse? And so for the Prayers themselves: they are most of them elder than Popery, and no more Popish than the Lord's Prayer. And if there are any of their Composure; yet if they are good, and according to the Will of God, why may they not be offered to him by us, as well as by them? Nay, may they not be more acceptable to God, as they may be a Testimony how willing we would be to keep the Unity of his Church; and to join with all Christians, were we permitted, in all their Devotions? If our Accusers would shew us any Popery in our Prayers, they ought to shew us where we pray to any but God, or for any thing for which we want his Warrant; where we use any Intercession, but our Saviour's; or what part of our *English* Language is an unknown Tongue.

3. The Surplice is nothing but an innocent Habit made of Linen, which is appointed to be the Dress of the Priest when he Officiates. It cannot but be acknowledged, that it is a fit point of Decency to assign all that are in Orders some certain Fashion of Garment in Publick, if but in the Streets, and when they appear abroad. And if this be a Gown, and the Papists wear one too, is a Gown therefore Popish? In like manner as the Ministers of the Church are directed to an uniform Decency abroad; so particularly, and with the same innocent Intention they are ordered to wear a distinct Robe, when they perform the Publick Service in the Church: that, as the Common Devotion is administered by a Person set apart, in a Place and at a Time set apart, so it may be done too in a peculiar Garment. And if the Papists do so too, even so let them; they do well. If they had invented the Garment, we need not have scrupled to follow this one *Italian* Fashion. But they took it up from earlier Custom; and it is no more Popery, than the Ministers, than the Citizens, the Lawyers, or the Judges Garments. If they could say we placed any Sanctity in it, attributed any Efficacy to it, it would be something; but as we use it, it may as well be a piece of Popery, to be at Church with a Band, or with a Cravat.

4. Kneeling at the Communion is far too from being Popish; that is, either a Corruption or Superstition. The Papists indeed kneel to the Host, as to their God: but not so particularly then, when they receive it, as when immediately after Consecration, it is elevated, and shewn to them for that purpose by the Priest. But we that Kneel when we receive the Communion, Kneel not *TO IT*, but *AT IT*. And what Posture can there be fitter for those, that in the deepest sense of their own great Unworthiness, and of God's unexpressible Mercy, are going to take the Seal of their Pardon, and the Pledge of their
their

their Salvation? What better Posture would they have for those, that at that time are to be in the Higheſt Acts of Devotion; the moſt relenting Contrition, and the moſt dutiful Thankſgiving? If on that Occaſion the Papiſts Kneel too, and with a wrong Intention; why ſhould any Fault of theirs hinder me from expreſſing my Duty? What they do on no Reaſon, why ſhould not I do on the Beſt; eſpecially when we have ſo ſolemnly diſclaimed theirs, and ſo expreſſly declared our own? As we are not to diſuſe the Holy Sacrament, becauſe the Papiſts have made it an Idol; ſo may we continue our Reverence, tho' they have paid it Adoration.

5. The Croſs in Baptiſm, or rather after Baptiſm, has in it as little of Popery too. To Worſhip the Croſs, to aſcribe any Virtue to the Sign, or to promiſe ones ſelf any Defence from it, may be Popery: but to uſe it as a Sign, only to ſignify and declare, can never come under that Notion, nor be termed Superſtition; no more than it would be to pronounce the Word. Tho' the Croſs was *Fooliſhneſs to the Greeks*, a *Stumbling-block to the Jews*; and has been ſince to the *Papiſts* too, a *Stumbling-block* and an Idol: yet are we ſtill to Glory in it, and to have the Memorial of it in an high and precious Eſteem; neither concerned on one hand at the *Gentiles* Mockery, nor on the other at the *Roman* Superſtition. The Primitive Chriſtians, it is certain, uſed the Sign in the Earlieſt Times, very frequently: with that on all Occaſions they put themſelves in mind of our Saviour's Suffering for them; and with that they armed themſelves againſt their own. So they ſaluted their Brethren, and ſo they defied the Heathen. It was the common Token and Mark of thoſe that belonged to Chriſt; and was afterwards the Imperial Banner of the great *Conſtantine*, the firſt Chriſtian Emperor; and under that (by the Grace of God) were thoſe Victories obtained, that put an end to the Heathen Perſecutions. Our firſt Reformers therefore finding the Croſs of Chriſt made the ſubject of much Superſtition among the Romaniſts, its Image Worſhipped, and I do not know what Virtue imputed to the Signs; and yet remembring withall the Devout Practice of the firſt and beſt Ages; as they abhorred to countenance the one, ſo they were tender too of condemning the other: and in that Intention, after the Sacrament of Baptiſm is adminiſtred, the Prieſt is ordered, when he declares Audibly the Admiſſion of the Child into Chriſt's Flock, to declare Viſibly too by that known bleſſed Sign, what that Shame is, the Chriſtian ought to deſpiſe; how he is openly always, and as it were on his Forehead, to bear the Profeſſion of his Faith; what that Banner is under which he is now Liſted; and in what Warfare he ſtands engaged: our Church applying that to its Members once at leaſt in their Lives, which the Primitive repeated ſo often; and doing that on ſo proper an Occaſion, which heretofore had been done on all; in hopes of being excuſed on the part of the Ancient Chriſtians, by its care to avoid the Faulty Practice of the Papiſts; and in

hopes of being justified to its Members and Brethren, by so great, and so reverend an Authority. And that it might be impossible for any Stander by, how weak soever, to fall into any Superstition himself, or to suspect it in the Minister; he never uses the Action Dumb, but proclaims the Edifying Signification, and speaks out in plain words the wholesome meaning. This was a Sign nobly and generously taken up by the Elder Christians, in the midst of their Blaspheming Heathen Neighbours; owned now with the like Courage under the insulting *Mahumetan*: a Lesson as necessary for that part of Christendom, that confines now upon the *Turk*; and not to be look'd upon as Unreasonable or Improper, by those Nations that, by the Mercy of God, have yet a better Neighbourhood; always of great Edification to the Devout, but particularly to be remembered by those whom Commerce carries into remoter Countries; where tho', if Report mistake not, it has by some been most scandalously forgot. So clear and free is the Sign of the Cross, as used by us, from the least shadow of Superstition.

6. *Lastly*, The Fasts and Feasts of the Church come as unjustly under the same groundless Imputation. The Time of Assembling is a Circumstance of our Worship that cannot be left to particular Choice, but must be determined in Common; and what is to be done at that Time, must be determined too for any Orderly Assembly: so that it must be left to the Discretion of the Governors, when we are to keep a Festival, and when a Fast. As to the Keeping of the Lord's Day; our Church was not at Liberty, without she would have rashly departed from Apostolical Observation, and the continued Practice of all Ages and Places since the beginning of Christianity. As for the Keeping of *Easter*; she was too under the like Obligation: the Annual Feast of the Resurrection, the Great Lord's Day, being known to have been the Chief, and the Cause of all the Weekly. And as to the Fast of Good Friday; it was nigh as early as the Feast of the Resurrection. They lamented their Sins our Saviour died for, on the Friday before; as constantly as they commemorated his Rising again for our Salvation, the Sunday after. And in order to the keeping of those two Great Days with more Devotion, there was likewise in the Church some Time beforehand set apart, for better Recollection, and greater Preparation: the number of Days in some Places more, in some less. That of Forty, no Superstitious Number, had obtained in the *Western* Country; and therefore was still kept: and would to God! it were as Religiously observed, as it was Piously appointed. *Whitsunday* too, the Day on which the Holy Ghost descended, was observed always, and Universally by the Ancient Church. Only the Nativity of our Saviour was of later Remembrance; but yet before *Popery* came in: first observed in the *Western* Church; and afterwards taken up by the *Eastern*, in St. *Chrysostom's* time, as it stands recommended by him to the People of *Antioch*. Other Times, besides

besides these, have been appointed too for our Religious Assemblies; in which, besides the general Worship of God, the Examples of his Saints and Martyrs are gratefully remembred, and piously proposed; and those Days are called commonly by the Name of the Person then particularly Commemorated: not that the Worship is to the Saint, or that the Day is employed in his Honour; only because on the Occasion of his Memory or Martyrdom we come together, as to pay our other Duties to our God, so to thank him for the Graces of his Servant, and to be edified and instructed by the Example. It is true, the Church heretofore, when God had been bountiful to them in the Number of his Saints, increased in some proportion those Days of his Worship: and it is to be confessed that *Popery* had both acknowledged Saints to God, which he might not own; and gave the True Saints an Honour, which they must disclaim. But with us the Number of those Days is not greater than that the Affairs of the World may well comply; and as the Number of the Apostles is not large, so their Sanctity sure is unquestionable: and then on those Days we neither beseech by their Merits, nor recommend ourselves to their Intercession. You see then how unreasonable the Objection of Popery is here too. But see to what Absurdity it goes on. First it is supposed *Popery*, to keep a Day in the Memory of an Apostle; and then it is thought as Popish, to call him a Saint. A Great Person at *Geneva*, it seems, presumed it somewhat *Popish*, to observe Sunday itself; and considered about changing the Day. Nay, some are so perversly Superstitious, on the other hand, as that That Day, on which all the Christian World remembers our Saviour's *Bitter Passion*, has seemed to them the fitter for a Feast; and the Time Universally now set apart for the joyful Memory of his blessed Nativity, the more proper for a Fast. This indeed is not like the *Papists*: No, it is like a *Jew* or a *Heathen*.

So I hope it has sufficiently appeared, how little guilty those Usages are of the Popery of which they are accused: the chief Design of these Papers. But having not been able to discourse of their Innocence without some discovery of their Use, I shall crave the Reader's patience for a short Digression, wherein he may see that the first Governours of our Reformed Church did not only use their Liberty, and impose them as things indifferent; but as things expedient, and to which they were obliged in all Godly Prudence.

For although the Persons, who now enforce this Account, may think so much of themselves, as that the weakest of their possible Jealousies ought to have been considered most; yet the first Reformers were not to engage themselves in a task so endless, nor to content themselves with so narrow a view. Several other Respects more weighty, and Things more practicable, did expect their Care.

For in the Reformation there were more Considerations to be had, than some are pleased, or capable, to understand. There was a Regard to Truth, to Increase of Piety, to Gravity and Decency, to An-

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tiquity; to all the modern Churches, the *Roman* itself, the *Grecian*, and the then Reformed: Regards then had, and ever since to be continued. They were indeed to provide in the first place, that their prescribed Rites should be such as might not in any manner reasonably offend their own Members, but be the most fit to raise and promote their Devotion: they were too at the same time to take care, that no offence should be given to other Churches, no just scandal even to that they left.

For as to the Church of *Rome*; tho' we were forced to part from Her, it was to be with all Christian Meekness and Charity; with a Desire that she would return to Herself and Us; and would at last follow the Reformation, which she had been often desired to begin. And therefore when we cut off her Corruptions and Superstitions, we retained some of her most laudable and ancient Ways: not leaving them tho' Godly and Venerable, because practised by Her, as the Spirit of Opposition would have directed; but for that Cause the rather practising them ourselves, as it was fit for Christians and Brethren. All the Innocent Ceremonies indeed we did not keep; because their Number was excessively great, and they of small or no Edification. Tho' under that Burden we could have been content to rest, had that been the only Dispute, and were it to have been the Condition of our Peace. But the Tyranny of their Corruptions, by which they forced us out of their Communion, having restored us to our First Liberty; and taken off that Human Right, or Usurpation, by which their Bishops pretended Authority over Ours (from a Prescription whose Date we know): we used then that Liberty too in other matters; and both shewed that we were not under Bondage, and that we were in Charity; leaving that Church a Pattern for Her to imitate, and using towards her a Temper by which she was not needlessly provoked.

So did the first Reformers discharge their Duty towards the *Roman* Church: by this Conduct giving to the Sober and Well-minded all reason to commend us, and taking away from the Rest all occasion to blaspheme; reducing themselves, in all Material Points, to the Standard of the *Primitive Church*; and in lesser matters taking leave to vary, as several Countries then of the same Age had used to do: in hopes that other Nations would by the Grace of God be at last invited by so fair an Example; we not proposing ourselves so much, as the ancient Church, to their Imitation.

The same Apology might too be satisfactory to the *Greek* Church; from whom if we differ in Doctrines or Worship, it was because we presumed ourselves constrained by the Truth so to do. But that we affected not wantonly an unnecessary Contrariety, they might perceive by our choosing some such Customs as had the general Approbation, and by conforming to ancient Usage: a Church of another Climate not being to expect that we of the *North-West* should agree in all; but that it might appear by common Practice of some things,
that

that it was not out of Opposition that we had abstained from the rest.

Such Respect there was to be to the *Roman* and *Greek* Churches. There was too a Consideration of the Reformed, the *Lutheran*: a chief Regard was to be had to Her, and the upper hand of Fellowship given as to the *Elder Sister*. She first had protested against the *Romish* Corruptions, stood the dangerous Shock of *Papal Tyranny*, and boldly advanced a Reformation; which too she planted wide, and settled in very powerful Countries. This noble Example our first Reformers followed: from them they learned to cast off all Modern Usurpation, and to restore according to the Earlier Pattern; not taking our Copy indeed from theirs, but from the same ancient Original, and tho' with some Difference, yet with a near Resemblance. Our Episcopacy, by the Piety of our Princes, was left more Entire than with Them, in some Places. The Doctrine of *Consubstantiation*, which determines the Mode of Christ's Real Presence at the Time of Participation, we were not satisfied in: but yet as they condemned the Idolatry and Superstitions of the *Popish Transubstantiation* equally with us; so did we equally with them adore the Mystery of the Holy Sacrament, and were ready to Communicate on our Knees. After their Example, our Churches and Cathedrals were not neglected, the Places where God's Honour dwells; nor His Altars, where His Mercy and Love shew themselves forth. The Worship of the Soul was commanded to be expressed in the Posture of the Body; the Bowing at the Holy Name of *JESUS* recommended; and a decent Gravity every where kept up, tho' with fewer Ceremonies.

So serviceable were these Orders of ours in respect of the rest of *Christendom*, and so fit to be retained for their Edification in Love: the Fruit of which we had the Satisfaction to reap, not only from the Approbation of those our Brethren, not so well satisfied elsewhere; but from the Confession even of some *Romanists* themselves. They were too as proper for our own Edification, and for the Advancement of God's Worship here.

To that purpose these Rules were as exactly fitted, as if it had been the only Design. For what could have been better designed for the Honour of God, and Increase of Religion amongst Men, than that the People should be ordered (had it not been their Custom before) Solemnly to meet, to pay their Devotions on certain Days of the Week; that there should be Annual Commemorations of the Mysteries of our Redemption, and of the Zeal and Doctrines of the Blessed Apostles? And how could our Devotions be more Certain and Sufficient, more Grave and Regular, than under a well-considered Form? If the Minister were then in another Garment, did not the very Sight of him admonish, before the Exhortation began, that the People were to lay aside their ordinary Thoughts, not to meet him there as abroad, but to be a Holy Congregation? If they were directed to be on their Knees at Prayers, and at the Communion; was it more

than became their Duty, or a Hindrance think we to their Devotion? Or was it to be expected, that when a Congregation saw a Person admitted into their Number, and the Doctrine of the Cross declared over him, as the Terms of his Reception; they should be offended that it was so evidently set forth, and declared to the Eye as well as to the Ear: and should so far forget its Benefits, as rather at that time to think impertinently of an old Superstition that was gone, and of Popery that was abolished, than to join and recognize our Saviour's Death, and their former Vows, and zealously to resolve the Profession of their Holy Faith in despite of all its Enemies? But on this Subject I proceed no further to the other unquestionable Parts of our Ritual: it being plain, that even the lesser Appointments have their proper Use.

When therefore the Reformation began; for such just Reasons, and several Respects to others and to ourselves, was the present Form Established.

At that time the other Protestant Church of *Calvin's Model* (that the Reader may not think it forgot above) was but just set up in the narrow Territory of *Geneva*: and therefore, indeed, not much considered by our Reformers; only under their general Rule, that as they begged leave in Indifferent things to use their own Liberty, so they imposed not on other Churches. By our leave therefore the Reformers of that Place might have used fewer Ceremonies, and those of their own Invention: so they would be pleased not to dictate their Regulations as necessary Rules to Us. Nay, even there, where otherwise we might think they had gone too far, the necessity of their Circumstances might have pleaded for them; provided they prescribed not their Orders and Discipline to Foreign Countries. Tho' therefore they had abrogated Episcopacy; tho' Lay-Elders, and Lay-Deacons were Novelties in the Church of Christ; tho' a perfect Liturgy was wanting, and they seemed in several things to condemn the Ancient Church too much: yet they were still regarded by us as Brethren, their Correspondence desired, and Communion with them maintained.

But when the Neighbourhood of *Geneva* had, with the Doctrine of the Reformation, carried this peculiar Discipline into *France*: it began thence to come over hither as a Mode; and to take, it may be, the more because it was New. And then it was urged, not as convenient to the Circumstances of a little Town, or of a scattered distressed People under Popish Bishops; but as necessary to all that professed the Purity of the Gospel: and it was given out to be as fit to reform from us to them, as it was before from the Pope to us.

The first Rule of this new Method (I mean as imported and translated to us) was, to have no Circumstance in Divine Worship, that was not expressly determined in Scripture. By this Rule they cut off all our Establishments, as they thought, at once: but by this they could have none of their own; for their Elders were not to be found in the
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Text, considered better; and unordained Annual Deacons had as little ground; not to mention their lesser Rites. That Rule therefore failing, they were to have another measure of Purity: and that was, to be at the greatest possible distance from the Church of *Rome*. And then we were to have no Bishops, because the Pope was one; we were not to pray to God at set Hours, or by a set Form, because the *Papists* did; we were to have no Christian Fasts or Feasts; and all our Observations, though never so Edifying and Primitive, were to be laid aside by those that would be Pure, if they had been used at *Rome*.

We have already, though briefly, discovered the Falsity of both those Principles. The First was a gross Fallacy put upon the People by their Teachers; who, to the great Maxim of the Reformation, That no necessary Christian Doctrine was to be received not warrantable by Scripture, had sophistically joined this great Untruth, That no Circumstance of Worship was to be used, that could not be shewed there. The other too, that condemned indifferently all the Practices of the *Roman* Church whatever, was nothing else but a sophistical Imposture put in the Place of this Truth, That none of its Corruptions were to be retained: It was nothing but a disingenuous unchristian Abuse of good People's Zeal; to make them dislike the good Usages of ours, and the Ancient Church, with the same warmth they rejected the Depravation of the *Roman*.

Either of these two Principles, if they had been true, would have put an end to this Dispute about Church Ceremonies; and therefore, though baffled and confuted, they failed not to be always inculcated into the Ears of the People. To prove the Rites of our Church unlawful step by step had been a troublesome Task, and might not have succeeded well; either the People might not have born the length of their Discourse, or seen through the weakness. But here, to cut the work short, they had a Maxim or two, that their Followers might easily apprehend, and, it may be, as easily swallow. And accordingly one or both of these, the People were always taught to believe. These were the little lumps of Leaven that were cast in, and all along fermented the Nation, till the whole was leavened; and they were worked up at last to the utmost Perfection, and most exalted State, to the Holy Covenant; whose great Ends forsooth were, to pluck up Episcopacy root and branch as Popish, and to establish Presbytery, the Form of God's own Appointment.

But these false Principles could not be fixed so: they were pursued by their own Party, and run down in Fact. For as to the first, there rose up those that could no more spy out Presbyterianism in the Bible, than they had been suffered to see Episcopacy before. Ministry and Tythes were not to be found in the Gospel, they said: they asked you your Text for every thing you did; for saying You rather than Thou; for taking off the Hat before God or Man. And so, as to the other Maxim, it was found out at last, that *Geneva* itself was

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not far from *Italy*; and Classes and Synods (who would have thought it?) were esteemed a little *Papist* too. If they valued themselves on their Distance from *Rome*, there were those that could go farther than they. The Independents presently outwent them; these were outstripped by others; and at last the Quaker seemed before them all. But all things moving Circularly, these last came very nigh to that point on the one side, from which they were most remote on the other: instead of one pretending Infallible Spirit, we had Legions; and all the Opposition to the Pope of *Rome* ended in this, that every Man was to be Pope himself.

These were the visible and palpable Absurdities, consequent to those two false Maxims: and those Maxims have been mentioned here upon occasion indeed of the *Geneva* Reformation; but with no design of undue Reflection: they being but Additions grafted on that way, since it was brought into *England*; not natural nor proper to it, though with us too closely combined: ridiculous Untruths of a destructive Nature, to be disclaimed and discountenanced by all sober Men.

However, our Foreign Brethren of that Constitution, as their Form of Government was designed for themselves, and not for us, for a Bond of Peace and Discipline at home, and not to give Disturbance abroad; so they will, we do not question, give us leave to think so well of our own Way, as not to be willing to exchange it for any other, that may in Charity be allowed to stand on equal terms, but will not, we hope, pretend Advantage.

For Good Men, and who know the Grounds and Reasons of our Reformation, were at a loss, what the late Design might mean, of bringing our Church nearer to the Protestants abroad: to those of our Brethren of *Calvin's* way, we suppose they intended. We hope the Intention was not to insinuate an unjust Reproach; as if we had not the Amity and Affection for them which we ought; did not rejoice in their Edification, or compassionate their Affliction: but only this, to alter our Constitution into a nearer Resemblance with theirs. But if any of ours desired this for Amendment, as a farther Reformation and greater Perfection; it was because they were not pleased to consider their own Frame well: nor could any honest man of our Church, and who understood her right, have ever consented. And if the Design was only Political, (though the Policy appears not) yet why might it not be as fit for those Protestants to come nearer to us? But, not to stand on such terms, how could we have went nigher to the *Calvinist*, without departing from the *Lutheran*? Our Church is already in the middle, and reaching out her hands on either side: settled there long ago, by weighty Reason, and upon mature Deliberation. For although the word Protestant has been here at home appropriated to a Party; and the Reformed Church abroad has been still understood only for those of one way: yet every one knows that the *Lutheran* is the first Reformed, and that the term Protestant is
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only proper to them, and particularly to those only of the *German* Nation. This then is the first Fallacy endeavoured to be put upon the People; that those to whom some of our Dissenters pretend a nearer Approach, are the only Reformed and Protestants in the World: as if the *Lutheran* were not to be understood by his own Name. The other is this, that the *Calvinist* is so great, that the other deserves not to be mentioned: whereas the other have still been the far greater Number, and the much more considerable. Our Trade, indeed, makes us look into *Holland*, (where tho' the true *Calvinists* make not above a third of the People) and our Fashions into *France*; (and would to God their Numbers encreased there!) we speak much of *Switzerland*, and the *Lower Palatinate*: but we forget to take notice of the large Countries that are entirely of the other Profession; as *Denmark*, *Sweden*, the Dominions of the Elector of *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*, of the Great House of *Lunenbourg*, and the many Imperial Cities. So that the Design mentioned before of coming nearer to the Reformation abroad, was nothing else but this: to persuade us to go farther from the Universal Church Primitive, from the Major part of the Modern Reformed, from our innocent Agreement with general Christianity, and from those of ourselves, who are much edified by our Present Constitution; to come nearer to those abroad, who (to speak in the fairest Language) are not better constituted than ourselves; and to comply with those at home, who are certainly neither the greater, nor the best part of us; to give way to the falsest and most destructive Prejudices, opposite to all Catholick Agreement; and to countenance and encourage a most causeless and seditious Separation.

But to return from this Digression. We have seen, upon the view of the Particulars most in Question, no Popery in them, no Superstition nor Idolatry, no Favour nor Tendency to any of the *Roman* Corruptions; nothing in them that is not directed to the promoting of God's Honour, the raising of our Devotion, and the teaching of our Duty; nothing but what either was in use before Popery took place, or must be allowed commendable even in the Papists themselves.

And yet notwithstanding all the zealous Abhorrence our first Reformers had for Popery, declared by their Writings, and confirmed by the Testimony of their Deaths; notwithstanding the constant continued Professions of the same Faith still made by all that officiate in the Church; although all possible Care has been taken to prevent the Suspicion, and disavow all Popish Intention; yet our Church is Popish, and we all Papists still: The grossest and the most inexcusable Calumny that ever was invented.

We have seen already to what Ends this notorious Untruth was first devised by the Dissenting Party; to widen the Separation, to fix men in it, and to keep them at an irreconcilable Distance. But I cannot tell whether it had not been more excusable before God and Man

II. Scandalously
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to have separated upon no Reason, than upon one so scandalously false. They had then only been accountable for their departure, and forsaking us; but now besides, for all this Injustice which they have done us, and the Calumnies under which they have left us. For so under the Old Law, where a man might at pleasure have put away his Wife; and without Cause shewn: yet if he had given occasion of Speech against her, and brought an evil Name upon her, had accused her to have been corrupt; he was then by the Judgment of the Elders to make Reparation by a Pecuniary Mulct, to suffer Corporal Chastisement, and not to put her away for ever. If then those Persons had not in them that Brotherly Love, which should have made them desirous of our Company; nor that Sense of their Duty to our common Father, by which we are obliged to make our joint Appearance before Him: yet in common Justice they should have forbore their Slanders; and in Reverence to the God of Truth they should not have condemned us so rashly, especially in matters that concern him. For seems it so small a thing to any man, especially to one that professes a more tender Sense of his Duty, to accuse one rashly and falsely before God and the World, of Superstitions, Abominations, and Idolatry; of perverting the Gospel of Christ, and corrupting his Worship; of carrying the Souls of men into Error and Sin, and endangering their Eternal Salvation? Were this Scandal spoken of any single Priest, that had the care of the smallest Parish, what sufficient Satisfaction could be made him? But when it is spoke of the Pastors and Teachers of a great People, of the Constitution and Frame of a whole National Church, what amends shall be given them? For here the Consideration is not only of Disreputation and Loss of Honour unjustly sustained; but of the horrible Michiefs that have followed: nor do those suffer so much, of whom the Scandal is said, as those do who credit and entertain it. The greatest Prejudice is not to us, but to those who on that account are gone from us: who have been scared by it into Schism, and Faction; have been engaged into Uncharitableness, and the Breach of the Peace of God, the Unity of his Church; into Heats and Animosities, into Temporal and Spiritual Disobedience; who have been thence perverted into Deadly Errors and Heresies; and hastning from us have run upon Rocks, and made Shipwrack of their Faith. These are the Damages of that wicked Scandal, to be estimated by the Hazard and Perdition of thousands of Souls: the Loss is to the Catholick Church, and to be answered for hereafter to the Great Shepherd. So big is this foul Slander of infinite Mischief: tho' its single Guilt be so great, that it need no Accumulation.

Judge not, that ye be not judged, says our Lord and Master: and, *Who art thou that judgest another's Servant?* says his Blessed Apostle. So unwarrantable and dangerous a thing it is to pass a hasty peremptory Sentence, even upon our fellows and equals, in any thing that relates to God: It is to attempt upon his Authority, and usurp his Seat.

Seat. He then that passes a Sentence notoriously unjust, what is he to expect at the Day of the righteous Judgment of God? And *who art thou that so judgest* not only *another's Servant*, but thy own Superior, and whom the Great Master has commanded thee to obey? If thy Slanders were against any foreign Sister Church of God, it were a high Breach of Charity, for which you ought to beg pardon of Christendom; but to calumniate maliciously ones own Church, and to charge her falsely with the highest Crimes; is a Lye not only against those to whom you owe common Respect, but to whom you are to pay Duty and Subjection; it is as if you blasphemed your Father or your Mother.

But to pass away from such sad Considerations, on which tho' the concerned should reflect very seriously; and to conclude in the easiest and most favourable manner: Those, that go this Way to destroy our Reputation with the Vulgar, have not provided well for their own with intelligent men. They will not after this be well able to make good their Pretences to much Knowledge, and their Profession of greater Zeal for Truth. For the difference betwixt Us and Popery is so wide, that those who accuse us of it, except they excuse themselves by Ignorance, cannot be well allowed by the world to boast of Conscience and Integrity.

I cannot tell whether most of the Teachers are not directly Guilty of this great Untruth. However, whether or no they Preach it for positive Doctrine, yet this we are sure of; there is nothing more common with their Auditors: It is this Fancy that keeps them fast to their own way, and gives them their greatest Aversion for us.

Some of the People indeed out of Ignorance are betrayed into this Slander: and yet there too the Ignorance is something too gross, and too easy to be removed, than that it should qualify the Fault much. They need for better Information but peruse our Articles of Religion, which are very short; and look into our Prayers, a Book in every one's hand; they need but come to those near Places, where the Law and their Duty calls them; and have Patience to hear their proper Teachers: And therefore even this their Ignorance is too much their Fault, to become their Defence.

But however this blind Zeal, and weak Ignorance of the People, if it shall be allowed in Plea for them, must it not then be charged upon those, who have usurped the Care of them? Those, who have unwarrantably, and in their own wrong, taken upon them their Instruction, are they not to answer for this culpable want of Knowledge? But how careful should they be, that they do not beget these uncharitable Prejudices, nor disingenuously cherish such Untruths; that they are not the Causes of that Weakness, and the Authors of the Ignorance?

For from whence is it, that those People should be supposed to bring such Prejudices, but from the Discourses of their Meetings? Do they not there find Popery and our Church in a breath? The

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Rites of that Church so mentioned, as to include ours? and themselves flattered with the Title of True Protestants, to our Exclusion? If they do not there broadly call the Surplice a Rag of *Babylon*, or our Prayers the *English* Mass; yet are not Will-Worship, and Superstition, Carnal Ordinances, and Idolatry, spoken out on those Occasions? And the People given to understand by oblique Reflections, and peculiar Phrases, that there is as little Difference, as they have heard Distinction?

Hence it comes to pass, that the True-bred Dissenter will no more come into our Church, than into a House of *Rimmon*: a Cathedral is a very Abomination. To be at Prayers, would be to be at Mass: and if you ask them their Exception at the Book, they thank God they have never look'd in't. They leave their Friends before they are buried, they are so frightened at the Service that is to be said; as if the Parson in White were an Apparition. And when a Relation of theirs is to be Christned, tho' the Office be performed at home, in no Superstitious Place; yet they will not assist at that for which they came, and fly away from the Sign of the Cross as fast, as the Papists fancy evil Spirits do. Or if any of these, upon Surprize or Mistake, chance to be present at the Prayers; they take care to shew their Aversion by their Looks and Gesture, and put themselves straight in some cross Posture of Body, or Disposition of Mind: If the Minister calls to kneel, they will chuse to sit; and, when the holy Words he pronounces speak the Worship of God, Praises or Prayers to him, they devoutly think of the Superstition or Ignorance of the Priest, and smile at the Folly of the rest. Such Prophanation do a great part of them take our Worship to be: and so fearful are they of partaking in it.

These are the ridiculous and truly ignorant Conceits of their better meaning Followers: highly Unjust to us, but most Scandalous to their own Teachers. But these absurd Fancies are not more ridiculous, than the Pretences their Leaders draw from them: When they desire Allowance for the Weaknesses of those they have made so: and would have the Government on all Occasions to indulge such Errors, as they shall be able to teach: using the old known Method; instructing the People to fancy Grievances first, and then in their Name, but for their own Interest, importuning a Redress.

But these Leaders of the Party might consult better for the Weakness of their People, if they would try to cure it by better Information; and they might easily acquit themselves of the Guilt of Slandering our Church, by beginning to do her Right. Let them then for once come nearer the Reformed Churches abroad themselves, and own that to the World, which Those have never scrupled to declare. Let them honestly tell their Congregations the plain Truth: that we detest and renounce the Popish Corruptions and Superstitions as much as those Churches do; that the Belief and Doctrine of our Church is the same with theirs; that the very few Ceremonies we have retain-

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ed, have nothing of Sin or Abomination in them. Let them confess that a good devout Prayer is never the less so, for being provided before-hand, or read out of a Book, or by one in White, and not in Black or Gray; that if the People will but bring their Thoughts to Church as well prepared as the Words are, they will be heard most acceptably by their God. Let them own that there is no more harm in the Sign of the Cross made by the Hand, than in the Word that signifies it from the Mouth: and that men may be as innocently shewn one way as another, what thing they are not to be ashamed of. Let them acknowledge that there is no more Sin intended, in being on our Knees at the Communion, than there is in being truly penitent, and humbly thankful. And lastly, to sum up all, Let them but declare that a Christian of our Communion, who worships God as is prescribed him there, and believes and obeys the Doctrine there taught him, is by the Grace of Christ in the ordinary way of Salvation. Let them, I say, but publish this to those Numbers they have called together; (and if they are Truths, in Conscience they are bound to do it;) they may then be heard to excuse themselves from the blind Uncharitableness and unrighteous Slanders of the Auditors, against a Church of Christ, so fam'd and so great a part of the Reformation.

Hitherto I have only represented the strange Injustice offered to our Church; an undeniable and demonstrable Injustice: Neither is it my Intention to speak of that Personal one, under which its Ministers have suffered besides. The ground indeed for such a Jealousy is not impossible in Nature; but it is from the same want of Charity, that those Persons who are under the greatest Obligations of Conscience against Popery, must be thought its greatest Favourers. If in a multitude one or two single men may have been under the suspicion of having Apostatized; yet how does that affect the rest of the Body, who will be the first to disown and renounce them? Were the eleven remaining Apostles to be termed Traytors for *Judas*? Or is our Nation to be denominated from the few Malefactors of its number, which it punishes as soon as it discovers? We have of Churchmen some too it may be inclinable to the Separation: why are not the Dissenters pleased then, for their sakes, to think favourably of the whole; and to let us all be true Protestants on the one side, by the same reason we are Papists on the other? But is it not strange, that those who have distinctly subscribed to the Articles of the Reformation, at each Degree in the University, at the Promotion to either Orders, at their Institution to any Preferment; who have publicly read and owned these Articles in their several Congregations; that those who have given all manner of assurance to the World, must be suspected still and traduced by those that have yet given none; of whom we know not yet, if they themselves do, but at random and at large, of what profession of Religion they are? God pardon them their Uncharitableness; and we are to thank them, that they have not made us *Jews* or *Mahumetans*.

III. Per-
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It may have been enough to all honest Men, and truly conscientious, to have shewn them the Untruth of the Prejudice that has been raised against our Church, and the Iniquity of the irreligious Slander: as they feared God, so they would be afraid to speak Evil falsely of a Church of Christ, and of the Service of their Maker. Nay, we might hope that such, upon the first Reflection, would be the more hasty and forward to return to our Communion, lest they should seem any longer to countenance so unjust and ungodly a Calumny. But they may be pleased to consider farther, not only the Sinfulness, but the Mischief of the Action; and that we are not so sensible of the Injustice done to ourselves, as of its ill Consequences, the Damage and Prejudice it brings on the Cause of the Reformation.

The Differences and Schisms that have happened in the Protestant Churches have, it is known, been very scandalous to the Common Cause, and formed into an Argument against us. It is said by our Adversaries, that as soon as we fell from them, we fell from Unity and Order; and that the Infinite Folly of the following Separations, was but a Consequent natural to the First: that it was a Spirit of Pride and Opposition that engaged us first in the Schism; and that we had no Bowels for the Divisions of the Church. See therefore, say they, how they break into endless Fractions; they are no more tender of their own Communion, than they were of ours; they part out of Humour and Fancy; and in this they do us right, they submit to no other Constitution.

It is true, that the wantonness and petulance of men has given too much place to this Reproach already: but when the measure of a thorough Reformation shall be the utmost Opposition to *Rome*, and a Protestant Church quarrelled with and reputed *Popish* for some common innocent Usages; then it is that the *Romish* Advocates may triumph well, then may they justly insult. *Here*, say they, *you discover the right Protestant Temper; you may see in the true Protestant, and the true Reformed, the true Spirit of Contradiction*: How upon a Pique to Us, they fall out with all *Christendom*; and will leave the Churches of all Ages for our sakes: Let us but use what is Primitive or Orderly; and we may have them as Indecent, Confused, and Ridiculous as we please.

For the truth is, the Principle those men have chose does not only scandalously condemn the Churches of the Second and Third Ages, but it is the most inconvenient that could be imagined; and may bring them into as great Absurdities, as they endeavour to avoid. From this Maxim the Church of *Rome* may take its measures, and manage, if they please, the humour of Opposition, as easily as a Vow of Obedience: it is but their taking one Side, and our Sectaries are bound to take the other; they are to be led by Contraries, and out of a childish crossness will refuse what the other would seem to direct. So may the *Romanist* appropriate to himself all Gravity, Decency, and

Antiquity:

Antiquity: And should he Reform, may he not expect that these would quit the Reformation?

This is the direct tendency of the Principle; and this way it goes, though the Papist may not think fit to follow it. However, we have seen what occasion of Obloquy and Reproach it gives, and what a Disparagement and Disreputation it brings on the Cause of the Reformation: Shameful to ourselves, and an Offence to those that otherwise might come to us. We may now see, in the next place, how it operates by the Odium it fastens on our Church, and what Mischief it produces there; how convenient and serviceable the Scandal is to the Designs of *Rome*, if not invented, yet fomented by them, and itself therefore to be esteemed *Popish*, for much better reason than our Ceremonies have been.

For after the Reformation was, by the Grace of God, once brought about, and the Church of *Rome* could not hinder her Corruptions from being seen, and her Usurpations from being laid open; all that they in their Craft could devise, or the Malice of the Devil could have suggested, was to divide and disunite those that were gone away, and to promote Variance and Disagreement between us. But the Design was never more Artificial, than when they were able to raise a Jealousy, that one part of this Reformation was *Popish* still; and could make men overlook all the substantial Difference of this Church from that of *Rome*, and conclude them the same, only from the common use of some indifferent things. The Church of *England*, they found, had manifested their Depravations, exposed them beyond any defence, and raised up a fixed and resolute Indignation against them. This Zeal, as long as it was sober, rational, and well grounded, they could not possibly withstand: They try therefore whether they cannot divert it upon something else, and direct it against its own Party: whether they cannot take this Artillery, turn it upon something Laudable and Innocent, and level it against its Friends. Being hatred to Popery is unavoidable, let the *English* Church be *Popish* too. So, are the *Romanists* content, if we may come in for a share of the Guilt, that not only part of their Worship, but the whole may be reputed Corrupt: and they are ready to help to accuse themselves in the wrong place, that the Charge may fall upon those that are in the Right.

And now the *Romish* Emissaries have accomplished their Errand, in one sense. If they have not perverted those of our Communion, yet they have seduced others to believe it done: and we are become all *Papists*; at least in the Opinion of the Dissenter. If he may be believed, and we are to be added to the number, the *Roman* Catholics are vastly encreased; and well may they have the Reputation abroad, to be very considerable in their Country: at least, well may their Priests report that we are inclinable to return, and easy to be reconciled; when they have the concurring Testimony for it of the Secretary, their seeming Adversary. And this, though but a Mistake and

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Fame, yet has its Effect: it keeps up the hope of the Principals at *Rome*, and redoubles the endeavours of their Seminaries. But they have too a more certain and real Aim.

For by this Opinion they may either gain some of us to themselves; or be sure however by the Jealousy to keep us asunder one from another. They may hope that some, even of our Communion, may at last have a more favourable Esteem of the Religion, to which they have been joined so long by Report; and that here, as it happens sometimes in Marriage, we may be content to embrace that Faith, to which Fame has said we were contracted before. But to the Honour of our Church be it spoken, this has not been effected, neither by the Caresses of the one, nor Affronts of the other; neither out of Affection, nor Indignation. So little Tendency is there in our Constitution that way, of which we have been unreasonably suspected. Their great Hopes, I suppose, of this kind are upon the Party that pretends to be most averse, and makes at present the more clamorous and extravagant Opposition. For it may be rational to presume, that he that knows not the Reasons nor Intent of the Reformation, and makes nothing of the vast Difference between us and *Rome*, may easily therefore step over it, and be as willing to return to them as us. It may be enough to make such a Convert, to satisfy him in the Sign of the Cross, or Kneeling at the Communion: as soon as he finds himself convinced of the Lawfulness of that Popery, he may be willing to yield to the rest, and may comply as undiscerningly, as before he abhorred. Such an Intention as this, we may see, is feasible enough: how far it has been practised in Fact, I will not say, or whether the *Quakers* have not been justly suspected.

For making of Profelytes, the *Romanists* cannot have a more proper Method, than to infect the People with Prejudices against us; to hinder them from settling on the true certain Bottom, the Foundation so well laid by the first Reformers, and from keeping in that Church which is so sure a Place, and may be so easily maintained. However, besides the Converts they gain, by the Jealousies they infuse, they heighten our Divisions and Animosities, break and scatter us: they hinder us from joining in what might oppose them, and prevail that we have no common Interest. Nay, things have been sometimes brought to that pass, that the Sectarians have rather joined with the Papists themselves; and in publick Counsels confederated with their pretended Enemies, to impeach our better Establishment. So much Popish were we then, that the professed *Roman Catholick* was less.

And now by force of this accursed Scandal, see into what Difficulty the Church is brought: either engaged in a perpetual, intestine quarrel, if she stands as she is; or else obliged to change at the pleasure, and by the direction of her sworn Enemies. If she thinks fit to stand on her own bottom, where so many good and necessary Considerations have fixed her, and where she has rested so long; she
must

must then expect the continuance of all the Dissenting Out-cries; nay, want of Moderation reproached, and the Schism imputed to her, even by some of her own Popular Sons. If she shall be inclinable to comply, where she lawfully may, yet there the humorous Exceptions are so various and so unreasonable, that she sees no good Issue; and has no reason to presume that the Faction desires to be content; neither can she tell what Church she shall be at last, if she is to alter still, as often as her Establishments shall be accused to correspond with *Rome*.

Now the Church of *Rome*, which has fixed herself invariably upon the Council of *Trent*, and for the same reason would have its Adversaries unsettled still, most willingly sees us alter, shift and change; not only that the Uneasiness, Inconstancy, and Uncertainty may be verified upon us, with which they sometime reproach us; that ours may be still wavering, and more easily drawn to them; and that theirs may be unwilling to come to us, into a Body so mutable, and after a whole Age so little satisfied of the lawfulness of its Rites and Usages: but in hopes too, nay, out of certain prospect, that by such Changes we shall be further from Settlement than before, and nearer to the Dissolution they would endeavour.

The demanded Alterations, it is plain, are not for the Satisfaction of those that are of our Communion; but of those that are not: and by such our own may be scandalized and shaken; but the others will hardly be obliged. For when we are ready to change, not moved by Arguments and Reasons, (for those are most Frivolous and Sophistical) but to comply with Fancy, or gratify Opposition; the Humour, it is certain, will be the more hard to satisfy; and Obstinacy, when encouraged, will only learn to ask more; especially when the Principle by which they move, is full of endless Dissatisfaction, and has an equal quarrel against the whole Constitution. So that when they have effected one Alteration, they have only made way for another; and are never like to rest, till they have destroyed the whole. Now, for example, The Surplice, the Cross, and Kneeling at the Sacrament, are demanded to be released: The particular Objections against them are quite out of Countenance, and no longer pressed; only that General one of Popery, or a General Scrupulous Fancy and Humour, which they call Conscience, are now urged. It is evident then, that it is as easy a matter for the same Masters of these Scruples to teach their Auditors, for as worthy Reasons, to be dissatisfied with more: and it is as plain, that they have already taught them a general Aversion. Should they be excused Kneeling at the Sacrament themselves; might it not then be a great Offence to see the Minister, or any other Kneel? As now they pretend an Offence at the Sign of the Cross, though they themselves look only on. Would they not think themselves obliged to avoid the very Sight, and separate from the Communion of that Popish Practice? Is, think ye, the Consecration Prayer free from all Suspicion? The Reverence prescribed in hand-

ling of the Elements, may come near the Idolatry of the Host; and the whole Service be accused for the Mass. Is the Cross after Baptism mentioned by them, because they have forgot their Quarrel at God-Fathers; and have a better Opinion of the Office of Confirmation? The Gown may as well be disputed, as the Surplice: Episcopal Orders may be thought a very indifferent thing: and are they content enough with the Rank of Bishops themselves? The whole Form of Prayer has its Faults: and how many are there for no Form at all? So that it is evident those things are rather asked to begin, and break ground for further Approaches: There are neither better Reasons, nor is there more Contrariety against them, than against the other parts of our Constitution: Only, these three Circumstantials are most visible, the one upon the Minister, and the other at either of the Sacraments; and so may be signal enough for a Dissenting Triumph, a present Ease to their Scruples, which they will please to accept, in earnest of what is to follow.

Were there any just Reason for the Scruple of the meanest Person, or inconsiderablest Number, God forbid but the Church should give Redress. And could it have been presumed that the Schism would be healed by the removing of those three Ceremonies, however innocent and edifying, they would, no doubt, have been remitted long ago. But the Governours of the Church know well what the Spirit and Genius of the Dissent is; and to what it drives; upon what Causes it is founded, and the medley of the Persons that are engaged in it: how small a part the Sincerely Scrupulous make; and how the Harmless are in the hands of the Crafty, and the Weak managed by the Sturdy: that the prevailing governing Party are not to be satisfied with a Ceremony or two, but with more Substantial things; nay, that Religion itself is but a Circumstance to their other Designs. This our Superiours know: who want not the Charity or Condescension, that any Reconciler would recommend; but are obliged in all holy Prudence, and their Duty to the Church, to take in more Considerations, than perchance a private Writer may comprehend. They are to be as innocent as Doves, but as wise as the Serpents themselves. But this is beyond the Design of this Paragraph, the Scope of which is only this: That if things are but indifferently well, to change is always extreme inconvenient, but then most especially, when there will be no probable stop: That the Papist will be as well pleased with such Alterations, as the Dissenter; and neither fully satisfied but with our total Abolition.

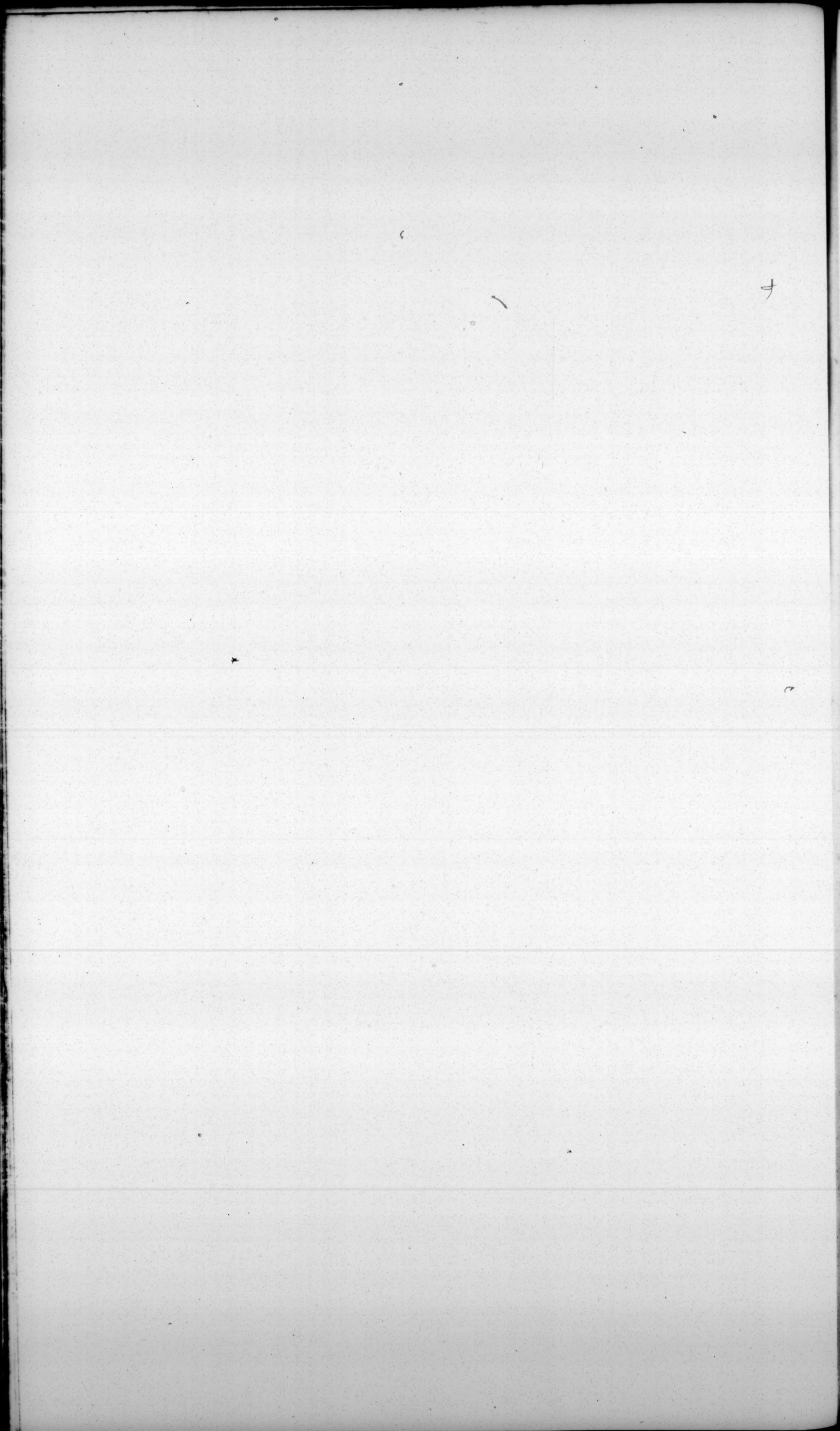
So is a Change, though in things perfectly Indifferent, no Indifferent thing. But all things called Indifferent are not of equal Indifference: And particularly the change, this Maxim, we are speaking of, would persuade, which the Dissenters endeavour, and our Popish Adversaries wish, is still for the worse. The one pretends to see Popery in our Government and Rituals: the other with grief sees ancient Order, and approved Decency retained; and the Primitive Church restored.

stored. These are sensible with what Disadvantage they encounter us : that here is no Novelty to reproach ; and that the Truly Catholick Church is of our side. They have a Church in their sight, as it were one of the first Ages revived ; upbraiding them by its Presence, and discovering the Counterfeit by the Comparison. To disorder and confound this, is the Folly of the one Party, and the Interest of the other : to drive us off from the Ground, on which we stand with so much Advantage ; to take away from her all Order and Beauty ; and to strip her of all the Marks of Antiquity, and Badges of Catholick Agreement. So shall we be that, which the Enemies of our Church desire ; their Scorn and Mockery first, and afterwards their easy Prey : while having our Eyes only upon *Rome*, and running still backwards from her ; we fall into the Snare that she has laid behind us.

It were to be wished, that those, who are so jealous of our Symbolizing with *Rome* in Indifferent things, would be as cautious in joining with her in her Pernicious Designs, and conspiring to the Ruin of the Reformation. If they will take their Measures in Opposition to Popery ; let them then close with that Church which is most hated by the Pope ; and come in and help to defend that Place, against which he bends his greatest Force. And let them take care, lest, if they know Popery so little now, as to accuse us of it ; they assist not that Religion so long and so effectually, till they bring it in indeed, and learn what it is by a dear Experiment.

F I N I S.





A FAIR AND METHODICAL DISCUSSION
OF THE
FIRST AND GREAT CONTROVERSY,
BETWEEN THE
CHURCH OF *ENGLAND*
AND
Church of Rome.
CONCERNING THE
INFALLIBLE GUIDE.

IN THREE DISCOURSES.

Whereof the FIRST is Introductory; and states the Points, which are Preliminary to this, and all the other Controversies between the two Churches.

The SECOND considers at large the Pretence of Modern Infallibility; and shews it to be Groundless.

The THIRD, by the help of the Former, briefly examines the *Pretended Rational Account of the Roman Catholicks, concerning the Ecclesiastical Guide in Controversies of Religion*; and detects its Artifice.

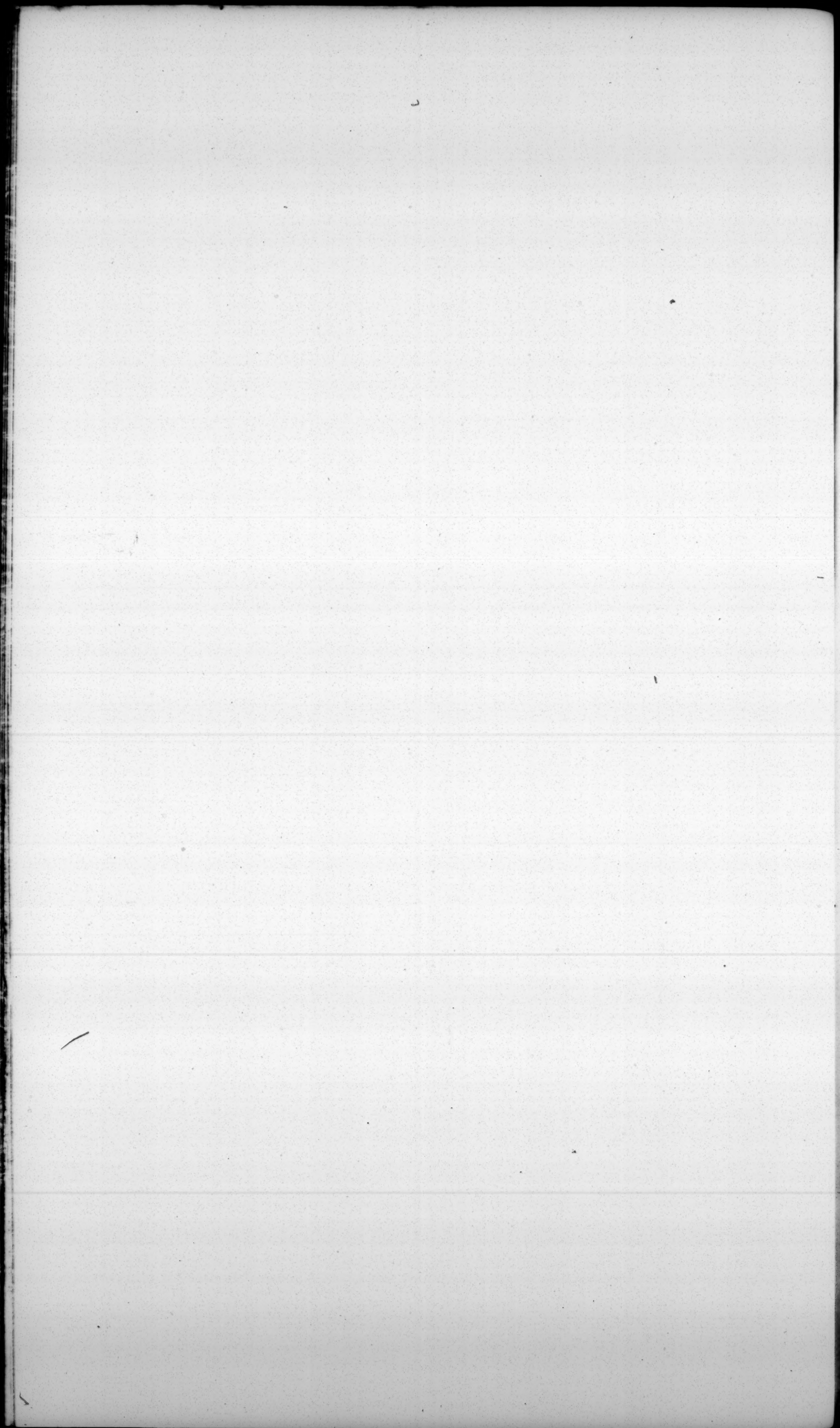
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A N
A D V E R T I S E M E N T
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

TH E two former Discourses were begun, and almost finished nigh four years ago,* on a design of bringing the whole Romish Controversy into a natural Method, for the Author's private satisfaction. Neither was he brought to think, that there was any need of them for the Publick, during the late Religious Debate; our Cause having been so warmly, and so successfully undertaken by abler hands, against the Imprudent Aggressors. But because there was in these Papers some respect had to the Arguments of the Famous Romish Guide, and that whole Book might very easily and very briefly be refuted thence; it was thought fit, that they should however appear abroad for that Service: and accordingly, as much as is now Printed, was Licensed the last Summer was Twelvemonth.† But then, it being stopt by some Accidents from coming out to its Date, and our Adversaries seeming to have given up the Dispute, this Design was quite given over too. Nor had it been resumed, had not the Author been told, that now the Romanists have had so little to say of their own, they would the rather call for the formality of an Answer to their Old Champion; and had he not besides considered, that the Pains here taken, of examining at large such Trifling Arguments, might be so far useful to the World, as to save some one else the ungrateful Labour, who might bestow his time better for the Publick Good.

* I. e. about the year 1685; for they were first printed in 1689.

† Viz. July 13. 1687, as appears by A. Bp. Sancroft's IMPRIMATUR.



DISCOURSE I.

Concerning the PRELIMINARY POINTS, &c.

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of Prayer for the Dead.*

Tradition, or the Unwritten Word Considered.

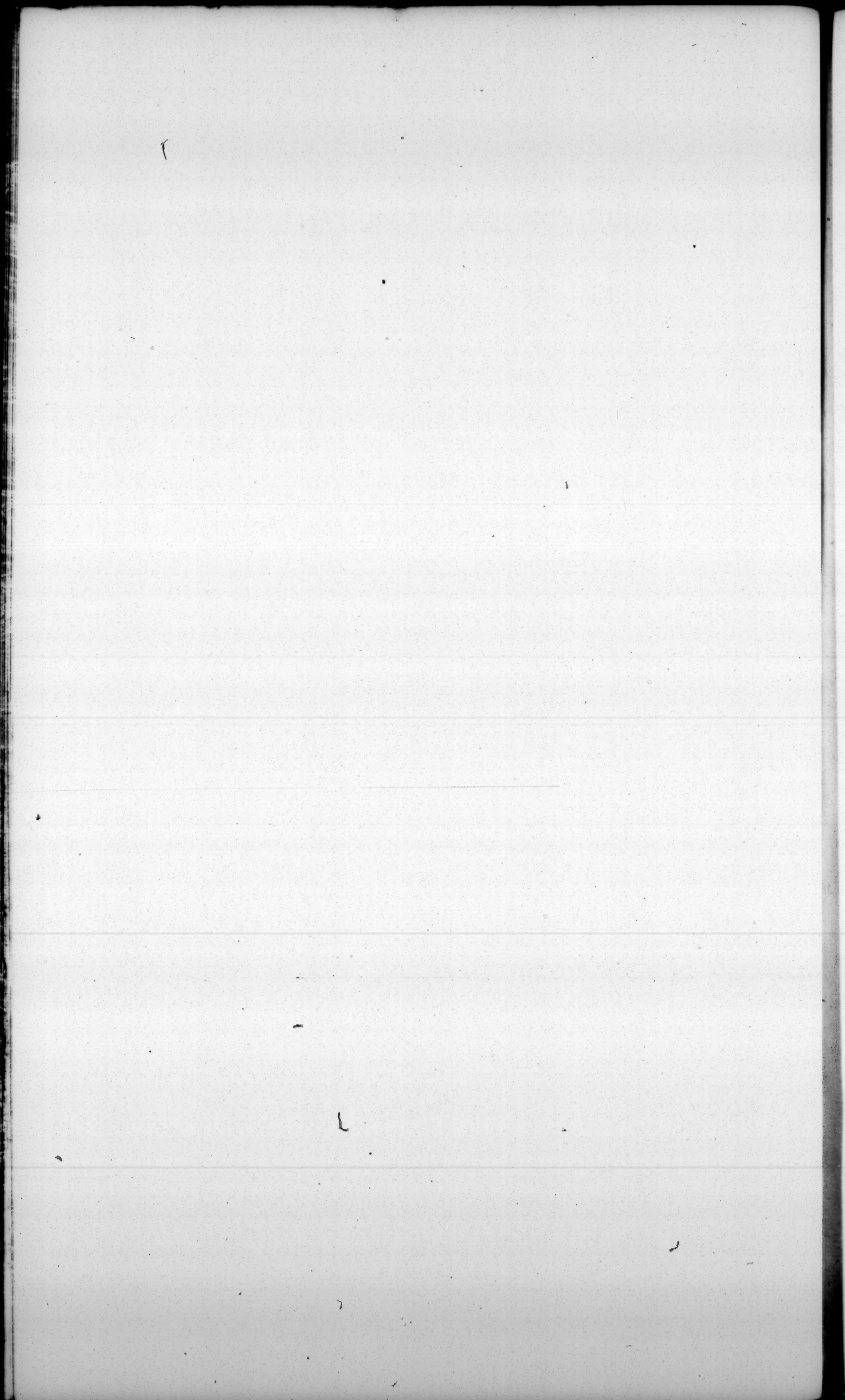
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DISCOURSE I.

CONCERNING THE PRELIMINARY POINTS, &c.

Chap. I.
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bility
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CHAP. I.

That the Pretence of any Modern Church to Infallibility is to be proved by that Church, and that the Proofs must be brought from the Word of God, Written or Unwritten.

AS Religion is a common Concern, and of the greatest Moment; so it is to be expected, that every Man should apply himself to the Consideration of it, with great Diligence and Zeal; and should take care, if Disputes arise concerning any material Difference in it, that he be not of the wrong side; his Future Eternal Happiness depending so much on the right Choice.

Now the Differences between the Church of *Rome* and ours of *England* being very great; the one pretending God to be well pleased with the Service, at which the other says he is extremely offended; the one requiring such things to be professed as necessary Truths, which the other avows to be Falsities: every ingenuous Man, who is a lover of Truth, and desirous to serve his God acceptably, is obliged to inform and satisfy himself concerning the Matters in Debate.

And if one of these Churches shall positively command us not to question her Determinations, and tell us that she ought to be believed without further Examination; that she is the Infallible Judge, and if any Difference arises, it must be determined by her Authority: If this shall be the Pretence of one of the Parties, to be such a Judge in her own Cause, and the other denies the Jurisdiction; it is plain that this now is another new Question between them, to be decided some indifferent way.

The Church of *Rome*, if she challenges this Privilege of Infallibility, must however be content to wave it for a time, and to submit it to a Tryal. And not only so, but she is to remember too, that the Burden of the Proof lies altogether on her side; all common human Presumption being so violent against her in this case. For we suppose she understands the nature of Christian Faith better, than to im-

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pute any want of that, (to such a Reasonable Inquiry. We should indeed, we confess, be guilty of the want of it, should we not believe the Infallible Authority of our Saviour, and his Apostles; and should we not be ready to assent to whatever they shall have delivered; and this our Faith the Roman Church is now desired to try, and to see whether we will not immediately yield to any good Argument they shall be able to bring us thence: But for us, without such Apostolical Direction and Warrant, to believe any Modern number of Men Infallible: This, we conceive, would not be an Act of Divine Faith, but a fond unaccountable Credulity, a Credulity below Human, that would not only by its easy Folly disgrace the rest of our Belief, but may in the consequence be carried to destroy it.

Now that Church, when it claims such an Infallible Judicature, must claim it by Virtue of some Power derived from Christ; and this Commission must some way or other be produced and vouched.

This Commission then, to be produced, must either be under the Hands of one of the Evangelists or Apostles, and so it would be undeniable; or some Authority by Word of Mouth, signified from Christ or his Apostles, of which we may have some certain Notice.

This is the way that Question is to be debated; and it is plain that every Christian is to judge of it seriously and carefully; that he may either immediately submit to this Authority, if it be just; or if it be not, that he may not be led by a voluntary Subjection to Men, to do such things as may displease his God.

It appears then, that in this Cause we are to be determined by Scripture and Tradition: And if the Roman Church is able to make good its Authority thence, we are to look no further, but submit in the other Points: But if she shall be judged to have no such Power, then those other Points must be tryed the same way, by Scripture and Tradition also.

Seeing then that Scripture and Tradition are the only Rules, by which we are to judge of the Truth of that Pretence, and consequently of all other Disputes that depend between the two Parties: We ought first to take Knowledge of these two great Principles, fixing and ascertaining them, before we undertake to proceed further.

C H A P. II.

That concerning the Authority of those Scriptures, which are to decide this Point of Infallibility, (or any other, saving that of Prayers for the Dead,) there is no Dispute between Us and the Church of Rome.

AS to Scripture, the two Churches do not differ much. The Books of the New Testament are the same with them and us; received equally on both sides, as Divinely Inspired, and of unquestionable

tionable Truth. The Books of the Old Testament are the same too; excepting the Apocryphal Books, which they esteem as Canonical as the rest, we with great Reason and Authority denying them that Sacred Character. However, for the present, let them be admitted and stand by, till the time comes to remove them: for they have nothing to say, I think, between those of *Rome* and us, but in the Case of Prayer for the Dead.

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Both sides therefore are obliged to assent immediately to any thing affirmed in those Books, commonly received by us, of the Old and New Testament.

But here the Church of *Rome* is not to fancy, that when we receive the Holy Scriptures for Divine, we receive them by Virtue of her Infallible Authority.

We receive them from her hands, as we might have received them from the *Greek*, or more *Eastern* Churches. We receive them from her, not as a Judge over us, but as a Library Keeper, and a Witness: a Witness too, in such a Case, where her Testimony is corroborated by the Concurrence of others.

For, under favour, where her *Vulgar Latin* disagrees from the *Greek* Copies, we may take the liberty to prefer the Original: and if her *Greek* Copies had differed materially from those in the hands of the *Greeks*, or from the Copies in other Languages; we should not have deferred so much to her, as to have trusted her single Authority, without better enquiry. But, God be thanked, we find by collating the several Copies of several Places and Languages, and the many Citations scattered in infinite Books, that we cannot complain of any Falsification in this point.

But Honesty in one instance, where they could not well do otherwise, is not therefore necessarily to be presumed in all. And besides, if we should allow that Church to be so honest, as not willingly to deceive; yet it would be a great strain to say, that therefore she can't be deceived, and is Infallible.

We receive, then, the same Scriptures that they, and submit our Differences to that Authority; and this we do, without being foreclosed, or obliged to stand to the Judgment of that Church in other things, and own her Infallibility.

C H A P. III.

The Nature of Tradition.

NOW, besides those Truths or Precepts delivered down by the Evangelists or Apostles in Writing, there may be supposed many Others Spoken by them, which were of equal Authority with the Written, and obliged the Hearers as much; and which would

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too equally oblige us, had we any certain information concerning them.

Such Sayings not put in Writing by the inspired Persons themselves, but taken from their Mouths, and delivered down by others, are called, in Ecclesiastical Language, Traditions; and as long as they are transmitted down by the Mouth, and not yet reduced into Writing, they are called Oral.

These Traditions of either kind, Written or Oral, how many there are we would be glad to know: a great Body of them is pretended, some already authentically declared by Councils, or Popes; others mentioned by several Men, in several Places, and standing for the next Promotion; the rest reserved in Petto, to be produced on Occasion Eternally.

Now, because we may suspect that we shall be pressed mainly by Evidences of this nature, it will be best before-hand to enquire into their Circumstances and Character, and see how credible Deponents they may prove.

These Sayings therefore, pretended to be spoke by Christ or his Apostles, are given us either word for word, or the sense and substance only; and are, for some time at least, supposed to be delivered down by strength of Memory.

Now, as to what is transmitted Orally, and to be preserved by successive Memories, we may consider; that, to take and make the report of a Discourse word for word, these things are necessary: Attention to what was spoke, a due Perception of it, and a Memory that shall retain it. To give an exact Summary of a Discourse, there is, besides, necessary, a Judgment both comprehensive enough to take in the whole meaning, and so upright and unprejudicate as to give it no turn or bias; and, besides that, the Sense, if spoke in new words, should be truly expressed. And therefore, further, there must be considered another requisite of Care and Diligence, that must be all along supposed in each part, either to attend, conceive, and retain; or else fully and uprightly to consider, and to express properly: Not to mention that Fidelity that is required, as in the custody or transmission of a Writing, so in the delivery of an Oral Narrative.

There lies this Difficulty on all Oral Records: and it is plain there is very little or none of it on the Written. To Keep the Written is, in the general, only to let it lie where it does; and, to deliver it to another, is no more than to deliver so much Paper or Parchment into his hands; a matter of no wonderful Skill or Capacity, to be discharged by any who is not an Idiot. So too, to Transcribe the Original into other Copies, be it never so long or intricate, requires no more Learned Ability of a Man, than to Read and Write; and no greater strength of Memory, than to bear in his head three or four Words, the while he writes them down: For this performance, one would think there is no such need of great Clerkship; and it is easie to conceive how it may be done.

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Those therefore in our Age, who could disparage the Invention of Letters so much, as to prefer Oral Tradition before the Written, for the more easy and certain conveyance of the two; must have had some great Pique at some certain Writing: and must too have thought the Truth of their Cause very unevident, when such an unreasonable Proposition was to be brought for its proof, and premised as the more undeniable of the two.

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I insist not therefore on the ridiculous Comparison, whether it be easier to copy a Book, or to get it by heart; to carry it in ones hand, or let it lye where it does, than to charge it upon ones Memory, and bear it in ones Head: which is the surer way of Record, to desire an Officer to remember a Deed, or to exemplify it: and whether it be safer to send a Message by Word of Mouth, from Stage to Stage, or by Letter. It is a hard case to be put seriously on such Determinations, not worthy certainly of an Infallible Judge. But I think the Reader's patience, as well as my own, will have exercise enough, while it stoops to the following considerations: Where we proceed to enquire, What Credibility Oral Tradition can challenge after some tract of Time; examining its Authority in Temporal Matters FIRST, and THEN in Spiritual.

C H A P. IV.

Concerning the Uncertainty of Oral Tradition in Temporal Affairs.

Oral Tradition, after it has gone but a little way, finds small Credit in Affairs of the World; it is called Hearsay, or Fame; and goes for uncertain at least, if not reputed a Lyar. A Story, told at the third or fourth hand, is commonly so changed in its Circumstances, that in common Conversation, though it passes for Discourse, it is never relied on without nearer Enquiry; nay, will hardly be repeated in the next Company, without this Addition, That he heard it not himself, and was only told so at such a distance. For the Person, that gave me the Relation of a Discourse or an Action, may be believed by me, that he heard it so punctually from another, whom I know; and that other, I may verily believe, upon his Affirmation, had it as he reports from a third Author; if too, I know that third Man for Honest and Exact, I may believe verily that, if he affirmed it, he gave a true recital of what he received from a fourth, &c. And yet, notwithstanding I have such a particular Confidence in each of these Men, that I would believe the Relation from each of them apart at the first hand; I should not however give the same entire Credit to it, when it comes derived so far. For though I have Opinion enough of the Sincerity and Capacity of each; yet, if the Subject of their Report was any thing long or nice, and so liable to a

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Mistake; and I therefore not absolutely sure, but that some one of them might have mistaken: That defective incomplete Certainty diminishes in a continual progression; and will at a proportionable distance bring me to a Suspense; as afterwards, if carried further, it will begin to increase in me a contrary inclination, rather to believe the conveyance Erroneous than True.

It is known, that Human Understanding, in respect to Belief, is considered as a Ballance, whose Scales are of a determinate Capacity, and will turn upon some certain Weight. As then, if in one Scale there be a considerable Weight, and in the other an Equal, there is an Equiponderance; if that other Weight abates but little, there is some doubtful Equiponderance still: But if it abates notably, the first Scale begins to fix, growing still the more and more unmoveable, according as the Weight in the second diminishes; which we may suppose to decrease so long, till it is either none, or of no moment at all: In like manner, in our Understanding, if the Evidence on one side be considerable, but that on the other as great, our Belief is in a Suspense; If that on the other be but a little less, we are still in a Suspense, through wavering and inclining to the opposite; Afterward, when the Difference of Weight is momentous, we begin to settle and rest on the preponderating side; but grow more and more fixed, as the Probability for the other does decrease; which at last may be either none, or such as the Ballance shall not feel.

Now, when to this Observation we add further, that the Understanding of Man is such a Ballance, as leaves out often what it is to weigh; and, to what it weighs, does not always give the due Weight: we shall then easily perceive that Human Belief has its several Degrees: and though it rests on one side and is fixed, yet all the while there may be Probabilities too for the contrary, in the other Scale. Though therefore the Opinion we have of the Capacity, Care, and Integrity of a Man, may determine us to believe his Report; yet our Belief is not always so determined, that there is nothing of Verisimilitude on the other side. If he avers a Fact in which he could not well be deceived, we immediately and firmly believe it; as that he received this Writing from another: But if he affirms the truth of a Verbal Recital, that is long and intricate, and after some length of Time; he cannot expect to be believed, but in a less Degree. For no Honest Prudent Man would in this case Depose to the Words of a Discourse, without this Caution, *To the best of his Memory*; nor to the Substance of it, without that other, *To the best of his Understanding*. But lastly, if such a Relation be not positively averred, but told without such formality of Assurance; or averred but by a Stranger, or one in whose Integrity we do not absolutely confide; the degree of our Belief will be yet less: The Odds for the Truth of the first may be a Thousand, or, if you please, a Million to one; for the Truth of the second, it may not be that of Ten; and for the third, not above that of Two. Now this last measure of Belief generally serves in all ordinary Conversation;

versation; and something much less than the first, even in Causes of Life and Death.

To return then to our first Case; let us suppose the four successive Relators to averr, what they successively said; and let it be supposed, that I would have given each of them in my Belief, such an Odds or Preponderance as 5 to 1; which in many cases is a very liberal Allowance: It is demonstrable then, that although I give a very great Credit to such a Relation at the first hand, at the 4th I must not give any; as it is also certain by the same undeniable computation, that a Report, which at the first hand has the Odds in certainty, of 10 to 1, at the 7th hand would have none: And alike certain, that if at the first hand there be two to one for the Probability of a Narrative, the Advantage at the second will lie on the other side.

Those, that are versed in Calculation, know it to be supposed here: That the Continuity of an *Oral Tradition*, or the Progress of a Report, is as a Chain composed of several Probabilities or Contingencies: That the Probability of the whole diminishes still, as the particular Contingencies multiply; in the same kind of Proportion in which the present Value of Money lessens, upon rebate of Compound Interest, by the Distances of the future Payment: And lastly, that as the likelihood for preserving the Continuity of Truth abates, so the likelihood for Interruption and Mistake arises.

The Computation we have made from these Suppositions is exact, the Reader may be assured; and gives the precise Reason of that Uncertainty, of which the World is so very sensible in gross, as to give but small Credit to Hear-say Relations. In any matter of Consequence, they are still rejected, and any Jury marks them with an *Ignoramus*. I take leave to add, though in another Case, that the same way of Speculation will discover how justly a great Difference in value is still made between the Testimony of a single Witness, and that of two concurring: For the certainty is not only doubled by the addition of their Persons, but multiplied by the proportion of their Credibility; in such a manner, that if the Credit of each Witness singly was as ten to one, there would be as six-score to one for the truth of what they deposed jointly.

But as to the Subject in hand, and that I may dispatch these Niceties all at once, the Reader may consider further; that in the numbering of the years of any successive Generations of Men, thirty years are commonly assigned to the duration of each, taking them one with another. This is the Calculation of the Ancients, from some old Successions. However, we are content to allow about forty, a Number that may be tried in the two last fourteen Generations of our Saviour. But of that something must be necessarily abated in our purpose; for a Child of a day, though he begin then to live, and continue a course of years, yet cannot take up a Tradition, and bear his part in that, till he is of riper Age: So that we in our case are very

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reasonable, when we follow the Vulgar Reckoning, and let a 100 years go for three Generations.^a

This Number of years, beyond which no single Witness can be supposed to reach, (for he must be nigh a hundred and twenty years old, and then of good memory,) and for which three successive ones must, in ordinary computation, be allowed; is therefore deservedly, by some *Civilians*, made the utmost limit of Human Information; and what is beyond it, is all in the dark, and out of the memory of Man. But if we shall pass further, and suppose ourselves at the distance of three or 400 years, what was said then might have been thrice successively forgotten; and must be presumed to be buried in a multiplied Oblivion: It must have passed through ten or twelve several hands at least; been preserved by each of them thirty or forty years together; and were the Odds upon each of them that of ten to one, that they would be so diligent and of so happy Memories, as to transmit each in his own time, (whereas 'tis by no means even,) yet, that so much was not performed by the whole twelve, the Odds on the contrary side would be as of two to one.

Let us then suppose that an Act of Parliament, of any length and niceness, were to pass from *Constable* to *Constable*, through twelve Parishes, by way of Oral Tradition, to be delivered over faithfully, and, if you please, on pain of Death: How oft must it be repeated, and how much conned, or how well studied and examined by each, to bring it either Verbatim, or in exact Abstract, to its journey's end? How fit do we think it would be, at the ordinary rate of Human Capacity, to be proclaimed for Law in the last Town, and to be the ground there of a Judicial Decision? Nay, suppose the Officers successively to be very intelligent Men, and of more than common Memories; as the Performance would be difficult to take up such a Charge, and carry it immediately cross the Parish; so much more, if each Man should be obliged, without help of Writing, to keep it for twenty, thirty, or forty years, and then at last to discharge himself on his Neighbour: It is too much to think that his Memory in that time shall not falter; but where would the Tradition be, if he himself should die? But further yet, let us imagine all the Parish to come in and help; it is plain, that without the assistance of Writing, they would rather help to confound and distract, than to ascertain; and would easier agree to give a wrong Report, than know how to set it right; the burthen of the Trust must at last rest upon some one, or very few; whose Memories are as frail as their Lives; either of which failing before the Day, the Tradition is lost.

But all this is an extraordinary Supposition. What then, if the distance of time continuing the same, the Successive Reporters are not presumed to be any Choice Men, but of the Ordinary Size? what if they acted under no great apprehension of Danger from the miscar-

^a Hesiodus — *ἦτοι, ὡς ἑκατὶ πέντε ἀνδρῶν ἕκαστος ἔτιμ' ἐστί.* Eustath. in *Iliad.* α'. v. 250, &c. See Hammond on 23 Matt. v. 36. This is the constant way of Computation in *Dionys. Halicarn.*

riage? what too, if they were not denied the help of Writing, but were all along so little careful as not to think of using it? what great stress do we judge is to be laid at last upon this Report, (if any such come,) so accidentally preserved by the successive Memories, and so contingently transmitted?

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We perceive from what is said, that it is no very feasible project to devise an *Utopian* Succession of Men, either by single Persons, or in Society; (propose what Choice, Regulation, Rewards, or Punishments you please;) that shall convey Orally any Record of ordinary length, through three or four hundred years, with such a proportion of Certainty, as shall weigh with an understanding Man. There must be, in that tract of time, so much chance for failure and mistake, that the Report at last, though not impossible to be true, yet shall be too unlikely ever to be admitted. If therefore we make no such Fiction, and remove all fanciful Suppositions; if, taking Things and Men as they usually are, we let this memorial Conveyance pass in common course; we may easily conceive what will happen to it, and to what a miserable degree of Incertitude it must sink; it must, long before its period, run out all its Credit, and at last not retain so much Probability, as may poise with the dust of the Ballance.

For if Sayings are to be transmitted Verbatim, Oral Report, like an Echo, may possibly keep something of them up for a while; and the Repetitions, by Chance or Art, may be larger, or more: but by degrees they will falter, diminish, and grow fainter, and at last expire. There is this difference, that the Vocal Tradition of an Echo, though defective, is always true; and delivers faithfully every Syllable it returns: whereas our Oral Tradition is subject to the infirmity of falsifying, as well as forgetting; and does not only let fall, but alters and confounds: so that its Voice, however loud it may continue, grows insignificant and uncertain; its Credit at least, like the sound of the Echo, becoming fainter and weaker upon each repetition, and dying at some distance in the air.

This is the fortune of Sayings that pass through the Memory only: but where they are to pass through the Understanding too, and are to come out in Abstract new moulded, and worded, they are in greater danger of being misconceived or misrepresented; of receiving some new turn, according as the Bent of the Person, or Age is inclined. Some tincture of the Vessel, in which they have been kept and digested, will pass along. If therefore they have gone through many Persons, or much Time, they must be presumed to be much altered; even such Rules and Maxims, as are intended to regulate Men's thoughts and manners, accommodating themselves so, and complying in such measure with the Minds that convey them, that, at some distance, they receive the change they ought to have produced.

Neither is the Case in this matter different between single Persons, and a Company of Men. For as single Men alter their Opinion of

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things often with their Age; and sometimes in their thoughts and humours become as it were other Men: so in Bodies or Societies, the same Mutations happen, and in an Age or two there are commonly new Maxims of thinking, and Modes of living, as certainly as there is a new Generation. A Society, as it insensibly changes its Persons, so changes its Opinions insensibly too: there cannot be assigned a time when the Corporation begins to be a new set of Men, so neither, when the new Opinions come in; but both come in by degrees: and as it is sure by the Law of Nature, that a hundred years will make a total change in the Persons, so a hundred or two hundred more may make a change in their Judgments. A change of Judgment being easier than that of the Persons, because it may be made in the self same Persons: and then, when it is once passed, there is no more Memory of an old Opinion forsaken, than of an old Collegiate departed.

Now, when Men alter by degrees, and all of them together; it may easily happen, that they themselves shall not perceive the variation. For they cannot discern it but by something without them, and which at the same time stands still. And if too they look on that direction, their Imagination may then be deceived; as those are, who sail by the Shore, and are apt to impute their own change of place to the fixed Land. Upon which Account, two Societies may no more agree, which of them has varied; than Astronomers can resolve us, which it is that moves, the Earth and all its Company, or the Sun.

But of this, Language is a sufficient Instance: which in time changes imperceptibly, Men altering their Words and Phrases, and Pronunciation unawares; forgetting by degrees the old, as they take up new. And this happens, without any violent Intrusion of a Foreign Speech; but only from freedom of fancy, and voluntary acceptance: Some Men refining, or affecting, and others imitating, as the Humour and Mode may be. And this at last prevails so indiscernably, that those of the City, when they go into the distant Countries, think they are come unto a People of another Language, who yet, it may be, speak the truer English. Which indeed is the truer; they and the Northern, or Western Man may differ: and the Dispute, without Writing, could never be decided, except one of our Great-Grandfathers should arise and inform us. But Books will easily end the Controversy, and Old *Chaucer* produced, will tell us the variation that has passed in less than 300 years.

Now, as Oral Tradition would not tell us a Discourse of 400 years old in the same Language in which it was spoke; so neither is it likely to give it us in the same Sense. Neither, if the present Age shall agree in the same Report, is it a greater argument of its antiquity, than it is of the antiquity of our present Phrase, that we all now speak it. Languages alter either by force, the old being driven out totally, as the *British* by the *Saxon*; or in part only, as the

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Saxon after by the *Norman*, from the mixture of which our *English* sprang: or else they voluntarily change by importation, as from our former *French* Wars, or later Travels; by imitation, as in Habit so in Phrase, of *Italy* or *France*; by the influence of those Nations on our Courts, and their influence then on the People; by new business, or new humour. Customs too and Manners, both in Civil and Religious Matters, alter in like manner, either by command and force, or by the gentler power of Example, and contagion of Practice. Now, as without Books, we might have thought our Language the same it was spoke in *Julius Cæsar's* time, and should not have been sensible of the changes since past; so neither should we have known any thing of the Government and Laws; but imagined this Form, we now live under, had been from the beginning, and that the City (for example) had a Mayor and Court of Aldermen by Charter from the *Romans*. For if Laws, though Written, are often in a little time antiquated by desuetude, and abrogated by contrary custom, so that the Statute-Book itself secures them not the notice of the present Age; much more therefore may what was never Written be laid aside in a while, and at last utterly and irrecoverably forgotten.

But there is no more need of such reasoning speculation, than of that formal supposition, and scrupulous calculation we made before. For who is there, that does not in fact see, what blind Stories are told of former Times by those People that are without the use of Letters? what a darkness there dwells upon Time, at a little distance; and still as the World goes forward, how fast night comes on behind; the Ages past, growing as obscure and unknown, as those that are to come. So true it is, what was said by the *Egyptian* to *Solon*, (a Saying as good as any other of those Wise Men,) *That the Græcians without the use of Writing were always Children; being still as of yesterday, without any knowledge of the World, and experience of former years.*^a

For this purpose, we of this Nation need but look upwards towards *Edward* the Third's Reign, (I might have said *Henry* the Fifth, or even the Eighth,) and then reflect how much we know of that victorious busy time, more than what Writing has informed us. What Action of War or Peace, what Passage or Saying is now pretended to be told, other than what we read? Let all the Old Men and Old Women be consulted, and see what Traditional Memoirs they can furnish for a Supplement to our Histories and Records. If there be a tittle of Law or Story to be learnt that way, then we may begin to think, that the Statutes of that Reign might have been transmitted by Tradition, and the Year Books by Oral Reports. But who does not see, that if Paper and Parchment were out of the way, there would be no Footstep nor Memorial of those times; not a much better account of *Edward* the Third, than we have now of a Tenth *Edward*? The World must then begin with us, short of that Age;

^a *Plat. in Timæo.*

and all before be but as the Chaos, darkness covering its face. All that we could then do, must be to judge the former days by our own; to imagine the same Proceedings, the same Rules of Government, and Courts of Justice, the same Customs and Interpretations of Laws, by which we now live. And had any antient Law or Form come down by chance unvaried; yet it could have brought no certainty with it of its Rise: it must have passed in account with the rest, and could not have given any proof of its elder Descent. From what distance it came, and what in the mean time had happened to it, who should have informed us?

It is manifest, that the interval of some three hundred years must cast so much uncertainty upon all Oral Report; that it can never pretend to any the least Credit, at the distance, suppose, of *Edward the Third*. But how shall any be afforded it, if we mount up three hundred years higher, and suppose the Hearsay to descend from the Conqueror's Days? For (to speak at the easiest rate) of Him, had there been no Writing, we should, I presume, have known as much as we do of King *Arthur*; or have had just as much certainty of his descent from *Normandy*, as we have of the coming of the *Trojan Brute*. A believing People we once were, when from that Story of *Brute* we challenged Precedence in a Council: But we had, it may be, a further design in it, a very considerable one for those days, and had a mind to claim Kindred with *Rome*.

To conclude therefore: a certain term of years there is, beyond which all the foregoing Time is Time out of mind, and utterly fabulous: whether it be two, three, or four hundred years, the Reader shall determine. But such a limited Sphere there is; as in space, for our Sight, and for our Hearing; so in time, for Human Memory. At such a distance of years, the Truth of Tradition grows so obscure, that the Addition of as many more years does darken it but little more: the Uncertainty before being so great, that it was scarce capable of any Accession.

C H A P. V.

That there is not much more reason for the Certainty of Oral Tradition in Ecclesiastical Affairs, than in Temporal.

THIS is the Case of Human Affairs: and whether in Religion it be much different, we shall now enquire. For it may be allowed us, that such a concurrence of extraordinary Attention, Memory, Comprehension, and Uprightness of Understanding, that is requisite for a Verbal or Summary Tradition, cannot be supposed to continue to very many descents in Temporal Subjects: But is it not to be imagined (they will say) that the uttermost ability and care of
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Man will be employed, where the Discourse is made by God, or his particular Order, and the reporting of it infinitely concerns the Eternal Welfare of Human Kind? To prevent the suspicion of such a Disparity, and to preserve to ourselves the liberty of Judging in this matter by our ordinary measures, let us observe,

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(1.) That no gift of Memory is here to be supposed: For though the Text of *bringing all things to remembrance* might prove an Indefectibility of Memory, as well as that other of *leading into all Truth* argues an Infallibility of Judgment, yet that Fancy not being advanced by our Adversaries, I desire their pardon for bringing it into their Minds. Further, we must not imagine any Art of Memory invented and used on this occasion. Neither yet have they told us of any Order of Men instituted for this purpose; that there were Recorders and Remembrancers amongst the Christians; as Readers there were, we know. Those too, whose Lips should preserve this Knowledge, succeeded not by Families, where the Tradition might have been sucked in with the Milk, and descended by Inheritance; as with the *Jews* and *Egyptians*. There were not neither any Academies then erected, in which men might have been supposed to have been trained up, from their youth, for this Traditional Performance: And in the Ecclesiastical Family of each Church, the inferior Orders did but meanly prepare towards it; neither requiring any great comprehension of Things, nor exercising the faculty of Memory much; such as the Office of Keeper of the Door, of Reader, &c. The Employment too of the Deacons was chiefly Oeconomical, to receive and to distribute the publick Money, and to make Provision for the Clergy and the Poor. The *Presbyters* themselves, by reason of the dispersion of the People, and the exigence of the Times, had very little leisure from Visiting, Catechising, Exhorting and Encouraging; and accordingly they were chose into that Order, more for their Godly Simplicity, and holy Zeal, than for the greatness of their other Talents: That of Memory particularly being never required at an Election, nor understood by any Interpreter, to be one of those Qualifications *St. Paul* prescribes, either for a Priest, or a Bishop. And lastly, when the Episcopal See was vacant, it was filled, not by the Senior Presbyter, or by such a one whom the Bishop had designed, and to whom he had left the Tradition; but by any other person, whom the Congregation did otherwise value and desire. So were Men then taken to govern the Church; some that were but just come into the Presbytery, as *St. Cyprian*; very often from the other Orders, as in *Rome* frequently from that of the Deacons; often from other Courses of life, from Politic Administrations, the Bar, or profane Philosophy; and those sometimes not yet Baptised, as *St. Ambrose*, *Nectarius*, and *Sy-*

^a Vult ut non Nesciat Episcopus ordinetur: quod videmus nostris temporibus pro summa eligi justitia. *Hieron. adv. Pelag.* Tom. 2. pag. 270. ex Edit. *Erasmi*, 1553. Tam apertum evidensque Præceptum nemo custodit. Heri Catechumenus, hodie Pontifex: heri in Amphitheatro, hodie in Ecclesia: Vespere in Circo, mane in Altario: Dudum Fautor Histionum, nunc Virginum Consecrator. — Momentaneus Sacerdos. Idem ad *Oceanum*, Tom. cod. p. 324. In puncto horæ, nedum Discipuli, jam Magistri sunt. Ibid. p. 325.

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nefius; from very mean Employments, and Mechanic Trades, as Carpenters, Smiths, &c. if *Gregory Nazianzen* may be credited in his time for the East, who speaks (to say no more) as if Synods had been then filled with that sort.^a Now, what was the Study generally of those at that time in the West, *St. Jerom* will inform us, in his Dialogue against the *Luciferians*, where he pleads, That the same Excuse of Ignorance is to be allowed both to the Bishop, and to the Layman, who had fallen into the *Arian* Heresy. *For a Bishop* (says he) *may be deceived, as well as a Layman. But a Bishop, you'll say, could not be misled. As if Bishops were chose to their Sees from the Schools of Plato or Aristotle; and as if there were but a very few of them, that were not extraordinarily skilled in such Knowledge: as if too those in Orders of our days, that are learned, did study to understand the depth of the Scripture; and did not make it their chiefest care how they shall tickle the People's ears with Declamatory Flourishes.*^b So much *St. Jerom* says in his Patron Pope *Damasus* his Family, and at *Rome*. But under the next Pontificate, the Characters of that Clergy and City are described more plainly; the Place is called *Babylon*, and the *Scarlet Whore*, the *Clergy a Senate of Pharisees*, and not so much as a pretended Scribe amongst them.^c Something, indeed, is to be abated, in that place, for *St. Jerom's* heat; but that cannot be done, without impairing the Credit of a Witness our Adversaries sometimes want; (who must admit his Satyr if they take his Compliment;) and without confessing that Holy Men might misrepresent in the Judgments they give down. For,

(2.) We must not think that former Ages were not subject to Passions and Infirmities, as well as the later; so we shall not wisely enquire of these things. We must not imagine, that always in every Generation, the Care and Diligence of the Successors was equal to that of the Apostles; and that the want of extraordinary Abilities or Institution was supplied by extraordinary labour and application. For the sincere endeavour of Man does not always answer the great moment of the Errand, or the Majesty of the Author: neither need we any thing more, than our own experience, to inform us, that Mankind is as much concerned for this life, as for the next; and for the Commands of Man, as of God; notwithstanding the vast disproportion. We might say further, for ordinary reason will tell it us, that those, who break Laws, will not much care to keep them any way; and will not be at any wonderful pains to instruct their Memory to upbraid their Judgment and their Will. So that as few Ages will suffer us to presume of any extraordinary Industry or Integrity in this Affair; some there are, which will not allow us to say there was any

^a *Carmin. 11. Eis Emoxiuv.*

^b Deceptio tam Laici quam Episcopi communis est. At Episcopus errare non potuit. Revera de *Platonis* & *Aristotelis* sinu in Episcopatum alleguntur. Quotus enim quisque est, qui non apprime in his eruditus sit? Denique, ex literatis quicunque hodie Ordinantur, id habent curæ, non quomodo Scripturarum medullas ebibant, sed quomodo aures Populi declamatorum flosculis mulceant. Tom. 2. p. 140.

^c Cum in *Babylone* versarer, & purpuratæ Meretricis essem colonus, volui garrine aliquid de Spiritu Sancto, &c. et ecce *Pharisæorum* conclamavit Senatus, & nullus Scriba vel fectus, &c. *Hieron. Præf. in Librum Didymi De Sp. S.*

at all: when it was well, that even Books could keep themselves; and that the less they were used, they lasted the longer; or that they were so far neglected, as not to be destroyed.

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Instances of perverse Inclination, and stupid Negligence of this kind might be given in Christian Ages: But, because these are the Subject of our Dispute, we will at present look in the Old Testament. And there, not to take notice that the Serpent was able to obscure in *Eve* the first Command she, new made, received from her Husband, he just before from God; not to mention that Forgetfulness of God, that over-ran the World in less time (according to the *Hebrews*) than has now passed since Christ, and which deserved the Deluge: you find, after that terrible punishment and exemplary warning, the new washed World, the Descendants of *Noah*, intirely relapsed into Idolatry within 500 years, say the *Hebrews*; (the Seventy but a thousand;) though *Noah* himself, the Preacher of Righteousness, lived three hundred of them, warning the new World with as little Success as he had the old.

Further, the *Israelites*, the Seed of Faithful *Abraham*, and a peculiar People, after their miraculous Redemption from *Pharaoh*, their Law wonderfully and terribly delivered by God himself; after all the mighty Signs by the hands of *Moses*, and *Joshua*; all their several Exhortations and Precautions, which we read, but they neglected; fell back again into Heathenism in the Third Generation, within the compass of a 100 years. So little reason is there to presume of any miraculous Care or Sincerity from the Sons of men in Religious Subjects; for, besides that Interest and Humour take place there too, it is well if our Attention is not flacker, and our Perception duller, and the Impressions on the Memory consequently weaker, on this, than on other Occasions.

(3.) But, besides all this, such care and industry of Memory is not to be supposed, where there was no such extraordinary need of its help. For in the first years of Christianity, the Skill of Writing was as common all over the *Roman* Empire, as now it is in *Europe*: and, though some Superstitions had forbid the use of it in things Sacred, yet our Religion practised it from the beginning. The Evangelists writ their Narratives, the Apostles sent Letters; in which Scripture-Mysteries are spoke out, as Sacred, and as Opposite to *Jewish* or *Heathen* Opinions, as any Oral Tradition would pretend to whisper. There Christ Crucified was published, and the foolishness of Preaching was to be read; the Sacrament of Christ's Supper laid down, its Elements and Form of Institution recorded by the Evangelists, by St. *Paul*, and afterwards openly mentioned without scruple by *Justin Martyr* and *Ireneus*:^a However it came to pass, that in the following Ages Christians grew to be more shy on that Subject before the promiscuous People; and began to think it convenient to have Mysteries and Secrets, as well as the *Jews* or *Heathens*. But even then,

^a Vid. *Albaspin*. Obf. l. 1. c. 13. allegante *Usserio*, pag. 211 Edit. suæ *Ignat*.

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when they did not speak plain in their common Sermons, they were not so reserved in their Writings that came abroad, but their meaning might be easily spelled; for why should they make such an impenetrable Secret of that, which every Christian knew, and any false Brother might tell?

And besides, had they been more reserved on some few Matters, yet in others there was no need. For suppose, to avoid Scandal, they would not publish in Writing their Adoration of what appeared to be Bread, for fear of giving Countenance to the Superstition of the *Egyptians* towards Beef, and Mutton, and Sallets; nor their Worship of Angels, of the Virgin and Saints, or of Images, for fear of encouraging the other Gentile Idolatries: yet what harm had there been, if the rest had been writ; that there were seven Sacraments, that the Intention of the Priest was necessary to them, that there was a Purgatory, &c? Or where had been the offence, if that had been seen in Writing, which we now look for; that the Bishop of *Rome*, or the Majority of the rest should never mistake in the Rules of their own Religion? But after all, if Christians would not have made any Writing publick, yet nothing hindered but that they might have them for their private use, in the Custody of the Bishop and Presbytery: in whose hands the Doctrine (for Example) of Transubstantiation itself, though Written, was as likely to be kept Secret, as it would be, though Unwritten, by those thousands of Laymen that knew it as well as the Clergy.

Against the first and last of these three Reflections, I have been making, there is but one Instance that can be alledged in Christianity, of the enjoined use of Memory, and the prohibition of Writing; and that is in the case of the Creed, which the *Catechumens* were sometimes heretofore ordered to get without book, and forbidden to write. But the Apostles Creed, we know, is a very short lesson, that any man's Memory may easily retain; and in some places it was then shorter, than it is now. And as it will be always necessary for a Christian to have in his mind the Abstract of his Faith, so it was more necessary then, in the midst of Unbelievers; for whom he was to be prepared, either to resist, or to instruct them. It was too thought fit at that time, when Christians were afraid lest their Rites and Forms should be mimicked, or otherwise ridiculed by the Heathen, to the scandal of the weaker Brother, or the obduracy of the yet Unconverted; that this Sacred Form of our Belief should not be lightly exposed into Stranger's hands. For both those Reasons, the young Christian was directed to commit the Creed to Memory, and not to trust it to Paper; as he was too, for the last of them, admonished not to con it, or repeat it, in the hearing of an Unbeliever. But all the while, this brief Form, to be remembered by each for their particular use, was so far from depending upon Memory for its Transmission, that it was actually Written for the use of the Church; and that those very Authors, who have told us of the Prohibition,

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(for we are beholding to Writing even for the knowledge of that,) have at the same time given us the Creed in Writing, and their own large Explications of it beside. Their Explication of that Article concerning the Church, we shall have an occasion to thank them for hereafter; and we shall find too, not only that the Creed might be wrote; but that it was nothing else than what was expressly writ in the Scriptures before.^a

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It appears then, that Oral Tradition has no peculiar place in Christianity. This the Modern Patrons of it should in discretion have considered betimes; and not have suffered themselves to fall so short of their Masters in the advantage of the Supposition.

The *Jews*, from whom they borrowed the Fancy, did not think it fit to go alone; but supported that Fable with others. For first, they suppose it forbid by God to write down some sort of Precepts; and that of those Precepts this prohibition was one: and then, when they had made Memory so necessary, they provided a peculiar method to inform it. *Moses* must be supposed, in his long Conversation on the Mount, to have been sufficiently instructed himself; and when he came down, he took a very singular Course with the Children of *Israel*. He first sent for *Aaron*, and declared to him alone all the Precepts distinctly: then for his Sons, and repeated the same Lesson to them, in the presence of the Father. Afterwards the Seventy Elders were called in; and they, in the hearing of *Aaron* and his Sons, were taught in like manner: and lastly, the whole People were admitted to the Company, and received the same Instruction. So that from *Moses* his mouth, *Aaron* had now heard the Law four times, his Sons thrice, the Elders twice, and the People once. This done, *Moses* departs, and leaves the like Task to *Aaron*, for a tryal of his Memory: who accordingly rehearses to the whole Audience, and then withdraws. Then his Sons stand up; and, after a like repetition, retire too. And lastly, the Elders, having been four times informed, make to the People their fourth Recital, upon which they all go home, and instruct their several Families.^b

By this contrivance, the Law, at its first setting forth, has passed so often through the Mouth, that it deserves already the name of Oral: and we, by these Circumstances of Care in the beginning, are prepared to imagine the same diligence in the following successions. These Elders, one may think, would not fail to transmit to the next; and so the Tradition descended through hands either unknown, and whose names it would not take along with it; or else so remote, that they must stretch very far to meet; till it came into the care of *Samuel*. And now we are well; for he was a great Person, and discharged his trust, no doubt. From him, by Persons that must too be nameless, it went down to *Jeremiah*, thence to *Baruch*, and so to *Ezra*. In his Custody it was lodged safe, and, after that, found a

^a See the fourth Chapter of the Second Discourse.

^b *Pocockii Porta Moysi*, pag. 51a. &c.

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conveyance, by men scarce ever remembered but on this occasion, for fix or seven hundred years together; 'till at last, sometime after the utter Dispersion of the *Jews* by *Adrian*, it was thought necessary to consider the Accidents that might happen to this Tradition, if trusted any longer to Memory: upon which, *Rabbi Judah* the Holy ventured upon the breach of one Precept, to secure all the rest, and so reduced them into Writing. This Book is the *Mishnah*, and the Commentary upon it, made not long after, the *Talmud*.

This is the Pedigree of *Jewish* Tradition; something like that of our Kings from *Adam*; drawn at length with formality enough, and wanting nothing but certainty. However, the *Jews* are to be commended for this, that they dress up the Story as well as they can; and appear so much in earnest, as to endeavour for credit. The great Performance is not supposed by them to be done in our days, and by such men as now live, but to have been finished fourteen hundred years ago: And then they are so ingenuous, as to put another stop to their Traditions, and to take some care that we be not oppressed by their overflow; allowing us to believe no such Oral Account, that has been ever under a dispute: so far are they from taking that sort of Conveyance for the surest.

Whereas, on the contrary, our Modern Traditioners are so bold with us, as to use no caution, nor set any bounds: neither are they at any pains, or shew any contrivance; bunglingly setting up their extravagant Conceit, without either Support or Ornament. They bestow none of their Legends upon this Fable, and prepare us with no inducing Circumstance; not telling us so much as the hands that should transmit the Tradition: unwilling, it may be, to name to that Office any other Bishops than the Popes; and then not daring to trust their Story to the Credit of such Reporters. The whole therefore is left at large; the Father is to tell the Son; and so the Tradition is to be propagated as naturally as Mankind.

A Tradition, propagated in that manner, is certainly no better descended than any common Spurious Relation, that has no other father but the People. But that absurd Hypothesis, though mentioned here, yet is too gross to be pursued further. Our Design in this Chapter was more general, and against wiser Adversaries: being only to shew, that Christian Tradition is not to be exempted from the common frailties and uncertainties incident to Oral Reports.

C H A P. VI.

The Certainty of Ecclesiastical Tradition particularly considered.

WE are then at liberty to judge of Tradition in Spiritual, and in Temporal Matters, much after the same manner; and cannot in prudence, after some assignable Tract of years, admit for Testimony Hear-says of one sort, rather than another. All,

All, I say, which on this Subject has been laid down before, must be allowed to be as true in Ecclesiastical Tradition; and we need not here proceed any further to draw the easy Parallel, but reckon on the same distance of time as absolutely immemorial; and look upon the Ages beyond it, as fabulous, and in utter darknes.

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But we will not use the extremity of our Right, nor pass Sentence in so peremptory a manner; but will, with the Reader's leave, give these Ecclesiastical Hear-says more respect; consider them more particularly, and have the patience to make the following deductions.

If, then, of 1600 years that have passed since Christ, we consider the space of two or three Centuries, and those of a middle indifferent rate, supposing them extraordinary neither in their Care nor Negligence; remembering that Memory was no particular qualification of a Christian; and that their mediocrity of Memory needed not to be strained, when Writing was so much in use, and at hand: this considered, and supposed,

1. As to Verbal Reports: if we will favourably suppose that something in our Saviour's or the Apostle's own words might have descended down to the Survivors of the two or three hundredth year, preserved by such uncertain accidental Memory, yet it can never be surmised to have been any thing of length, of the length of a short Chapter we may say, were it a Parable or continued Story; much less, if it were a number of Unconnected Sayings, like a Chapter of the *Proverbs*. We see therefore, that we cannot expect either much new Text, nor much Interpretation of the old in Apostolical words: the Bulk, after three, or, indeed, two hundred years, could not be very considerable.

And besides, (*2dly*) if they pretended not to any continued Discourse, but only to Unconnected Sayings, we are to consider, that such Sayings, if any, coming down without the Context and Circumstances of the Discourse to which they related, may have often an uncertain Authority. For though spoke by an Apostle, yet distinction must be made, whether they were spoke in our Lord's name, or in his own; whether too by way of permission or advice only, or else of positive precept. And then further, if we take their Authority for certain, yet their Sense will frequently be ambiguous and undetermined, not to be securely limited or amplified without more precise direction. For example, Suppose these words, *This is my Body*, had been transmitted Orally, as said on occasion of the Blessed Sacrament: if they had been taken for an Answer of Christ's to a Disciple enquiring what the Substance of the Sacrament was, they would have attested to Transubstantiation: but if it had been known that no such question was made, and that Christ spoke of that Bread which he took and brake at Supper, their meaning must then be perfectly different; especially if it had been told, that it was ordinary for Christ to speak in such Figures; and that particularly, something like this was frequent with the *Jews* in their Paschal Phrase.

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But (3dly) admit there were any Sayings came so contingently down, whose Authority was certain, and Sense determined; they must have been such as were kept up and remembered, because there was all along present occasion for them. For if they had not been in ordinary use, there is no reason to think they would have been distinctly preserved. Of this kind are those Traditions mentioned by *Ireneus* and *Tertullian*; being nothing else than some of those Articles that make what we call the Apostles Creed: As, *that God the Father was Maker of Heaven and Earth; and that his Son Jesus was Born of the Virgin, that he Suffered, was Crucified, Dead, and Buried, and Rose up again,* &c. These Circumstantial particulars were such as directly opposed the first Heresies of Christianity, that either denied the Father of Christ to be the Creator, or that Christ was Born really a Man, or really Suffered &c; (Those against whom the Apostle St. *John* and *Ignatius* writ.) And such plain Truths as these, of such constant and daily use, no wonder if they were remembered in the first Age; and not forgot neither in the second, when *Marcion* and *Valentinus* broached again the same Heresies, and, denying the Authority of the Scriptures, were properly refuted by this Traditional Evidence.

But then we must observe; that these Traditional Articles, remembered occasionally and on particular Exigences, when brought out by *Ireneus* and *Tertullian*, are produced by the last of the two at no great distance, not much above a hundred years after the Death of St. *John*; neither yet are they supplemental to the Scripture, but a brief recital only, of some few passages, of those which are there found written at large.

These Articles, properly speaking, belong not to this head, not being reported Verbatim; as may appear from the difference of Phrase even in these two Authors. But if the Transmission of such few necessary Articles in exact Words, for so little a time, would not induce us to allow Verbal Tradition much more scope, nor much longer continuance: neither is the Transmission of their Sense, should we suppose that, to prevail further with us. For in the general,

2. If Tradition shall pretend not to the very Sayings, but only to the Effect and Substance; it is obvious with what Uncertainty they must be transmitted. For how know I with what Judgment the Apostle's Saying was understood by him that gave the Abstract; whether he conceived the meaning aright, did not give a bias to it, and whether he rightly expressed it. This might well happen at the first hand; but that it did not in any of the 10 or 15 that were to give it down, who can promise? The Scripture itself informs us of two such Mistakes, which arose immediately; one in matter of Fact, and another in Doctrine. Our Saviour's indeterminate Answer concerning St. *John*, *If I will that he tarry till I come, what is that to thee?* went abroad among the Disciples for a positive affirmation, *that, that*

a *ben. l. 1. c. 2.* *Tert. de Praescr. c. 12.*

Disciple should not die: whereas, *Jesus said not, He shall not die; but,* &c.^a So easily were the Hypothetical words of our Saviour lost in the Relation, and other Categorical ones reported by the Disciples, either from their want of attention, or misunderstanding; their minds being prepossessed with the thoughts of our Saviour's particular love to St. *John*, or led by the human inclination to believe and tell a strange Story. This Mistake would have set up for a Tradition in matter of Fact. See another in an Article of Faith. *Certain men*, say the Apostles in Council to the *Gentiles of Antioch*, *which went out from us, have troubled you with words, subverting your Souls, saying, Ye must be Circumcised, and keep the Law; to whom we gave no such Commandment.*^b They Preached, it seems, the necessity of Circumcision; concluding it from some Words or Actions of the Apostles, and delivering it for their Mind: whereas the Tradition came not from Them, but from the weakness or prejudice of the Reporters. No stress therefore can be laid on such Summary Traditions: they in proportion abating of their Evidence, as they ease the Memory.

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We see then, that Oral Report, after some Successions, as many as may happen in much less than 300 years, can have no Authority of its own: whatever it has, even at lesser distances, must be borrowed from other Supports; and it can be credited only, as it comes confirmed by concurring Testimony.

Now corroborating Testimony there may be of two sorts, either from other agreeing Reports, or from Writing.

(1.) If Oral Tradition will accept the assistance of Writing, it may gain credit, and deserve to be believed. For so those Traditions *Ireneus* mentions, that obtained among the Barbarous Nations, were confirmed fully by the Apostolick Writing; and what *Ireneus* heard from *Polycarp* of our Saviour's Miracles and Discourse, which *Polycarp* had received from those that were present, was gladly heard by him, *for it was agreeable to the Holy Scriptures.*^c

But such an Attestation our Oral Tradition cannot pretend to; for it is set up in opposition to Writing, and is to tell us those things which we no where read.

(2.) As to the other way of Confirmation; if a Discourse be spoke in an Assembly; and the Persons of that Audience, without conferring together before, agree after in the same Report, it shall be taken for unquestionably true; and if they differ in some Circumstances, yet the Substance, in which they consent, shall be credited: But if they have been influenced one by another, and there has been Communication between them, their Evidence will not have the same force; and if too punctual, will be justly suspected of Confederacy. Now, when the Apostles went Preaching over all the World, delivering the Doctrine of the Gospel as they went; as their Disciples might

^a *Joh.* 21. 22, 23.

^b *Acts* 15. 24.

^c *Hen.* 1. 3. c. 4. *Engleb. Hist. Eccl.* lib. 5. c. 20.

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remember the chief Heads of their Discourse; and the Auditors even of these might remember such as were remarkable, and in which they took themselves to be principally concerned: so, when the Believers of several distant Countries came, at some distance of time, to compare their several Traditions received apart; there could be no possible doubt of the truth of that Doctrine, in which they all concurred. And, if then those Traditions had been reduced into Writing, their Authority would have been justly sacred with us; and had they not been admitted into the Canon, they would have deserved to be bound up with it, and regarded in a very near degree. From such Traditions the Antient Writers, *Tertullian* particularly and *Ireneus*, argue against the Hereticks that denied or depraved the Scriptures; and the Argument, in their Circumstances, as it was proper, so was absolutely convincing. By such a Comparison of Truths the Scriptures themselves, though they wanted not such an Evidence, were confirmed in their Authority; and their Canon or Rule settled. Now 'till that time, and somewhat after, Oral Tradition might well serve, especially in some eminent notable Articles of necessary daily use; and the Report of one Place be strengthened by the Concurrence of the rest. But, in after Ages, when the Churches came to inter-communicate more frequently, and imbody by Politick constitutions; and especially, when the lesser Bishopricks came to be more formally under the direction of the greater, *Rome*, *Alexandria*, *Antioch*, *Constantinople*, &c; it was no wonder that the meaner and dependent followed the Advice of the greater and more potent: and then, if the World was found to be in the same Lesson, the common Consent might as well proceed from the Influence of the Court, from the Authority of some one or more of the great Bishops gaining the rest, from Imitation and Contagion of Example in the generality; as from the Unity of Truth, and Simplicity of an unconstrained unaffected Agreement. For which reason, Traditions, that continued Oral for 500 years, as they are to be utterly rejected by reason of that distance from their Original, so cannot have any accessional Authority given them from the Agreement of the Churches of that Age. Much less is the present *Roman Church*, in any Article, to urge upon us her Consent with the *Modern Greeks*, with whom she actually corresponded for eight or nine hundred years, and upon whom she is known to have been practising ever since. But of much less Authority yet, is the Agreement, or rather Conspiracy of the Western, since that time: a sworn Conspiracy of the Clergy, under the Pope their General, to beat down any Truth, that should be against the Interests of the Church-Men, and contradict the Common gainful Superstitions.

When therefore, the Authority of a precedent Age is pressed upon us, we are not so much to consider, how long we come after that Age, as how long that Age came after the first. For they are to be believed concerning things said before, not by their distance from us, but by their nearness to the Apostles: as a man, that lives all his
time

time at *Kensington*, is of his own knowledge no better a Witness of what was said at *Westminster-Hall*, than if he had lived at the *Land's-End*. If then the Age that was mentioned to us was out of the hearing of the first, and removed at a fabulous distance; its Tradition, which was uncertain a thousand years ago, will become no more certain a thousand years after, than what is a lye now, will grow true a thousand years hence. The Tradition will be in itself no truer; though it may, we confess, be told by a Church so long, that she may at last believe it herself.

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And therefore, when the times of *Gregory* the Pope, and *Austin* the Monk are vouched; and they are said to be Saints of above a thousand years old: we are to reckon upon the 600 years that went before them; and to remember, that all the Oral Tradition of that time must be twice an arrant Fable. Nay, if the 5th Age be alledged, we must consider then too the immemorial Distance, and oblivious force of four hundred years; that, as there was room enough for some Superstitious Conceits to creep in, so it was utterly unlikely that much of Apostolical Sayings should be memorially conveyed so far.

For those Persons that then lived, however we at our great distance call them Antients, looked upon themselves as of later date. *Vincen-tius*, who wrote in the year 434, in the Rules he gives for Catholick Doctrine, orders Antiquity to be followed, as he there calls it: and of those Antients he refers to, St. *Cyprian* was the Eldest, who lived before him not 200 years. Those too of St. *Cyprian's* age esteemed themselves far removed from the Apostles days; and he himself reckoned upon the past time, as large enough, not only to render the Truths of the Gospel Antient, but to bring in after-errors, and let them grow old too. For, when Pope *Stephen* would have regulated a controverted Practice by his *Roman* Tradition, St. *Cyprian* asks, *What Tradition was meant? whether that of the Gospels and Epistles,* to which he was ready to subscribe? If any other was intended, *The Antient Tradition* (he says) *might be an Antient Errour*: that, in any doubtful Case, they were to consult the Scriptures; and when *they were at a loss for Truth, they were not to trust such Aqueducts as would hold no water, but pass by those faulty Pipes, and immediately repair to the Fountain that was at hand.* These are but part of St. *Cyprian's* expressions on this Subject; who treats the unwritten Tradition of his own times with as little respect, as we can shew to any that shall offer itself now 1400 years after.

For, to come from Speculation to Fact, we shall find the Course, that Oral Tradition had in the Christian World, was very narrow, and very short. For so it came to pass; by reason, I suppose, of those Uncertainties we have traced out; that Oral Reports, many no doubt in the first Age, and by which Christians were in many Places chiefly directed, yet in a little longer time, and as soon as the Canon of

a Cyp. ad Pompelium. Unde est ista Traditio? utrumne de Dominica & Evangelica Auctoritate? &c.

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Scripture was brought together, began to decrease in their Number, and to lose their Authority; insomuch, that those, who lived within the distance of 200 years from the Apostles, and whose Books are full of Allegations from Scripture, scarcely make use of a Saying or two from that Traditional Authority: whether it was, that they were then most of them lost; or few of them credited; or those that were credited did not differ from what was Written. Of this Observation the Writings of *Ireneus*, *Tertullian*, *Origen*, and *Cyprian* are pregnant Testimonies. From *Ireneus* alone, one might recover a good part of the Gospels; but of Traditional Doctrine, not fix lines. And by one of those Traditions, (to observe the fate of them,) that Holy Father was led into the *Millenary* mistake.

The fortune, which the Labours of *Papias* found, is another instance. He was Bishop of *Hierapolis*, an Acquaintance of *Polycarp's*; and had familiarly conversed with several Auditors of the Apostles, from whom he studiously enquired concerning their Actions and Discourses; *What Peter, what Thomas, what James or John were wont to say*: (for he was of the Opinion, as *Eusebius* tells us, *that what was to be read in the Scriptures was not so edifying, as that which might be had by the living voice.*^a) Of these Relations he picked up so many, that he made up five Books; and then we were in a fair way, if ever, of having some certainty in this kind. But he had gathered together so much *Fable and Paradox*, that *Eusebius*, upon occasion of his *Millenary* Tradition, was forced to give us his Character; how *he was a very weak man, as might be discerned by his way of Writing; and that he put down things in one sense, which were spoke in another.*^b The little therefore of his Writings we have, we owe to *Eusebius*; for so small account was made by the World of his five Books, that they were all quickly lost, and that well-meant Collection of Hear-says returned again upon Oral Tradition.

There is, I confess, honourable mention made by some Antients of Unscriptural Traditions; and such a mention, as might at first sight incline one to believe, that there had been some very weighty thing preserved that way: but a nearer view of those places will quickly undeceive us; and the Particular they give in of those Matters easily instruct us, how much the general expressions are to be restrained, or how far disregarded.

For, to begin with *Clemens Alexandrinus*, the honour he does to Unwritten Tradition is so justly disparaged by the Apocryphal Particulars he produces, and by the Allegories he derives thence, (things in which Fancy has more to do than Memory,) that our very Adversaries never think fit much to insist upon it.

Tertullian, indeed, is always alledged for this purpose, in that famous place of his Book *de Coronâ Militis*. There the Author, at other times over-subtle and over-proving, but now a rigid *Montanist*, endeavours to prove the Wearing of a Garland unlawful for Christians,

^a *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. lib. 3. c. 39.*

^b *Ibid.*

by their former abstaining from that common Fashion. In order therefore to the raising an Argument from Negative Custom, he thinks himself obliged by his Subject, as well as by the Confirmation of *Montanus*, to make the Positive of great Authority: and accordingly he gives out the Present Observations then practised in common by the Catholick-Church, and the *Montanists*, for Primitive necessary Ordinances; as you have them in the Margin rendered from his own Words.^a

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Now, because such Observations as these are the main things ascribed by Antients to Tradition, I shall, with the Reader's leave, take this occasion to consider them more particularly. These Usages then are, we perceive, of two sorts; either Forms of Words, or Rites Practical: and in both, two things are to be minded; the Fact of their Antiquity, and the Opinion either of their Necessity or Legality.

I. Now, as to the Antiquity of Usages, we have seen already how uncertain that must be in Forms of Words Orally delivered; and how easily they may be interpolated and changed. Rites too and Gestures, to be transmitted by Imitation, or practical Tradition, are as subject to vary in a little time, and to pass into another mode; either by Addition or Subtraction, from the Fancy, or from the Mistake of the Imitator: so that at last they may retain but little resemblance of what they were at first, and appear no more akin, than a Copy a little removed would be to an Original, however it might go under the name of the first Master. Besides this, it is very easy too for foreign Usages of the Neighbourhood to slide in afterwards: and then, when they are once admitted into company, and pass for some time with the Elder, they very securely pretend to the same Antiquity. Such introduced practices might without much difficulty get themselves stiled Apostolical; either because used in an Apostolical Church, that is, where an Apostle had been heretofore; or because brought in by an Apostolical, that is, a Reverend and Orthodox Bishop; or because, having been used immemorially, and descending from a time higher than the present, they were presumed to have descended from the highest; as Rain, that comes from the Clouds, is said to come down from Heaven. For, in those sensible things, our Opinion acts as our Sight; and, at such an assignable Distance, confounds all further Distances; taking every thing to be equally remote, that is removed beyond such a degree: as our Eye and Fancy place the Pla-

^a There are several Examples of Observations, which we hold by virtue of no Writing, but only by the Title of Tradition patronized by Custom. To begin with Baptism, when we are going into the Water, and before too in the Church, we profess under the hands of the Priest, that we *Renounce the Devil, and his Pomp and Angels*: after that, we are dipped thrice, answering something more than our Lord has prescribed in the Gospel. When we come out, we taste the mixture of Milk and Honey: and from that time, for a whole Week, we abstain from our daily Bathing. The Sacrament of the Eucharist, which our Lord appointed to be taken at Meals, and by all promiscuously, we take in our Assemblies before day, and only from the hands of the Presidents. We make Oblations for the Dead, and keep yearly their Birth-days [into the other World.] We hold it a great Crime to Fast, or to Kneel at Prayers on a Sunday. The same Privilege we enjoy all the time from *Easter to Whitsontide*. We are much troubled that any even of our own Bread or Drink should fall upon the ground. Whenever we move or go about any thing, when we come in, or go out, when we put on our Shoes, when we wash, when we are at Table, when Candles are lighted, when we lie or sit down, whatever Action we are upon; we still wear away, as it were, our Forehead by Signing it with the Cross. *Tert. De Coron. Mil. Cap. 3.*

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nets, or even a Meteor of the lower Region, in the Firmament among the Fixt Stars. Now such Errours of Place any small observation discovers, and their correction is presently admitted: but these of Time, though easy to be observed, are not so easily corrected, because favoured and indulged by the nature of Man; who, as he loves to consecrate the Original of his City, or antedate that of his Family, so is willing to have all his solemn Actions as venerably Antient as he can. And in such things it is not perhaps civil to be very difficult; and we are rather to imitate the Courtesy of St. *Jerom.* *Let, then, every Province, as to this matter, enjoy its own Opinion, and think as honourably of its Customs, as it pleases;*^a provided such Customs will be civil too, not make any claim by their Antientry, nor prescribe upon us for our Sufferance. The Tradition of these Usages is much like that of Relicks: that there were some such indifferent Ceremonies practised by the Apostles, we do not much question; but the number of them is strangely increased; and which are the Genuine we know not how to tell; they are multiplied like the Wood of the Cross; and the Counterfeit is never to be discerned. We are therefore ready to shew those, that seem to be Antient, a decent Respect; but, for Swearing to the Truth of them, or, however, for falling down and Worshipping them, we desire to be excused. The Antiquity of Rites is a matter of Fact; and in that, we see, the mistake is easy.

2. The other thing, we are to consider of them, is either their Lawfulness, or their Necessity: and this is a matter of Doctrine; descending down with them, or accruing to them, in common presumption; but admitted often upon mistake. For as such Usages are always presumed Lawful, not only from Antient Practice, but by our own; so we know how easily an Opinion of their Necessity may arise. In all Customary Proceedings, Precedents at pleasure, are apt however to pass into standing Rules: and, as we are naturally willing to have our own Practice followed, and our Example go for Law; so, when we can recommend it from more Antient Usage, we fail not to urge the Authority; and make it a point of Reverence and Duty to our Ancestors, to follow their steps and ours. For which reason, it is no wonder, that Rites, which had once gained to be esteemed Apostolical, should not only be taken for Lawful, but for Obligatory too, by less thinking men. Whereas, on the contrary, it is so far from being certain, that Practices reputed Apostolical are necessary and perpetual; that the very true ones often were not so much to be ascribed to the Apostles, as to the Age they lived in; not being purposely instituted, but provisionally taken in, some out of Compliance meerly, and to avoid present Offences; and consequently they were not only indifferent, but might grow inexpedient, if not unlawful, in tract of time: such were the Kifs of Love; the Love Feasts;

^a Unaquæque Provincia abundet in sensu suo; & Præcepta Majorum Leges Apostolicas arbitretur. *Hieron. ad Lucinium.*

to take the Eucharist at Meals; to abstain from Blood, and things Strangled; to Circumcise a *Timothy*, &c.

For a Rite, Originally Expedient, remaining the same and unvaried in itself, may yet grow to be of a contrary nature by change of outward Circumstances: it may too, in time, deserve to be laid aside, for the Superstition that may be tacked to it by the inclination of the Age. But if it has been varied, it may either suffer so much alteration, as to become another thing; or, at least, it may be brought by a slight, and, after a little time, indiscernable inoculation, to produce a Fruit of a far different kind. Not to say, how one that is sub-introduced and Novel, if it be not at the first rise apparently and grossly erroneous, may, however, have in it some Seed of Superstition, not then perceived, nor affecting therefore the first Users; but which shall afterwards grow and exert itself, as it may be improved and displayed by the Corruption of the succeeding Imitators. We of our Church think we have very good instances of these Matters in many of the *Roman* Usages. For so the *Latin* Language, once necessary to the Prayers of the Western Church, because it was the Language of those Countries, is now, by their alteration of Speech, grown as improper for the same reason, and is most absurdly retained. So the Sign of the Cross, which formerly accompanied Prayers, visibly shewing them to be made in the Name of Christ Crucified; has been since used Superstitiously alone, and I know not what Virtue attributed to the airy Figure. By the insertion of the Transubstantiating Doctrine, the Respect due to the Holy Elements of the Eucharist has passed into absolute Adoration; and the Nature of that Sacrament is almost Transubstantiated too. And lastly, to mention no more, Prayer for the Dead, which, besides the Testimony it gave to another Life, was no more at first than a holy Wish for the Deceased, expressing our Concern for their Condition; whereby our Desire, or our Joy and Thanks, for their Happiness was rather professed, than any Want of it supposed to be relieved; and which therefore was made as frequently and as solemnly for the Apostles and Martyrs, consummate Saints, as for less Righteous Men; such a Prayer was after thought to have some real effect for the Dead; then it was surmised to contribute to their present advantage, however as yet but sparingly offered, and at set times: at length, it came to be esteemed of some great benefit or other, and to be highly recommended to the Piety of their surviving Relations: 'till at last, by the coming in of Purgatory, it had a stated Use, and grew to be a most necessary Office; Men beginning to make it the greatest care of their Lives not to want this Help after their Death, erecting and endowing Societies for this purpose. So did the Errour, when once insinuated into Practice, grow on still like a grain of Seed; 'till by degrees it became a Tree: which, after it was once well grafted, has since spread so wide, and bore such Fruit, that under it all the numerous kinds of *Romish* Orders have been lodged and fed.

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It were obvious to find many such like Examples: but, as they may not be agreed to by our Adversaries, so they are not necessary to our Design. It must be granted us, that such Changes are easy, and such Errors very natural: and, as to *Tertullian*, to whom we now return, he himself affords an Instance of one sort; it being manifest that he was mistaken in the Duty of these Observations, even by the Confession of our Adversaries themselves, who have made no scruple of discontinuing one half of them long ago.

This his Error, about the Necessity of those Practices, will easily lead us to think him capable of the other concerning their Antiquity: an Error the old Bishops of *Rome* have often committed, ascribing still their Modern Usages to *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*. But with this we have no just cause to charge *Tertullian*: he, for his part, speaks very warily in the Point, and declines to father the Observations, he reckons, upon the Apostles; giving great reason of suspicion to those, who are acquainted with his manner of gaining all advantage to his Cause, that he himself was conscious enough of their later reception. It is certain, that none of them needed an Apostolical Institution; that the Forms might have been devised by uninspired Bishops; and that several of the Rites might as well have been brought in by succeeding Converts, from the Customs of their former Life. For that Carefulness about their Bread and Drink is still a *Jewish* Observance; and was too heretofore, in part, a *Roman* Superstition.^a To Pray for the Dead was in some sort used both with the *Heathens* and the *Jews*. Not to Fast, or Kneel, on a *Sunday*, was only to pay to that day the honour of the Sabbath. The frequency too of the Sign of the Cross, here mentioned, might have nothing more in it, but so many Benedictions, as the *Jews* use to this day on the same occasions;^b only in this distinguished to the Eye, that they were made, as the Apostle directs, in the name of Christ. *Tertullian* himself tells us, in other places,^c of several *Jewish* Customs, which the *Heathen Romans* of his time practised, not knowing whence they had derived them. With much less difficulty, we know, might the Customs of that Religion have passed into Christianity; and the Christians too might in some time be as ignorant of their Original: and then it followed of course, that what had no known Author, and, it may be, no apparent Ground, was to be referred to the common Authors of our Religion, and attributed to their positive Appointment. That something of this was the Case of these Rites *Tertullian* produces, his wariness, we observed, will incline us to believe. But to conclude, however these Reflections may be received, we are not much concerned in their success. For should we allow, that a few indifferent Changeable Usages might make a shift to pass down sincere from

^a Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. Cap. 12. p. 248. Edit. Basl. 1680. Ceremonies de Juifs par Leo de Moden. Part. 2. Chap. 10. Cibus à manu prolapsus reddebatur, utique per mensas. Plin. Lib. 38. Cap. 2.

^b Leo de Moden. Part. 1. Chap. 9. Buxtorf. Syn. Jud. Cap. 10. p. 199. Coloss. 3. 17.

^c Apol. Cap. 16. Ad Nation. Lib. 1. Cap. 13. Diem Saturni Otio & Victui decernere. Aliis diebus Lavacrum subtrahere, aut in vespem differre. Ritus Lucernarum. Jejunia cum Azymis. Orationes Littorales. A Judaico more, quem ignorat.

the Apostles, thorough some eightscore years; yet Tradition would not have much to boast of: it should rather be out of countenance, that so accurate and so vehement a Writer as *Tertullian*, when he had a mind to recommend it, should have nothing more considerable to produce for it at so small a distance.

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Having thus considered this passage of *Tertullian*, we have at the same time dispatched another of St. *Jerom*, which is nothing else but a Transcript of this, and not made the better by being put into a *Luciferian's* mouth. And indeed, *Tertullian* being once set aside, a Writer so exact, and so near the Apostolick times, the Remarks we have made will easily help us to examine the *Junior* Authorities; the eldest of which is as distant from him, as he from the Apostles. For which reason, the Reader, I presume, would hardly excuse any further Enquiry upon this Subject; were not St. *Basil's* great Name offered for the next Testimony, and that very much insisted on by our Adversaries: which therefore I give here in the Margin.^a

^a Of Decrees and Declarations preserved in the Church, the one we have in Writing, and the other we have received by Tradition from the Apostles, delivered down to us in a more private manner: both which are of the same use to Religion. And this will be contradicted by none, who is but ever so little conversant in Ecclesiastical Constitutions. For if we shall go about to reject all Unscriptural Usages, as things of no great moment, we shall be in danger of maiming Religion in its principal parts, or rather of reducing the Preaching [or Declaration] to a meer sound. As, for example; (to begin with the first and most common Rite;) Who has taught us in the Scripture that those should be Signed with the Sign of the Cross, who hope in the Name of our Lord Jesus? What Scripture has directed us to turn towards the *East*, when we Pray? The Form of Holy Words said over the Elements at their Consecration, which of the Holy Writers has left us in the Scripture? For we do not think that sufficient, which the Apostle or the Gospels have recorded; but we say, both before and after, other Words, as very necessary to the Mystery; which we have received by an Unscriptural Information. The Consecration of the Water and Oyl at Baptism, and of the Baptised Person, and the Use itself of Oyl, and the Dipping thrice, and the Renunciation, are none of them from the Scripture; but from that secret and undivulged Instruction, which our Fathers have privately preserved, without any busy Curiosity, or impertinent Inquiry: understanding well that Mysteries, which are to be kept venerable, were to be kept in Silence. For how was it proper that those things should stand perpetually exposed in Writing, which Strangers are not so much as once allowed to look on? Or why did not *Moses* admit every one promiscuously into every part of the Temple? — Was it not out of his Wisdom, because he knew, that what is common and obvious is subject to Contempt; and that what is reserved and rare is naturally endeavoured after and esteemed? After the same manner, the Apostles and Fathers, who first Ordered the Church, procured Veneration to their Mysteries by keeping them unspoken and concealed. This is the reason of Unscriptural Tradition; that the Knowledge of [or Speculation imported by] the Decrees [or Ordinances] should not be an ordinary Theme, and grow into Contempt by Familiarity. For a Decree is one thing, and a Declaration is another. Decrees are [generally] kept under Silence: but Declarations are Published. Now one sort of Silence is that Obscurity the Scripture uses, when it make it a difficult thing to find out the meaning of the [Decree or] Ordinance: For so, all of us look toward the *East* at Prayers; but few of us know that we are seeking our old Country, that Paradise which God planted in the *East* in *Eden*. And all of us on *Sundays* pray standing; but all of us do not know the reason. For it is not only because we are risen with Christ, and are to seek those things which are above; that therefore, on that Day of the Resurrection, we put ourselves in mind, by our posture, of the Grace then given us: but because that Day is, in some manner, the Image of the Eternity we expect. Upon which account, though it were the first of Days, yet it is not said by *Moses* to be the first, but the one Day. For, says he, *the Evening and the Morning were the one Day*: as being the same Day, that returns to us in a frequent Revolution; and so represents to us the future State, the endless Day, that is to have no Evening, &c. (For the Author pursues the Speculation further, and at last concludes:) The time would fail me, should I rehearse all the Churches Unscriptural Mysteries. I therefore pass over the rest: But the very Confession of our Faith, to *Believe in the Father, and in the Son, and in the Holy Ghost*, from what Scripture is it? For, if by a Religious consequence, we frame our Confession from the Institution of Baptism, because as we are Baptised, so we are to Believe; let our Adversaries then give us leave to use the same way of consequence, and to express our Doxology conformably to our Belief. But, if they reject the form of our Doxology, because it is Unscriptural, let them shew us the place, where the Creed, and the other things we have mentioned above, are set down in Scripture too. Lib. De Sp. Sancto, c. 27.

^a Δόγματι and Κεφάλαιον I have rendered distinctly, as St. *Basil*, I conceive, has directed. For Δόγμα is plainly a Decree, whether Speculative or Practical, both in the Civil and Philosophick use; (for so the Δόγματα of the Philosophers are by *Tully* interpreted *Decreta*;) and accordingly is either an Opinion and Persuasion, or an Ordinance of something to be done; most commonly the latter, in Civil and in Sacred acception. And then, because being only a Resolve of the Mind, or of a Council, it does not in its nature imply Publication, and ordinarily is not published; it is therefore supposed by this Author to be Private, and contradistinguished to Κεφάλαιον, which is the Declaration or Proclamation of such Opinions or Ordinances. This I take to be the Author's meaning, and our Adversaries have no disadvantage by it: for I do not make Δόγμα here to signify an Ordinance only, but a Doctrinal Persuasion too, when the sense admits it.

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This Passage of *St. Basil*, which I have not been afraid to give at full length, seems to aggrandise Tradition much, and to make its use of very high and necessary importance: but, if we consider the words nearly, and refer them to their occasion; they will not be found to make any great matter. The intention of the Father is only to shew, that a Form of Doxology,^a which he has before proved at large to be substantially contained in the Scripture, although it be not found there precisely in the same words, may however be lawfully continued in the Church. And, with this regard, his highest Sayings for Tradition are undoubtedly true: as, that the Church uses Forms and Rites delivered down from their Fathers, and no where to be read in Scripture; that they are of great importance to Devotion; and that, if the Church were denied the use of any thing that is Unscriptural, she would be left naked and almost mute. In such a respect, *St. Basil's* Sayings are exact; and this was enough for his purpose. But to make him say, that there were any necessary Truths consigned to Tradition, different from those of the Scripture; or that any of the particular Ordinances he mentions were determinately necessary; is to make him speak more than he himself asserts. And further, to understand him, as if he positively affirmed all those things to be of Apostolical Institution, is to deal too rigorously with an Eloquent Man, and not to give his Style those favourable allowances that are usual in his Case.

The General expressions, with which he begins, are best to be interpreted by the instances he gives. And therefore, when we find him reckoning the Creed for Unscriptural, we are no longer at a loss for his meaning concerning Doctrinals Unscriptural, but know that in his account all Declarations and Confessions of Scriptural Faiths, are however Unscriptural, if they have not been writ by the Apostles just in that very Form. And in this sense it is he truly affirms, that the Declaration or Preaching of Gospel Truths would be too much straitened, and brought almost to nothing, if confined to Gospel Text, and not allowed the liberty of proper and larger Explications.

In like manner, it is apparent, that *St. Basil* could not intend those particular Forms of Belief or Prayer, or those Particular Rites, to be so necessary, as that they must never be varied or enlarged, or some of them totally laid aside. The Church of his Age did not understand itself to be under such a Confinement; for even the Creed, that is called Apostolical, was then variously conceived in several Churches, and admitted, besides, great enlargements in the Council of *Nice*. The Forms too of Prayers were very different: not to mention the other Rites. And as to these few Usages, which happened to be observed more generally; their perpetual Necessity was never, I suppose,

^a *Glory be to the Father, and to the Son, with the Holy Ghost.*

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believed then by any wise man; and has since been sufficiently disowned by the Practice of the *Roman Church*.

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St. *Basil* seems indeed to speak for the Apostolick Antiquity of those things something plainly: but, to name no more now, the Differences we before observed of the Creed itself so named peculiarly, do not agree with the conceit, as old as our Author, that it was Composed by the Apostles in common. It is very well known how easy the Churches of his time were in giving that Venerable Title to every respected Usage; and how easily Usages were then multiplied. Of this St. *Basil* gives unawares an instance in this very Book: where, drawing an Argument from the Practice of the Church of *Neocaesaria*, founded by *Gregory Thaumaturgus*, he commends that Church much to the disadvantage of the rest, and tells us, That *she was so punctual to the Customs of her first institution, that she seemed to others to be very defective.*^a

Then, in St. *Basil's* days, the Antiquity of less than two hundred years, and the Practice of such an eminent Apostolick Person, as that *Gregory*,^b were sufficient to procure to any Rite the name of Apostolical: much less was it refused to such as were esteemed Old even before that Old Bishop's time; especially, if they had the chance to be somewhat universally received. And therefore it is no wonder, if St. *Basil* followed the Phrase of his time, and was content to speak not very exactly, in a style that would favour his Argument, and be admitted by his Adversary. Neither could any one have been much misled by this modern way of Expression, that had observed how cautiously the more Antient Doctors had abstained from it, when the Argument equally required it. But however, St. *Basil* seems here in this very place to have recollected himself, and to interpret his meaning; when, upon the Resumption, he mentions not the Apostles only, but adds other Authors for his Traditions: *The Apostles*, says he, *and Fathers, who first ordered the Churches.*

He speaks too according to the singular Practice of his later times, when he makes such a Secret of these Rites: and then he supposes them not written, that they might lie concealed; as if the Apostles could not have ordered a Writing to be kept secret. Whereas, I suppose the true reason why the Apostles wrote not down such kind of things, was not to keep them either private, or venerable; but because they were not worth the writing; as not being designed for perpetual memory and use, but left to the discretion of each Age that was to follow.

When those Ceremonies were made so venerable by their Secrecy, and by the Names of their Authors; it was as fit to find out some profound Reasons for them, as it was agreeable to the Allegorical humour of some Great Men, particularly of those who followed the *Alexandrian* way. And these Mysterious ones, St. *Basil* here gives

^a Πολλά τ' παρ' αὐτοῖς τελεῶν ἰδιαιτῶς ἔχον δοκεῖ, ὧς τὸ τ' ἁγιοτάτης δόξης ὁρῶμεν. De Sp. Sancto, c. 29.

^b Γρηγόριον τ' μίτρον — καὶ ἱερομάρτυρα; καὶ ἕτεροι τ' Ἀποστόλων καὶ Προφητῶν; Ibid.

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us, have indeed that qualification he supposes, and *are not very obvious*. For so few knew his true reason for turning to the *East*, that the Author of the Orthodox Answers, subjoyned usually to *Justin Martyr*, was utterly ignorant of it. That too for Standing at Prayers on *Sundays*, &c. is very Mystical. But had our Author been acquainted with the *Jewish* Rituals, he would never have went so deep for the Rationale of an ordinary Practice: much less, if he had known their Language, would he ever have founded it upon the *Septuagint's* bad Greek.^a For our part, we need desire no more, than that the Customs, and their Reasons should go together; and the one not be admitted for Apostolical, without the other.

What is said upon this place of *St. Basil*, I desire may be understood with all due respect to his just Authority; whose Testimony in weightier Matters, or such as were under his own knowledge, I should be unwilling to decline. But it is not, I presume, any imputation upon his Integrity or Capacity, to say that he lay under the common prejudice or ignorance of a distant Age; and that he spoke concerning flightier things, and such as were not in question before him, according to the fashion of his time, and as he was carried away by the stream of his flowing Eloquence.

These Remarks we have made, as we have been obliged by Truth, and for the more abundant satisfaction of our Adversaries; not that they are much necessary to our present Intention. For upon this Testimony of *St. Basil* we needed not to have made any other observation, than this: That he was willing enough, as appears by the Preface, to have advanced the Honour and Truth of Tradition, and that the Argument of his Book led him to instance in Doctrines; but that he was forced to descend very low for his Examples, having nothing to reckon, but a few indifferent mutable Usages, whose meanness he endeavours to cover with mysterious reasons, never certainly intended at their Introduction.

Neither is it necessary to proceed any further, and to examine the remaining Authority for Tradition, that is usually brought out of *Ephiphanius*, a something later, and a much less exact Writer, than *St. Basil*. His Sayings are much the same, and there need no other Reflections upon them, than those we have already made.

The Assertion, which led us to the Discussion of these Testimonies, the Reader may remember, was this: That our Reasonings concerning Oral Tradition were confirmed by Fact; and that actually the Use and Authority of it in the Church lessened very much in a little time, and as soon as the Code of the Scriptures was Collected. Now this Assertion is so far from being impeached by these Authorities, that it is absolutely verified by them, and wants no further confirmation: it manifestly appearing thence, that in those days Tradition had nothing to tell, but a Story of some antient Modes and Practices; and that she could not pretend to remember then any one Un-

^a Which uses *μια* for *ἑκατον*.

scriptural Article of Faith; however it has happened since, that she has been made to rub up her Memory, and been suborned by after Ages to depose to the truth of Precepts and Doctrines, of which 1400 years ago she knew not a Syllable.

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My Lord *Bacon*, considering that few things of value were conveyed to us from Antiquity, aptly compares Time to a River, in which lighter things swim down, but the weightier are drowned. We may too, with St. *Cyprian*, suppose Oral Tradition to be the River, and to descend down through some Tract of Time or Place. This then, if it will preserve itself pure and unmixed, must be content to run like one of those *Eastern* Brooks, which, receiving no accession, diminish as they pass; subdivided still into lesser Branches, and wasted continually, if only by the drowth of the Air, and the leakiness of the Channel, till at length they are entirely lost. But the ordinary Course of Tradition is (we see) like that of a common River; many a Stream falls into it by the way from either hand, and it comes down to the lower grounds a wide and a mighty Current, bearing all along the old name: but no one thinks it was as great at its Head, or knows where to find below a drop of the first Water.

This Uncertainty of Traditional Evidence in gross has been the designed Subject of the present Chapter. For, as we have not insisted on the probable Objections we had to make against the Divine Right of the above-mentioned Rituals; so we do not stand neither upon that advantage, our Adversaries Testimonies have incidentally given us, in favour of the Sixth Article of our Church, which admits no Doctrine to be of Faith, that is not contained in the Holy Scripture. We do not therefore pretend here to set aside all Unscriptural Articles at once; we are only preparing to examine them hereafter, as they shall be offered singly: having only endeavoured now to bring Oral Tradition within some compass, and to prescribe it some certain limits and conditions, to which it ought to submit. And, in order to such particular Enquiries, I have deduced the general Intent of this long Discourse into the following Corollaries.

CHAP. VII.

Articles to be observed concerning Traditional Authorities.

IF any Apostolical Sayings of Moment had been Orally delivered down, it would have been convenient that they should not have passed many descents, and that at the second or third hand they should have been compared and attested by some unconcerted concurring Tradition, and then have been reduced into Writing by good and credible hands, and that Writing received for true by some considerable part of the Catholick Church.

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The Wisdom of our Law has thought fit to use a nicer Caution in matters of far less importance. In the Nuncupative Disposal of any Sum above 30*l.* it requires three Witnesses deposing to the words of the Testator, or their effect; and that they should not be accidental Hearers, but called on to that purpose: it trusts not neither their Memories at the distance of half a year; but is so scrupulous, as to require that whatever Evidence they bring in after that time should have been written down, not only before the half year was expired, but within six days after the words were first spoke. Of the necessity of some such Exactness that Author seems to have been sensible, who first put out in writing the Donation of *Constantine*, and, amongst the Letters of the first Popes, that Nuncupative Testament of *St. Peter* under *St. Clemens* his hand. But that way ought to have been thought of earlier, and then it might have deserved a greater credit. For though it found so much with the Popes, as to be made Law; and has been defended for good Tradition, even in this Age: yet a Deed never produced till 400 years after the Maker's death, was shrewdly to be suspected of Forgery; and a Nuncupative Testament not all proved in Seven hundred years, was manifestly barred by the reason of that *Statute against Frauds and Perjury*.

II. However the Sayings of our Saviour and his Apostles might have been delivered down Orally in Barbarous Countries; yet no doubt, had there been any Traditions considerable, and different from what were written by the Apostles, known for authentick in the *Roman* World, especially to the end of the second, the third, or fourth Ages; they would not have wanted some one that should have recorded and fixed them in writing, *in perpetuam rei Memoriam*, amongst those many Zealous, Inquisitive, and Learned men that flourished in those times.

This was to have been expected from them, out of ease to their own Memory, and out of a pious care for Posterity. Something of this kind was too attempted by some of them: but the success of their labour shewed how little need there was thought to be of it; and that the Holy Spirit had already written all the necessary Doctrines he designed to be transmitted. For, besides the Heretick Gospels and Revelations; besides the spurious Recognitions of *Clemens*, and the Apostolical Constitutions and Canons known to be supposititious; there were Traditional Collections made by *Papias*, whom we have mentioned, and by *Hegeippus*; there were Doctrinal Memoirs,^a going under several venerable names; there were too the Apostolical Constitutions alledged by *Epiphanius*: all which have been neglected and lost, either for their Insignificancy, or Uncertainty; their Spots and Faults having been discovered, or their lesser Light obscured quite and extinguished by the Scripture our great Luminary.

III. But further; suppose the Men of those Ages so much wanting to themselves and us, upon I know not what by respects; yet

^a Διδασκαλίαι. Διδασκαλίου.

however

however we cannot think them so careless in their Argument, and so forgetful of what they knew, (if any such considerable Sayings they did know,) as not to bring them out on proper and exigent occasions. No more than now, for a whole Age together, *Hoc est Corpus* has been omitted for Transubstantiation; or *Tu es Petrus*, for the Pope's Supremacy.

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IV. And for the same Reason, it cannot be demanded that any Traditive Interpretation of Holy Scripture should be allowed for Authentick now by us, which the Holy Fathers of those Ages, commenting upon the Scripture professedly, either knew not, or else passed by. To say there were such Traditions, unknown to such men, is to bring the Authority of those Traditions too much in question: for to whom, or by whom else should they be transmitted? And to think that an Authentick Interpretation, as Divine as the Text itself, should be omitted by the Commentator who knew it; and that he would, instead of that Sacred one, substitute one of his own, is unreasonably absurd.

V. But further yet; so much we must take leave to demand, that whatever Traditive Interpretation shall be brought to controul the Text, and wrest it from its own natural obvious Sense; much more, that shall impose upon the Text a Sense seemingly absurd to Human Apprehension, and introductive of new Duties, otherwise unlawful; that then such a Traditional Interpretation should be as Authentick, and as well attested as the Text itself.

VI. And lastly, to return to our proper Argument in hand, this too we must of right expect; that no place of the Written Word of God should be more express, or more Authentick, than that of the Unwritten Word, which is to set up and authorize an Infallible Interpreter of all that Scripture, and an Infallible Propounder of all Articles of Faith.

In this view of Oral Tradition, we have seen, first in the general, how little of it we are to expect to meet, and how uncertain its evidence must be; and then, if any particular of it be urged, upon what terms it must be admitted. And now so prepared, we may proceed to examine the Pretences of the *Roman Church*. The first and grand one is their *Infallibility*, which therefore we are to consider in the next place.

DISCOURSE II.

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CONCERNING INFALLIBILITY, &c.

CHAP. I.

The Hypothesis of Infallibility explained according to the usual Pretence.

INFALLIBILITY is a word of very easy meaning, and needs not any extraordinary Proponent for its definition; it being nothing else but an Impossibility of erring, or being in the wrong: which, as it is an Eternal Attribute of God, whose Dictates are necessarily true, so is pretended by his Gift, at some Times, and in some Cases, to belong to Men.

But as plain and simple as it is in its first notion, when it comes to be applied to Men, it grows more incumbered, and includes several respects; as (1) the Persons to whom it appertains, (2) the Cases in which it takes place, (3) how and in what manner it is wrought and works.

I. The Consideration of the Persons alone includes great variety. For though it be allowed by Pretenders on all sides, that this high Privilege belongs to none but Christians; yet, whether it be appropriated to a Single Person, as the Pope; or whether it results from the Consent of a Body, and what that Body is: or whether, lastly, it be not tied to the united Concurrence of that Body of Men, and of the Pope together; these all are Questions made to our hand, and which we ought not to overlook.

For the Claim may be put in, in the name of the present Universal Church; and that be Truth, in which all Christians, all the Clergy, or all the Bishops now living shall Unanimously agree; or else it may be said that Truth shall go along with the Consent of the greatest part.

Now if the Consent of the greatest number be Infallible, it may be then supposed, that such as have been voted out by Majority of Voices heretofore, have no share in this Privilege now; and that Hereticks therefore, though greater in number at present, yet are not to be taken into consideration: the Infallibility belonging only to that Body of Men, who are the Majority in remainder, after the several successive Exclusions.

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And then¹ further, it may all along be surmised that this Grace is so dispensed, as not to belong either to the whole Body of the Christians, or to any particular Church, without the Concurrence of some certain Bishops, or Bishop, as that of the *Roman* See; presumed therefore to be of the *Quorum* in that High Commission.

And then, lastly, if any single See has that Prerogative; it may be thought to be Infallible of itself, and to want no other Concurrence.

The Reader, it may be, that is in a zealous search after this Infallible Guide, thinks himself impertinently delayed by such an enumeration. He expected perchance that the Seat of that Authority should have been perspicuous, and visible; that the Decider of Controversies should himself have been subject to none; and that it should immediately have been known, to whom resort was to be made. But he will be pleased to stay 'till the several Pretences are laid open; both that he may not be mistaken in the Person of his Guide, and that he may know what Assistance from him he is to expect.

First then, the common Interest has been so much considered by Great Men of the Roman Communion, that it has been sometimes questioned, whether this Inerrancy is not to be placed in the Collective Body of all Christians, Children only excepted.^a However, it has not been thought extraordinary, to vest it in the Consent of the whole Clergy, or of the upper part, or at least of the Bishops; so that, that only should be necessarily true, in which all respectively should agree. By this Means, every Person, at least of the Superior Rank, would be secure enough against the Infallible Sentence: and a *Heretick* Bishop must be *self* *Condemned*, formally, and not without the concurrence of his own Vote. But this supposition, at the best, would end but few Controversies: and it is thought necessary for the Church to have a more practicable and ready Decision.

Let us then have no regard to those Popular *Sorbonnists*; and let us set aside the Decree of their whole Theological Faculty, exclude the *Domini Curati* from the Hierarchy, and deny them the Decisive voice allowed them, particularly by *Gerson*.^b Let us suppose that this Infallibility rests only in the Episcopal College; and let us grant further, that the Consent of the whole may be taken from the greater part; yet still there are many Points remaining to be settled. As, what shall the Odds of number be on that side, on which Infallibility must go? Is it a simple Majority, as in ordinary Assemblies? or will not the Holy Ghost come down but upon two Thirds, as in the Election of a Pope? And besides, are the Voices of those Bishops supposed to be taken at home? or are they not Infallible till convened and met together? if they are met together, will the present, though a Minor part, include the absent? if so, what Power is to Summon

^a Card. *Alliacen.* apud *Richer.* Vindic. Sch. *Paris.* Coloniae. Lib. 3. pag. 16, &c. 42, 43, &c.

^b Facult. Theol. *Paris.* apud *Richer.* Lib. 1. pag. 3. De Potest. Eccles. apud eund. *Richer.* Lib. 3. p. 144.

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them, and make their absence contumacious? or can the absent make Proxies? and is the share in this Privilege such as may be delegated? or, lastly, all along is every Bishop to have an equal Voice? or shall they not be considered according to the largeness of their *Diocese*, and in proportion to the number they represent? has every Petty *Italian* Bishop with his small Care, or a Titular Bishop with none, the same share of Infallibility with the real and greater Diocefans? A thing not allowed by the Councils of *Constance* and *Basil*, though necessary to the Council of *Trent*. Concerning these Circumstances, we ought to have determinate satisfaction, and express warrant. But besides, we are to consider, that Infallibility this way will be very difficultly, and very uncertainly attained. The Poll of the Christian World is numerous, and cannot be exactly taken, as the Episcopal Votes lie dispersed: and if they are to meet, the Controversy concerning the freedom of the place, the notice given, &c. is so manifold, that it can never be a clear Case.

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Upon which account, the Particular Church, that shall now pretend itself to be Heir, as it were, to the Old Universal by Successive Exclusions, can never be too sure that those several Exclusions were duly made; that the Poll was rightly taken, and all necessary Formalities observed: for she is to know that upon so many contingent suppositions her Claim of Infallibility depends.

These Difficulties and Inconveniencies arise upon placing Infallibility in the general Body of Christian Bishops: and they still increase, if, besides the Consent of that Body, we suppose the Concurrence of any certain Bishop, or Bishops, precisely necessary.

All the Great Bishops put in heretofore a Claim somewhat equal; though not of this kind. Those of *Antioch*, *Alexandria*, and *Rome* founded a Preeminence partly upon Apostolical Succession, partly upon the Greatness of their Cities. *Constantinople* afterwards insisted upon the Privileges of its City singly. The See of *Jerusalem* had its Pretence too, a weak one, as the World went; for it was purely Spiritual, and in right of the first Church. Now great Reason there was, that in common Causes no Innovation should be made in the Christian World, without the Advice of the several Patriarchs; because they were supposed to speak the sense of their several Districts, whom upon such occasions they consulted, and in whose Name they pronounced. Accordingly, all these Patriarchs were nigh equal heretofore, when Rank and Precedence were only thought on: but the Pope has since advanced such a singular Pretence, and it is pressed upon us so much, that we need take no notice of the other, but only of the *Roman*.

Here, then, it may be considered, whether the Pope challenges his Power in this Infallibility (whether of a Negative Voice, or absolute Determination) in virtue of his See, the Place of his residence, or in virtue of his Succession to St. *Peter*. It is fit that this should be known, in order to the discerning the Person whom we are to look after, and the Proofs that are to be produced. S 2 If

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If he presides in virtue of the Place, we may enquire whether Infallibility will not be lost, if *Rome* be destroyed, or become either *Heathen* or *Mahometan*? Whether the Gates of Hell are never to prevail against that City? or if they do, whether a Titular Bishop must be made, and the Stile be Bishop of *Rome, consumptæ per Hostes*, or in *Partibus Infidelium*? Or lastly, we may ask, whether the Privilege was good to a Pope errant, or to the Residentiaries of *Avignon*?

If he presides by virtue of the General Title of Successor to St. *Peter*, it then comes naturally to be enquired, by what Grant the Cardinals, as the Clergy of *Rome*, chuse a general Officer for the whole World? and whether the Bishops of all *Christendom* ought not to join in his Election to make it valid? whether the Authority be particularly annexed to *Rome*? or may not be translated to another Place at the pleasure of the Electors, and at least revert to *Antioch*?

If then the Pope be of the *Quorum*; all the uncertainty to which the Papacy itself is incident, from the forementioned Causes, or to which the Papal Person is obnoxious from Simony, or any other common Nullity of Election, must fall upon Infallibility. It will be but ill founded, when the See is full. But it must be in *Nubibus*, in a *Sede Vacante*, and as much in suspense, during a Competition of *Antipopes*, of which there have been many; the last of above 50 years continuance. For in that Case, not a General Council of Bishops can resolve us certainly who is the right Pope; they being by themselves, and without him, but fallible Judges in the present supposition.

Though therefore a Conjunction of the Pope and a Council compounds the Difference, and unites their several Titles; though the Infallibility of them both together seems to be the surer, yet it will be rarer too, and of much less service to the World. For either there will not be a right Council, or not a right Pope; or else a right Pope and right Council will very seldom agree.

Therefore, lastly, those seem to have taken the more expedite Course, that make the Pope Infallible alone: for then Infallibility may be had with more certainty and ease, than in the former Cases. For though many questions might arise concerning the true Pope, and though his residence at *Rome* would be at a very inconvenient distance for those of *China* and *America*; yet, when you are got thither, an Infallible answer you might have, if the Oracle would speak.

Now these Scruples are not imaginary, and of our own raising; but have been occasioned by eager Disputes among themselves. The Schism of *Antipopes* made the Western Church consider of these things.^a For when for a long while together this part of *Europe* had owned one Infallible, and that another, to whom there was as length a third added; the Church then, wearied and ashamed of the Scandal, assembled itself, and proceeded to the Deprivation of all the Concurrents: upon that occasion, declaring its Power above that of a Pope, and determining even in Faith without one. Then too it

^a Dante ad hoc ipsum vexatione præsentis Schismatis intellectum. *Gerf. Opusc. laudat. pag. 128.*

was thought fit to vote by Nations of Bishops, and not by their Persons; so that they were considered, in their share of Infallibility, according to the number of their Flock. There they made Constitutions to be observed by the Popes; which were however regarded no more, than the solemn Promises made in the Conclave to the Cardinals are used to be: for after that, the Popes began quickly to resume their old extravagance of Power; their absolute uncontrollable Authority was taught by their Beneficiaries and Stipendiaries; and the *Jesuits*, a new Order, erected, whose greatest perfection was their blind Obedience to the *Roman* See, and whose great endeavour it was, to recover Infallibility to the Pope, and bring all, if not into their Order, at least into the like subjection.

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Now indeed the *Jesuits* (at least of *France*) seem to have dispensed with that solemn Vow; and the *French* have by late Declarations carried the Authority of Councils up to the height of *Constance*: but the rest of the Popish Communion are not agreed in that point. The *Spanish*, *Italian*, *German*, and *Polonian* Clergy stand off in the behalf of their Lord and Master; and were they all of a mind, yet we were never the surer, except the Pope would declare against himself too. But this we are not to expect; for though they have been content to join Head and Body against the Reformation, yet they have still kept their separate Pretences on foot: the Popes, even in the Council of *Trent*, resolving not to give up their Infallibility to the common Cause; and ordering it so at last, that the sanction of the Decrees might still be said to proceed from their single Authority.

That Council of *Trent*, if examined by our former Reflections, will have a very uncertain Authority; not to mention the Nullities that are alledged from other Reasons. For we see it is very justly questionable, Whether the Pope has that Authority to call all the World together, that they are obliged to meet upon his assignation of time and place; so that if they are not there then, they shall be reputed either contumacious or consenting, and the Holy Ghost will proceed without them? Whether those that are there are to vote by Heads or by Proxies? Whether the after Consent of those that were away is to be presumed to concur to the Infallibility, and their votes can be taken at home? By what Reason the *Greek* Church is excluded? By what General Council declared Schismatical and deprived of Suffrage? By what General Council the *Lutherans* were shut out for Hereticks? whether guilty for not believing Transubstantiation by the *Lateran*, a Council disowned by some now of the *Roman* Communion? whether offending in the point of Images against the 2d. of *Nice*, a Synod heretofore rejected by the West? whether as Unbelievers in the Articles of Purgatory, &c. defined by the Schismatical Conventicle of *Ferrara* and *Florence*? Concerning these Particulars we may justly expect satisfaction; and that they should let us know, by what Rules they have proceeded, and on what formal precise Word from God their Authority is founded.

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Such doubts may be raised on the Council of *Trent*, of all since the first four; (nay, of them too, had the *Romanists* a mind to quarrel.) And as our Adversaries do not allow one Council to be Infallible, because not Free; another, because not General; another, because not called, or because not approved by the Pope: so need not we allow any of them all to have been Infallible; because there has never yet been any, that has not been subject to some of these Queries and Uncertainties we have now suggested. For as to precise Infallibility, what certainty of it can we have, unless it be precisely known what those requisites are, which God has made peremptorily necessary to the production of such an extraordinary thing?

The *Romanists*, indeed, dexterous in finding their advantage, would raise one even from their own Differences concerning the Infallible Person; and, because Infallibility is still supposed in the Dispute, would impose therefore upon the World that the thing itself is out of question. But the contrary Conclusion will be made by all thinking Men, who will not be persuaded, that God gave a Commission of Infallibility with a Blank for the Person; and that he would, in order to the ending of all differences among Christians, have added a new one. It will not, I say, be thought that God would have left a doubtful uncertain direction, (terms almost inconsistent,) if he intended any; and that such Texts, as cannot ascertain the Person, ought to be construed to the Authority.

For although our Modern *Romanists*, sensible of the disadvantage they have suffered by their falling out among themselves, have pieced up the Quarrel, and accommodated Affairs; proposing to us some few Councils, as that of *Trent* particularly, for unquestionably good by the Title, on both sides, both Pope and Bishops; yet this will not do, and they are wise too late. For as in the Case of Land or Franchises supposed held from the King, to which two Competitors make several Titles; they may go to Law so long, and prove against one another so well, till it be found that neither have any Title, and that the thing in Controversy belongs not to them; but is still in the Crown: so here it has happened, that both Parties have already exposed the weakness of their common Pretence too far; it appearing plainly from the former hearings, and mutual opposition, that the Evidence produced on either side is of no force, and that the Infallibility they contend for belongs only to God; the Prerogative, that is said to be granted, being of so high, and withal of so peculiar a nature, that if it be not expressly mentioned and determinately assigned, it can never be supposed to be conveyed. They may go therefore, and get a new Grant if they can, but as yet they have none.

II. But this Uncertainty concerning the Person of our Infallible Judge is not all; there are other very material Questions concerning the Extent of his Jurisdiction.

In the first place, one would expect, that all Commands of such a Person, or Body, should lay an indispensable Obligation upon Inferiours:

feriours: for so it seems good to the Holy Ghost, and to them; and the Holy Ghost, we know, must be obeyed when commanding, as much as assented to when defining. Neither is it to be presumed, that this Body knows not the limits of its own Power; or that it will transgress them. For if Infallibility be given to a Pope and a Council for our direction, how shall they direct more properly than by Commands? and if even our Infallible Director may err out of its Sphere, and Command where it ought not; what an uncertain direction is this? and, instead of being a help, what a Snare is it to the Consciences of Men? But so it is; for those, who receive the Doctrines of the Council of *Trent*, think it not so much as a Venial Sin to refuse some of its Precepts; and a very great and most Christian Country will not to this day submit to its Holy Decrees. By what just Authority they exempt themselves from Obedience, and where in the Word of God they find this exception, we would willingly learn; for Reason would lead us to make none.

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But however, although it be not in the Power of a Council, by their Precepts to make indifferent things Obligatory; yet still shall not their Commands be supposed to be lawful? and can an Infallible Body ordain a thing to be done, which must not be done, and is against the Will of God? For shall it be supposed, that they decree an Action, either knowing it to be unlawful, or not considering whether it be lawful or no? or did they think it lawful? For a Body of Bishops, with a Pope in their Head, to decree an Action without considering its Legality, is an absurd supposition; much more to imagine that they decree it conscious of the Illegality; (for why then may they not decree a false Doctrine, conscious of its falseness?) But if they judged it Legal, why are they not Infallible in that Judgment, as well as others? and why is not their Command as manifest a Declaration of that their Judgment, as any other way of Expression? shall not therefore their Command presume manifestly the Thing to be lawful? and a Command under pain of Excommunication, suppose it to be necessary? But here too the Infallible Judge is cut short, and he shall never be supposed to be exempt from error, but when he determines Affirmatively: for fear the Council of *Lyons*, when it deposed an Emperour, and ordered his Subjects to Rebel, should be as Infallible as any other that decreed Transubstantiation. When therefore the Commission for Infallibility is produced, you are to remember to look for this Clause of exception too.

Well, but then are they always Infallible, when they expressly and positively determine? are they so concerning the Truth of Matters of Fact? and will a Council of Bishops impannelled be an Infallible Jury? The *Jesuits* of *France* indeed, to serve an Occasion, would have had the Pope not only Infallible, but Infallible in matter of Fact too: and then it was absolutely to be believed on his word, that such condemned Propositions were in *Jansenius*; though they themselves would not undertake to turn to the Page, and shew the place. But they

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were overruled in this new point of Divinity ; and it was laid down for Catholick Doctrine, that Modern Infallibility obtained in Matters of Doctrine only.

But this Exception must not be taken too grossly ; for the Church proposes many matters of Fact, in the Creed, and in the Scriptures, to be believed. And besides, every speculative Article, which the Church determines, is supposed always to have been taught *de facto* before, by Christ or his Apostles : and too, if a Council shall determine, that such a Proposition is found in the Bible, though they cite neither Chapter nor Verse, and we cannot find it ; must we not believe them ? Infallibility therefore must take place in Antient Facts, recorded or done by the Apostles ; and other Modern Facts only are to be excepted. This Exception has something more of Reason in it than the other ; and we may be tempted to like it the better, for the sake of the Inconvenience our Adversaries may find from it ; (for so, they will never be able to determine Infallibly concerning the Legality of any preceding Council, or Papal Election :) however, they will be pleased not to deal with us here, as the *Jesuits* would have dealt with the *Jansenists* ; but do us the favour hereafter to shew it, when they come to produce their Proofs.

Suppose we, then, that the Holy Ghost will assist the Church in no other Subject, but only concerning the mind of the Apostles, and in explanation of their words ; yet, thus much is not said without mincing and restriction.^a For some will not dare to say that the Church is Infallible in the Affirmation of any, but necessary Articles ; that the Council of *Trent*, for example, was not Infallible in its Doctrinal Chapters, but only in its Canons with Anathema : so that, as in some other Affairs we do not use to credit Men, but upon their Oaths ; we are not bound to believe the Church, except she Curfes. This is indeed a cunning Restriction, it does not diminish the Power of the Church ; for she is to be Judge of what is necessary, and may therefore give her Anathema as she pleases : But her other Doctrines, which she puts on Tryal, if you are a good Catholick, you cannot refuse ; and yet she is not obliged, if they grow inconvenient, to maintain them. This subtle, but strange Clause of restriction, we desire likewise to see, whether it be in the body of their pretended Charter.

Well then, are we at an end yet ? Is a Declaration of the Supreme Ecclesiastical Power, Pope and Council, made in form, and enforced with an Anathema, Infallibly certain, and a sure direction to the Conscience ? No, there are still some excepted Cases, relating to the Temporality ; in which, after all, it will be of no Force, however Authoritatively pronounced. If, says *Maimbourg* from the *Sorbonnists*, *some Councils since Gregory the Seventh have threatened Kings with Deposition, and if one has actually deposed an Emperour ; yet this was not done by way of Decision. And if any Council had made a Decision in this Case, it would have went for nothing but an unjustifiable Enter-*

^a *Guide in Controv. by Woodhead, Disc. 3. S. 101.*

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prise, &c. For this will be Eternally true, which all Antiquity still believed, that the Church, though it be Infallible, (that which the Pope never was in the Opinion of the same Antiquity,) yet never received the Gift of Infallibility from its Divine Spouse, but only for things purely Spiritual, and entirely separate from the Temporality, and the Kingdom of this World, with which Jesus Christ, who said, My Kingdom is not of this World, would never intermeddle.^a

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The Church then is Infallible, that you are sure of, but who this Church is, it is hard to tell; as after, to come to the speech of this Church, is a very difficult thing. When too she does speak, she is not to be hearkened to, if she speaks in the Imperative Mood; and in the Indicative, she is Infallible but in one sort of Phrase; and after all, she is not to be believed neither, but in one kind of Affairs; in other Causes her Sentence is null, and she no Judge: there lies a Prohibition against the whole Church, as well as against any other Judge Ecclesiastical; and her Excommunication may be alike discharged by the Municipal Laws. She says, indeed, that her Declaration seems good to Her, and to the Holy Ghost; but whether what seems good to the Church, does indeed seem good to the Holy Ghost, that must be determined finally, in *France*, by the Parliament of *Paris*, and with us, in the Exchequer Chamber, or Upper House. So that, after all this Pretence to Ecclesiastical Authority, those Temporal Bodies, it seems, are indeed the supreme Courts, and last Resort.

III. But lastly, let us suppose that the Council do keep within their Bounds, and pronounce an Infallible Sentence: yet in what manner, I pray, was this Infallible Sentence produced? did it result from Premises? was it concluded from Arguments? and was the Church assisted to find out proper Reasons, from whence the definitive Judgment should be inferred? No, this is dangerous to say; for the Reasons alledged in Councils are often Unconcluding, and their weakness apparent. It remains therefore, that the Holy Ghost assists the Church in the Conclusion only, and comes in after the *Ergo*. Well: this indeed is the Authoritative way: but then, (not to ask whether the Premises were thought true or false,) to what purpose were they brought? why reasoning and debate, all that human jangling, in which the Holy Ghost does not concur? Why do they not propose the Question, and immediately proceed to *Placet*? to what intent are all the Doctors called in? or what need the Bishops should be better Theologues, than *Innocent* the *xth.* or this *xith.*? There is, it seems, as little need that the Bishops in a Council should understand the Question, as that the People should understand their Prayers; and *Placet* may be said in the one Case, as *Amen* is said in the other. How indeed the unlearned People should say *Amen*, *St. Paul* makes a doubt; (for he neither supposed a Miracle, nor that they should hear a strange Language so long, till they had their *Queues* by rote;) but how the Unlearned Bishops should say *Placet*, is very easy to imagine. For a

^a *Traité Hist. des Prerogat. de l'Egl. de Rom.* Chap. 29.

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Miracle we must suppose: and there will be need of no greater to rebuke a Heresy, than served heretofore to forbid the Madness of the Prophet.

This Hypothesis of theirs, however odly it may appear, yet salves all the *Phænomena* of the Church admirably well. All the Ignorance, Artifice, and Passions, all the irregular Motions, that may have ever been observed in Conciliary proceedings; all these it accounts for consistently, and preserves Infallibility still. For whereas in other Affairs, want of understanding may render Men unqualified to pass a Judgment; and Bribery, or Force, Fear, or Affection may make it justly suspected; these in our Case can have no Influence, and will neither impeach nor disparage the Resolutions of our Assembly: the Conclusions will be true, though taken up upon false Reasons; and the Resolutions just and good, be the Motives and Inducements never so corrupt and ungodly. We Hereticks therefore are impertinent, when we talk of such kind of Nullities; and those of the Romanists, who have required freedom in a Council, understood not its nature: For what force can there be upon it, that the Holy Ghost cannot overpower?

The Roman Church does wisely to stick to the Conclusion: and to her own Children the Logick is good, by an *Enthymem* without either of the Premises. But, though Reason signifies nothing in a Council, yet out of a Council it is used to be considered. This Hypothesis therefore of theirs they will be pleased to prove; and, on this occasion at least, bring such Arguments as shall be found concluding.

Whoever has viewed with us the Differences and Difficulties concerning the Seat of Infallibility; its Subject Matter, and the Manner in which it is to be produced, will be very much inclined to suspect their Pretence, if he goes no further: but now he is desired to proceed to the main Question, and examine the Arguments that are brought in its Defence.

C H A P. II.

The Nature of the Proof that is to be required for this Infallibility.

TO forego then all the Advantages, their Disputes among themselves, and their crude Assertions may give us; let us suppose, that as yet there's no Heretick in the World; that all the Bishops and all the Clergy are assembled about some new Question; and let the Question be about the meaning of our Saviour's or his Apostles Words, and in such a Subject as may challenge Infallibility; supposing all this; yet I take leave to say, it is not impossible but the Pope, and all the Patriarchs, and the Majority of the rest may be mistaken in their Decision, and that the contrary Article may be true.

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For so it is, All men apart are acknowledged Fallible, and various ways obnoxious to Errour. They may pronounce wrong, for want of knowledge or consideration, out of Interest, and design, to abet others, to assert themselves. When too they are met together in an Assembly, though they have greater opportunities of Information from a Company, yet they are found too to be as often misled by it. They are often surprized into Errour by a conceived good Opinion of other Men, by their Arts, their Rhetorick, their Confidence; often frightened, or tempted to the wrong side; voting either for Favour and Affection, or supposed Duty, as their Friend or Patron goes, or out of Emulation and Opposition, as they see their Adversary inclined: they are often unaccountably fermented in the Mass, and overborn and carried away from their Judgment by the Croud.

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For such Reasons, these single Fallible Men cannot be supposed to make up an Infallible Body: and it will not be absurd to say, that an Assembly of them may Err, *Nemine Contradicente*; much less is it impossible that a Major part of them should vote wrong.

Now as Men, not yet Christians, are Fallible Creatures; so the Grace in Baptism renders them no more Infallible than they were before. After too they have received their new Character in Orders, it is no benefit of their Clergy to be exempt from the same human frailties; and every ordinary Priest or Bishop asunder remains the same Fallible man: it is neither impossible that he should be deceived himself, nor that he should endeavour to deceive another, even in matters of Religion, and Articles of Faith.

By what Change then is it, that the Majority of these Fallible Christians, or Ecclesiasticks, or Bishops are more Infallible, than the Majorities of other Fallible men? It must be by some supernatural Power, and from some extraordinary Gift of God. We must suppose that God, at that time, shall not only enlighten their Understanding, so as to be able to perceive the Truth, and pronounce it with certainty; but also that he shall so controul their Wills, that they shall not be moved by Fear or Favour, Interest or Dependance, to overlook that Truth, and pass a contrary Vote. That is, they must be, not only Infallible; but, to that purpose, Impeccable: and it must be impossible for them, in the giving of that Suffrage, to deceive, as well as to be deceived.

This is the Miracle that must be presumed to make good such a Pretence. Neither must our Adversaries think to persuade us, that such an ascertained fixed Influence of the Holy Ghost is ever the less miraculous and extraordinary; because there are other supernatural influences, which we acknowledge to proceed hourly from his good and free pleasure.

The Holy Ghost has determined its assistance to certain circumstances of time and place, in the Sacraments only: there too the Operative Grace that is given works not irresistably, but concurrently with the Will of the Person, and as he joins to promote or hinder

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the Action. Nay, in the Sacrament (as they call it) of Orders itself, a Character indeed is conceived to be impressed on the Ordained, like a mark upon his Body, by force of the Holy Ceremonies; whereby he is distinguished from the Lay: but no more knowledge or honesty given, than the Party himself shall please to retain, or endeavour to acquire. So the Holy Spirit acts in the very Sacraments themselves; but out of them it blows as it lists, and dispenses itself not in certain places and times, by certain measures, but according to its secret pleasure: so that no man from the sincerity of his Prayers, or from any promise, can secure himself such a Determinate degree of Assistance; much less can he be secure, that it is vouchsafed another, at such a peremptory minute, and on such an occasion. And consequently, if all the Christians of the World should meet together, and pray that the Holy Ghost would conferr such an extraordinary Grace on such a Person, at such a time; they might hope it would be done, if they referred it to the good pleasure of God: but they could not peremptorily challenge it, without a presumption, that would forfeit even the favour they might otherwise expect.

If then any Church had made a Sacrament of Conciliary Actions; they had made us a very extraordinary Sacrament, that should have conferred the Graces of Knowledge and Truth, and been liable to no impediment from the pravity of the Persons: but to suppose no Sacrament, and yet to presume upon such an extraordinary Gift; must be to suppose a strange Miracle of Grace, something that surpasses the ordinary Methods or Laws, which the Holy Spirit observes even upon extraordinary occasions.

For there are ordinary Laws, which the Holy Ghost has prescribed to himself in the second Creation, as we allow others in the first. The Divine Power may go beyond them, when it thinks fit: but when it does, the Action is extraordinary and miraculous; and not to be supposed done without good Proof, nor to be expected afterwards without sufficient Authority. For even in the supernatural works of God, as in the infusion of Human Souls, though God can give the rectitude of the first Soul, and a stability such as Angels have: yet he always continues, in that extraordinary Action, an ordinary Course; neither is the Conception of the Blessed Virgin *Mary* herself supposed by any immaculate without a Miracle.

Now a Miracle, whether in the Corporeal or in the Spiritual World, though easy to be done by God, yet is not so easily to be imagined by us. We are to suppose, that he keeps his usual methods, until we have notice to the contrary. A visible Miracle, when doing, needs no other notice, and demonstrates itself: but it cannot be presumed for the future, without express warrant; otherwise to expect it, is to tempt God. An Invisible miracle therefore, for the same reason, is neither to be believed for the past or present, nor expected for the future, without the same express Authority. Even in speculation to allow it done, is unwarrantable credulity; and to wait for it, is Temerity and Presumption.

Such

Such Invisible Miracles the Church of *Rome* thinks she may suppose at pleasure; and that God's Omnipotence is always at her service: where she thinks she cannot be disproved, she securely asserts; never considering that the simple Belief of such things requires some good Evidence; and that they cannot be imposed as necessary Articles of Faith, but upon such Evidence as carries along with it necessary Conviction.

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Were there, therefore, no consequence to be heeded upon the Admission of the Church's Infallibility, were it a single Speculation; as it would be highly presumptuous in the governing part of the Church, to depend upon such an extraordinary Grace, without extraordinary warrant; so to enforce the rest to believe it, without such due warrant, would be absolute Tyranny.

But if they intend to govern by this Maxim, and make it the foundation of an uncontrollable Authority, demanding, upon this supposition, an absolute Assent to whatever else they shall say: it is plain that then we have greater reason to be more rigorous in our Demand; and that our Assent cannot be required from us, but upon full Evidence, and such to which we cannot but submit; it being but fit that they should give us some very good reason for this Proposition, who, upon our admitting it, are afterwards discharged for ever from giving us any reason more.

So much difficulty we should make of granting this Infallible Authority in General; had we no notice at what it aimed, and to what purpose it would be used.

But further, the Proof for this Pretence, as great as it should be, however ought, if possible, to be greater yet; if this Proposition comes actually loaded with others, that want very great proof themselves, and cannot be maintained but upon this fund. For then it is not a simple Miracle we are persuaded to believe; nor a Miracle which may possibly engage our belief a little further; but such a one, as has actually undertaken the maintenance of many more Miracles, some of them more strange than itself, and scarcely reconcileable to human Understanding; that, for example, of Transubstantiation, as wondrous and as much above ordinary Miracles, as any other Miracle is above the effects of Nature.

But further yet, whereas if these Unlikelihoods and Miracles, appendant on Infallibility, were purely Speculative, and rested in the Brain; yet, if we had not an Evidence proportionably extraordinary, we could not without violence to our Understanding give assent to their truth, nor without breach of Honesty profess it: so by greater reason, if they are not Speculative only, but pass on to Practice; and oblige us to Actions, at the first sight unlawful, and no otherwise justifiable but by this pretence of Infallibility; it is apparent then, that we are much less at our liberty to give up ourselves to its hazardous obedience; but are bound in our duty to God, and care of our Souls, to examine it with the utmost severity.

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When therefore I am to prescribe the Proof, I might well demand such a one, that shall be able enough to sustain all the Definitions of the Council of *Trent*. For, it being manifest that the Laity depend upon this Principle for their assurance in all their Belief; and that the Learned leave, upon all occasions, their want of proper Arguments to be supplied by this Common Theorem: it follows, that this Article, so fundamental, must have some very extraordinary support itself; not only sufficient to bear its own single weight, but all that vast additional load that rests upon it.

As, for example, whether these are Articles of Faith, and necessary to Salvation; *That the Sacraments, truly and properly so called, are Seven:*^a *That in the Conferring them, the Intention of the Minister is necessary:*^b *That in the Church of Rome, who is the Mother and Mistress of all Churches, the Doctrine concerning the Sacrament of Baptism is true:*^c *That the Body and Blood of Christ, with his Soul and Body, are really and substantially in the Sacrament of the Eucharist;*^d *the substance of Bread and Wine not remaining, but converted;*^e *and this not only during the Sacramental use, but before and after:*^f *That Christ in that Sacrament is to be worshipped with external Sovereign Worship, and to be carried about for that purpose:*^g *That Auricular Confession was always used in the Church, and is necessary by Divine Command,*^h *to the Remission of Sins:*ⁱ *That all Christians are not obliged by God's Command to receive the Sacrament of the Eucharist in both Kinds:*^k *That the Practice of the Romanists in that Case is just and reasonable:*^l *That in the Mass there is a true and proper Sacrifice offered:*^m *That it is a Propitiatory Sacrifice, and to be offered not only for the Living but for the Dead, in Purgatory:*ⁿ *That the Priest may and does well, to Communicate (as they call it) alone:*^o *That Matrimonial Causes belong to Ecclesiastical Judges:*^p &c. whether, I say, these Articles are so necessary, that they cannot be denied without the loss of Salvation; these are so many single Propositions highly questionable, and much easier to be asserted by the Church of *Rome*, than proved: the proper Demonstration of all of them being so very defective, and of some, the very principal, so short and lame; that some in part, and others nigh altogether, are left to subsist on this general Infallible Ground. So that the Arguments, borrowed at other times from this common place, are here to be accounted for; and so much superabundant Evidence is to be brought in, as shall not only serve to outweigh the particular improbabilities of this Point, but shall besides make good all the other defects of Argument, under which the rest of the *Roman* Doctrines labour.

^a Conc. *Trid.* Sess. 7. Canon. de Sacram. 1.

^d Sess. 13. de Euchar. Can. 1.

^h Sess. 14. de Sacr. Pœnitent. Can. 6.

^l Can. 2.

^p Sess. 24. Can. 12.

^e Can. 2.

ⁱ Can. 7.

ⁿ Can. 3.

^b Ibid. Can. 11.

^f Can. 4.

^k Sess. 21. Can. 1.

^o Can. 8. collat. cum Cap. 6.

^c De Bapt. Can. 3.

^g Can. 5.

But

But we are ready to abate of this justifiable Rigour, and are content to require only such Proof, as shall be necessary properly to this Article.

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Now, to be as easy as we can, and not to insist upon hard terms: thus much our Adversaries must observe; that a Miracle so strange as this, of such an Influence on our whole Lives, and of so great Consequence in Religion, cannot be pretended but from the Word of God; nor then presumed, much less necessarily collected, from equivocal large expressions, capable of an easier sense; and that therefore we shall not think ourselves bound to expect it, and rely upon it, except they bring us some Divine Saying, of certain Authority, and express Meaning, for our Warrant and Command.

Thus much it may have been fit to premise: but I am scarcely to be excused for thinking any of them so weak as to need the following Premonition; that the Authority of the Church is now, for a while at least, set aside; and that, as the Doctors of the *Sorbon* will not admit a Pope's Definition, to prove the Pope's Infallibility, no more are we to admit the same Assertion, (were there any,) from a Council and Pope, as a Decisive Evidence on their own side. The Pope or a Council must in this point demonstrate from Scripture or Tradition, the written, or unwritten Word of God; and to that we are now going.

The Reader, therefore, who cannot but have heard much of this wonderful Authority, lodged somewhere in the Church; who may have been counselled to repair to that Oracle, and bid upon pain of Damnation to take the Infallible direction of that Guide; may be pleased to reflect with himself, that his first thoughts must naturally have fancied some express and frequent Mention of such a Power in the Word of God; some plain Designation of the Persons to whom it is committed, and a Peremptory Order to the Faithful to obey it for ever without scruple: and then from that Reflection, he may be pleased to go on with me, and see how much of this those Pretenders are able to shew; and what pitiful Allegations they bring in so wonderful and momentous a Case.

C H A P. III.

The Proofs for Infallibility brought from Scripture Insufficient. First, those for the pretended Infallibility of the Jewish Church considered, (Sect. I.) Then, those concerning the Christian; particularly Matt. 28. 19, 20. (Sect. II.) Joh. 14. 16, 26. — 16. 15. Act. 15. 28. 1 Joh. 5. 20. 1 Cor. 12. 7, 8. (Sect. III.) Matt. 18. 17, 18, 20. (Sect. IV.) 1 Tim. 3. 15. (Sect. V.) Eph. 4. 11, 14. (Sect. VI.) Other scattered Texts seeming to presume it, (Sect. VII.) A Conclusion from the whole against it, (Sect. VIII.)

§. 1. **T**HE Places of Scripture, alledged for an Infallible Guide, relate either to the Old or the New Covenant. Those which are to prove such a standing Infallibility under the New, and which are the most proper to our Purpose, I shall take, as they are proposed in *the Rational Account concerning the Guide in Controversy*; ^a neither shall I alter the order, that I may not seem to abate any thing of their force: only, I shall take leave to add, upon occasion, something of the Context; that the sense may better appear.

The rest of the *Romish* Champions do not fail, on this Subject, to lead us on to the admittance of Infallibility in the Christian Church, by preparing a supposition that there was such an Establishment in the *Jewish*. But this *Rational Guide* to their Great Guide led us not this way: it may be, because he saw, that if the supposition were never so well proved, yet the Consequence might fairly be denied. For the Methods and Polity of the Christian and Mosaical Dispensations are so different, that no Argument can be drawn from the existence of such a standing Officer, or Power, under the one, to the same under the other. Whatever of that Law was not from the Law of Nature, all the rest of its constitutions Judicial and Ceremonial, were Temporary and Arbitrary, appropriate to that People and Season. And though some of its Appointments looked forward, and presignified; yet those Types were set to be Earthly shadows of Heavenly Things, not to be Forms and Models of a future Administration here below: as the High Priest is known to have represented Christ, no Apostle or Bishop; and those Sacrifices then continually offered, that one Sacrifice once for ever offered for our Sins. As therefore the Ephod, Breast-Plate, and Bells are no Pattern for Pontifical Garments now; so we are not to expect that their *Urim* and *Thummim* should be answered by any Modern Oracle; no more than any High Priest of our days will pretend to Prophecy, from that extraordinary Power which belonged to their Priests, even when their *Urim* and *Thummim* ceased; and which was not withheld, no not from *Caiphas* himself.

^a Disc. 1. §. 7. This Book is mentioned above, p. 76.

Old Things are passed, and all Things are become new. All Commands of Positive Institution, and all Gifts of Extraordinary Favour, given out by *Moses*, are vacated and expired; not to be pleaded now, except revived by a new Sanction, or a new Promise, from our proper Law-giver. For this Reason, had our *Guide* offered any Proofs for his Cause relating to the Old Testament, we might have passed them over, and used our right to consider only his pertinent Arguments: but the Reader, who is to exercise much Patience during this whole Debate, will give me leave to entreat it here; that we may not seem to take an advantage of one Author's Omission; especially, when he will be found to have made it, not through forgetfulness, but design; and to have done his Cause more service by concealing this Evidence, than by his producing all the rest.

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The Fundamental Proof for a standing Infallibility in the *Jewish* Government is from the 17. *Deuter.* where, after the Appointment of Judicatures in their several Cities, made in the 16th. Chap. and after the Enumeration of some Crimes of a very heinous and notorious nature; it is ordained in the 8th verse, that in all doubtful Cases the last resort should be to the supreme Tribunal sitting in that Place, unto which they are commanded in that 16th. to repair thrice in the year, for the service of their God.

The words are these; *If there arise a matter too hard for thee in Judgment, between Blood and Blood, between Plea and Plea, between Stroke and Stroke, being matters of Controversy within thy Gates: then shalt thou arise, and get thee up into the Place which the Lord thy God shall chuse; and thou shalt come unto the Priests the Levites, and to the Judge that shall be in those days, and enquire; and they shall shew thee the Sentence of Judgment. And thou shalt do according to the Sentence which they of that Place (which the Lord shall chuse) shall shew thee, and thou shalt observe to do according to all that they inform thee: according to the Sentence of the Law which they shall teach thee, and according to the Judgment which they shall tell thee, thou shalt do: thou shalt not decline from the Sentence which they shall shew thee, to the right hand nor to the left. And the man that will do presumptuously, and will not hearken unto the Priest that standeth there to minister before the Lord thy God, or unto the Judge, even that man shall die, &c.* Josephus gives the sense of this place so, *And if those Judges know not how to determine in some Cases which may be brought before them; (and such cases often happen among men;) let them then transmit the Cause to the Holy City; and let the High Priest, and the Prophet, and the Senate meet together, and decree the Sentence.* As to the Persons of whom this Sovereign Court was composed, some would have the High Priest with his Brethren to be the Supreme Moderators in all Ecclesiastical Causes; and the Temporal Judge or Prince to decide unappealably in Civils. Others give the Senate or *Sanhedrim*, (a Body consisting not of the Tribe of *Levi* only, but of all the rest promiscuously,) the Preeminence in all Causes, and over the High

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Priest himself: the constant received Opinion of the *Jewish* Doctors. And *Josephus*, we see, joins all Titles together, and adds a Prophet, if there be any, besides. If now we are to regulate our Christian Proceedings by this Rule, *Josephus* will assign the Authority to the Pope and a Council together: the *Rabbins* will give it, with those of *Basil*, to a Council: and the first Opinion, to the Pope and his Confistory. But a Council will find little satisfaction hence: because Laymen may pretend to an equal voice; and it must be assembled in the Holy City. The Advantage in truth lies fairer for the Pope: for he may well be the High Priest and, by *St. Peter*, the Successor of *Aaron*; the Cardinals may be the Priests the *Levites*, and *Rome* the Place which the Lord our God has chosen. And then it follows plainly from the Text, that whatever is commanded thence, we are to observe to do: and further, that he who fails to do it, is not only to be Excommunicated, but to be put to death for his presumption.

Now, for our part, we shall leave this Controversy concerning the Persons to be debated by the *Jews*, and those Christians who are concerned in the advantage of it. If too the Pope, or a Council shall gain the Cause; if either of them, or both, can derive to themselves the Authority of the Text; we must then, we confess, grant them a Power of Life and Death over us; (a Power I know they will not lose by *non user*;) but as for this privilege of Infallibility, we shall not yet be obliged to allow it.

For as the design of God, in ordering his People to meet for their Devotions in one Place thrice every year, seems to have been, in part at least, to cultivate the Brotherly Love, and continue the Unity of that Family of *Israel*: so the adjourning all the more weighty Causes to the same common Place, seems intended to knit that Politick Combination faster and closer, and to prevent any such Breach as happened afterwards by the Sin of *Jeroboam*. The last Sentence therefore of that Court was to be Final; and peremptorily obeyed under the highest Penalty; but it is to be supposed no more Infallible, than the Sentence of other last Resorts, and human Sovereign Judicatures are thought to be.

This, and no more, *Josephus* expresses; and no more can be collected from *Moses* his words, than that, what such a High Court pronounced should be taken for Law; and that the Person who opposed its Jurisdiction should be put to death, as opposing the Supreme Authority, and Fundamental Establishment of that Polity.

Here is then an Authority settled with Power of Life and Death; Uncontroulable, but not Infallible; supposed to judge in questions of doubt and difficulty, and then to determine righteously; but not created incapable, (such is the nature of all human Bodies,) of determining wrong even in plainer Cases, and of Decreeing such a Sentence, as might possibly be more intolerable to the Righteous, than the Sentence of Death. This is the plain natural meaning of the place,

place, agreeable to common sense, and the known practice of all Governments.

Had therefore the *Jews* been willing to have raised a Miracle on this Text, as their Usage at other times is; and had we wanted some gross instance of Errour to prove upon them; yet we could not justly be obliged to prefer their wonderful strange interpretation before a more ordinary and more Familiar sense. But here it so happens, that the *Jews* themselves make no such pretence; and that if they did, we Christians are not only able, but bound to convict it of falsity: their High Priest, the rest of the Priests, the *Sanhedrim*, and the whole body of the People, (that there might be no question of the Legality of the Court,) having committed the most execrable Errour, and by a most solemn Sentence condemned our Blessed Saviour for an Impostor.

Some, I know, of the Romanists, being indeed very hard pressed, fly to this subterfuge; that the Errour of the *Jews*, though a grievous one, was only an Errour of Fact. But were not Matters of Fact, by this very Ordinance, triable before that Court, as well as Matters of Right, and alike determinable by final Sentence? Where too will they lay this Matter of Fact? Was it, Whether he said he was the Christ? or, Whether he was that Christ? That he said he was the Christ, was true, and they erred not in it. And the other Point, Whether Jesus was that Christ, was as much a matter of Right, as whether the Person called *Tiberius* was then Emperour: and was too at that hour the same Article of Faith, that it is now. This Solution therefore is justly rejected by Cardinal *Bellarmin*, who chuses rather to give a less competent one, than one so grossly absurd. *That Court*, says he, *was Infallible 'till our Saviour's coming; but upon his appearance their Infallibility was withdrawn, as the Urim and Thummim had ceased for some time before.* This is as much as to say, Where ever you can prove they did err, there I will grant you in that particular case they might: an Answer that amounts to this plain Confession, that he had nothing to reply. For does the Text, that constitutes this Authority, make any such reserved Case? or has he any other just cause to surmise this pretended failure? That the *Jewish* Dispensation was to determine at last by the Christian, there is no question: But that this determination was not to be made till our Saviour's Death, is as certain too. Until that time, the Mosaical Law did abide in the same state; the High Priest continued to Prophecy to the last Passover; and our Saviour himself, not long before, had reinforced the Authority, whatever it was, of those that sat in *Moses* his Chair. As to the Oracle of the Breast-plate, it had indeed ceased, but long before our Saviour's time: above 100 years, according to *Josephus*; ^a with the first Temple, say the *Rabbins*. But then too That, whenever it ceased, ceased sensibly; like the Sun, disappearing as visibly as it had appeared: whereas this invisible Oracular

^a *Josephus* Archæol. Lib. 3. c. 9. Edit. Genev

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virtue, except there was some supernatural Notice given of its being taken away, must be supposed to be withdrawn from the former Owners, they knowing nothing of its absence, and presuming that they still possessed it. For as these Men could never have known they were Infallible, unless God had told them; so neither could they know when they ceased to be Infallible, unless informed by the same Author. Now, if the Cardinal would have such a supernatural Notice here understood, he should have told us whence he learned it; for otherwise it is not to be presumed: and if there was no such Notice given, we are then to discharge the Elders and People of the *Jews* from that accursed Crime, of which they have been so long accused. For the Elders, they gave Sentence under their old Confidence, and, as far as they knew, Assistance of Infallible Direction. And as for the People, they in their blind Obedience subscribed to the Sentence of their Superiours; doing no more than what, in the present supposition, they were ordered of old to do by *Moses*, and but lately by our Saviour himself.

Had that High Court been then owned for Infallible by the *Mosaic* Institution, it must have been a very difficult thing, if not impossible, to have converted any *Jew* to the Religion of Christ. For how should they have admitted that Person to be Christ, who was Condemned by their Infallible Judicature for an Impious Blasphemer? And how absurd, as well as impious, must it have been in any, to have judged those Judges, and to have pretended to know better than themselves, whether they continued Fallible or no? Was it not to be presumed, that in case of such a failure, the Court should have first known it from God; and the People, by the confession and surrender of the Court? We Christians therefore do not consider well, when, to gain a present Infallibility, we give one against us; which though we raise at pleasure, yet, should the *Jews* lay hold of it, we cannot at our pleasure dissolve.

But, God be thanked, the *Jews*, however willing they might be to accept of any Argument against us, and also to render the Constitution of their Fathers as Sacred as they can, have not yet taken this Course, nor arrogated to their celebrated *Sanhedrim* any such extraordinary Authority. As, since the destruction of their First Temple, they have jealously abstained from all manner of Idolatry; so too they have preserved themselves from this Spiritual Sacrilege of taking to themselves what belongs to God, and invading so high a Gift without his Grant.

The constant received Doctrine of the *Jewish* Masters concerning this matter, is as follows.

(1.) With them it is no impossible supposition, that the whole *Sanhedrim* might err in their Judgment, not only unwittingly, but knowing, even against an express Law; and that, not only against some part of it, but against the whole, both root and branch. These Cases are all supposed possible in Practice, and accordingly Offerings
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for the Sins consequent to such a false Judgment, are assigned in *Maimonides*; ^a according as the Guilt should be supposed to lie, either upon the particular Persons who followed the false direction, or on the Government that gave it.

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(2.) And therefore in Doubtful Cases, the proper subject of the *Sanhedrim's* Authority, the Truth of their Decisions was not supposed to proceed from the concurrence of any Divine Inspiration, but from rational Motives and Inferences: so that if, upon a division in the Senate concerning the Interpretation of the Law, thirty five Prophets as great as *Elija* and *Elisba*, had been of one Opinion, and thirty six Elders learned in the Law of the other, the Opinion of the uninspired Majority should have prevailed. ^b Nay, the Prophet, that should pretend to authorize his Opinion by his Mission, would have been immediately known for a False Prophet. ^c

(3.) And lastly, it may be observed, that the duty of obeying the Decree of the Majority, is supposed by the *Jews* to be intimated by that very Text, whose positive meaning is to forbid a blind Obedience: they presuming it implied in the general, that we should follow the most, or a Multitude; because we are commanded in particular, not to follow the most, or a Multitude to do evil. ^d

We see, then, that Infallibility is not given by *Moses* to the Great Senate; that such a claim was never made by the *Jews*; and must not be allowed them by Christians.

We cannot therefore suppose that our Saviour gives the *Sanhedrim*, in the 23^d. of St. *Matth*. more Authority, than they had before from *Deuteronomy*. The words are these: *The Scribes and the Pharisees sit in Moses his Seat. All therefore whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do not ye after their works: for they say, and do not.* Now it is not well imaginable, that Christ should direct an Obedience without reserve to be paid to those, whom presently after he calls Blind Guides, and whose Errour in Doctrine he taxes, together with the Viciousness of their Lives: no more than we can think, that he there orders the Multitude to join hereafter with the Senate in the demand of his Death, and to promote his Crucifixion. But such a sense of the place is too gross, even for the *Roman* Commentators to own. *Maldonate*, *A Lapide*, &c. are ashamed of it; and make it unnecessary for us to cite St. *Chrysostom*, or any other Antient to the contrary. And indeed nothing is plainer, if we take the words positively, than that our Saviour, being to censure the Conduct, and not yet designing to lessen the just Authority of the *Jewish* Magistracy, prefaces therefore to the Multitude the Injunction of a due Obedience. But they may be taken comparatively, not enjoining, but supposing an Obedience; and then directing that the Commands of those Men should be observed, rather than their Examples: because, though

^a Libr. de Sacrif. ex Interpretat. *Lud. de Veil*. Tract. 4. Cap. 12, 13, 14.

^b *Maimon*. in *Pocockii Porta Mosi*, pag. 32.

^c Idem, de Fundam. Legis, Cap. 9. §. 4.

^d *Exod*. 23. 2.

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they were Blind and Fools, yet they were greater Hypocrites, and their Lives were still more corrupt than their Doctrines; an intimation that has sometimes had its place in the Christian Church, even by the Confession of our Adversaries themselves.

After this tedious Enquiry into *Jewish* Infallibility, we may think we had reason to thank the Ingenuity of the *Guide in Controversy*; who, if we would have followed him but in this, would have spared us at least so much pains. But we shall find there was as much of Discretion, as Ingenuity in him; and that we have not lost our labour, while we gained the following Corollaries.

FOR NOW WE KNOW,

I. That a Church of God may be founded without the Institution of an Infallible Judge.

II. That the Infallibility, pretended by the *Roman* Church, is an Original, and that this Controversy is a new Case, and of the first Impression; to be debated therefore by proper Arguments from the Christian Religion.

III. That the Authorities to be vouched for it, ought to be very full and precise, more full and more express, than those of *Deuteronomy*, or *St. Matthew*. For we see, that if our Saviour had either commanded us, on any Doubt, *to go up to Rome, and consult a Congregation of Bishops assembled there, and to observe and do according to all they should inform us, under the Penalty of Excommunication or Death*; or had enjoined us *to observe, &c. all which a Council should bid us observe and do, &c.*; that yet, even from words so positive and large as these, so extraordinary a thing as the Infallibility of that Council must not have been concluded.

Whether then our Author has any such proper Christian Authorities, more clear and plain to the point, than those would have been; we are now going to enquire.

§ II. We come now to the Scriptures alledged by our Author. The first place is the 28th Chapter of *St. Matthew*, the 19th. and 20th. verses. Take in the 17th and 18th verses; and the words are these: *And when they saw him, they worshipped him: but some doubted. And Jesus came, and spake unto them, saying, All Power is given unto me in Heaven and in Earth. Go ye therefore, and teach all Nations, Baptizing them in the Name, &c. Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the World.*

These Words, *Lo, I am with you alway, &c.* are a Promise of Assistance, conceived in general terms, to be restrained therefore in all reason at the pleasure of God the Donor; and which are to be supposed sufficiently fulfilled, in whatever particular they shall be found to have been made good. All sort of Assistance which God could give, and at all minutes, was not to be expected from them, not by the Apostles themselves, to whom they were spoke immediately.

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Consequently therefore, if we of the later Ages shall take this Promise to our selves, we cannot determine its Performance to what particular we shall think fit: neither, if we find it fulfilled to the Apostles in some very extraordinary ways, amongst others more ordinary, are we therefore to demand the higher Assistances, but to rest abundantly content with those other Divine Graces that shall be vouchsafed us.

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This easy Observation is a sufficient answer to all pretence of Modern Infallibility from this place. But, because we deal with Adversaries, that are not so easily satisfied; and this Text is offered to us first, and brought into the Front; we will therefore, with the Reader's leave, take a more particular notice of it.

1st. Then, we will consider the Words, as spoke to the Apostles, and to be accomplished to them. Now here, though the Assistance, promised under such a general expression, may seem to include that Infallibility, with which the Apostles were afterwards eminently endowed from on high; yet it may be thought principally to be intended of other Aids. The *Guide* indeed, who therefore brings in only the precedent verse, would refer the Promise to the subject of Doctrine, and their capacity of Teaching: but it is plain even thence, that their Knowledge is supposed, and the Commands mentioned, as received already; their Courage and Assurance were rather wanting, to the undertaking so dangerous a Mission, and such an incredible Errand; as the Preaching up to the *Jews* a Messiah, but now Crucified by them for an Impostor, might well seem. Of the Truth of their Lord's Resurrection and Doctrines they could not well doubt; but how they should be believed, they might justly distrust. To this purpose it was, that our Saviour first arms them with the Knowledge of the Power, with which he was invested; and then afterwards, under the Protection of that Power, commands them on their Duty, bidding them not to fear now, nor despond hereafter; for, notwithstanding he was now to leave the Earth, yet he would still be with them, to give their hearts Courage, and their words Authority, that they might speak the Word with all boldness, and that Signs and Wonders might be done by the Holy Name they were to Preach; so he would always be with them in the Discharge of their Office here, till at last they should be with him for ever in Heaven. This seems to be the natural scope and sense of the words; and therefore what we read ordered and promised in the end of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, that in the close of St. *Mark's* we find accordingly performed: *They went forth and Preached every where*; they doing as they were commanded; and the Lord, pursuant to his promise, *working with them, and confirming the Word with Signs following*.

But then, 2^{dly}, supposing Infallibility comprehended equally with those other Gifts to be vouchsafed the Apostles; yet it will not follow, that the Promise was equally meant to the Doctors or Disciples of all Ages. For (1.) it may be said, that this Promise made to the

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Apostles might be Personal, and needs not by any necessary construction be carried to their Successors at all. For though these words, *to the end of the World*, taken by themselves, may continue the Grant till that time, and may be supposed, in the failure of the Apostles, to leave the benefit of it to their Successors for the remaining term: yet the same words may too bear a very proper sense in conjunction with the Persons of the Apostles; either that our Saviour would be with them to the World's end, that is, always with them in this World, as long as they should continue in it; as in our Law, and sometimes in the Scripture,^a an Estate for ever, is an Estate for Life; or else, that he would be with them on Earth till their Death, and then, when they should go hence, in Heaven. However, in the 2^d place, not to insist on such strictness, but supposing the Promise of Assistance to go along with the Command of Teaching and Baptizing; yet it cannot be presumed to go down in its whole latitude, and widest extension; that our Saviour should be bound by it to be with the Bishops of this Time, just in the same manner, and by the same measures, he was heretofore with the Apostles themselves. For, as he that should offer to prove, that the Apostles yet live, and shall live here to the World's end, because the Lord promised to be with them till that time; would bring a ridiculous interpretation, notoriously untrue; so he, who shall assert that the same their extraordinary Gifts still continue, must be contented to have his interpretation contradicted by as plain Evidence of Fact. For such a sense cannot be confirmed but *by Signs and Wonders following*, the same which were wrought by the Apostles. We might therefore put our Adversaries upon a very difficult proof, and desire they would demonstrate their Infallibility by a Concomitance of the other Miracles: but we need not go so far on this Text. For here their pretence to Infallibility destroys itself; neither do they presume to claim it, as it was granted at first. They will not say that every Bishop, though of an Apostolical See, has always been Infallible; and by what reason then, from this Promise, must the Majority prove so? for this place gives no more Infallibility to them in a Body, than asunder: nay, what it promises to them, it promises apart; that our Saviour should be with them Teaching and Baptizing, an Office performed by the Apostles apart, and in their several Missions. They have therefore from this Text, construed too for them in the most favourable manner, no more Authority to assign Infallibility to any Number of Bishops, than to any Single Bishop; and have as much reason hence to ascribe it to any other Bishop, Successor of the Apostles, as to the Bishop of *Rome*.

But notwithstanding common sense and ordinary reason finds nothing for that Infallibility of after Ages in this Text, yet does not Tradition interpret otherwise? and has not God somewhere, by some Unwritten Word, given the *Roman* meaning to this part of the Written?

^a *Exod.* 21. 6. *Deut.* 15. 17.

No Antient Commentator, that I know, has strayed into such a sense. But had any, yet we might have known that they learned it not from Authentick Tradition: for then it would not have been omitted by St. *Chrysostom* for the *Greeks*, and St. *Jerom* for the *Latins*, both purposely commenting on the Place. The Interpretation I gave at first, as the most natural, is St. *Chrysostom's*: and what St. *Jerom* gives is in part the same: *He, who promises that he will be with the Disciples to the end of the World, both shews that they are to live for ever, and that he will never depart from the Faithful.* It appears therefore by these Fathers, that our Adversaries sense has no Authority from Tradition: * a Remark I make expressly on this Text, with a request, that the Reader himself would be pleased to observe it on those that follow.

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The indifferent Reader will not, I hope, need to be advertised, that the various Interpretations we give to this, or the other places of Scripture, are not brought by us to cast an Ambiguity upon the Text; but only to shew that almost any Meaning, that can be offered, deserves to be preferred before the *Roman*.

But here he is desired to take notice, that as yet we see neither Infallible Judge mentioned, nor his Person assigned, nor the Causes of which he is to determine expressed, nor any thing else so much as hinted at, which we might have expected to find positively declared: nor, to speak once for all, is he to hope to see any such thing hereafter. He may too observe on this place, and find it verified in the rest, that those who exercise Infallibility in voting Conclusions, are not very good at Inferring. Whatever is any where promised to the Apostles, our Infallible Guides, is challenged to their Successors, as Guides too: and no difference made between the extraordinary Gifts vouchsafed to the first Founders of the Church, and those ordinary Graces that were still to continue to its ordinary Ministers. But here they are quickly at a loss. For Working of Miracles should then belong to the Churchmen: but, because every one sees that neither Pope nor Councils work them, they are obliged to wave their pretences on that side. Personal Infallibility should belong to all Successors of the Apostles on the same account, and all Bishops be Infallible, for the better guidance of the People; but they are forced to drop this claim too; for the Vanity of it would be too apparent. This High Privilege is therefore to be given by them only to one Bishop as the Pope, or to an Assembly of all Bishops: but this is not safe neither; for the Popes have shewed where Councils have erred, and Councils have found the same Infirmary in Popes. The best way then, one would think, is to challenge it to the Pope and Council jointly and together: for there have not been many of those Conjunctions in 1600 years; and it is to be hoped that these few have kept from contradicting one another, or from any of the more gross Absurdities. But, because it may have happened that some particu-

* Disc. I. Chap. 7. Art. 4.

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lar extravagancies of those Bodies may have displeased even their own Communion; it is thought expedient not to allow even to the Truest Infallible, an Infallibility at large. For notwithstanding its Apostolical Endowment, it may command some things unlawful: and even a Decree in form, if it presumes to meddle with the Secular Power, may be false. So do they give ground, as Absurdities press on; retrenching still as they go: but as for any Right the Word of God gives them, they have no more legal title to the place on which they stand, than to the rest which they have deserted. From all this shuffling course it manifestly appears, that the Charter on which they proceed is not from God: for they limit it as they please; and they could not be so bold with it, if it were not of their own making.

§ III. We are directed next to see St. *John* 14. 16, 26. and 16. 15. with reference to *Acts* 15. 28. 1 *John* 5. 20. and 1 *Cor.* 12. 7, 8.

In the Citations from St. *John*, let us, with our *Guide's* leave, begin at the First verse of the 14th Chapter: (remembering, that the whole Discourse of our Saviour is addressed particularly to his Disciples under their present Melancholy Circumstances, expecting his Imprisonment and Suffering.) [1. v.] *Let not your heart be troubled: ye believe in God, believe also in me.* [12. v.] *Verily I say unto you, He that believeth on me, the works that I do shall he do also, and greater works than these shall he do; because I go unto my Father.* [13. v.] *And whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, that will I do, that the Father may be glorified in the Son.* [16. v.] *If ye love me, keep my Commandments.* [16. v.] *And I will pray the Father, and he shall give you another Comforter, that he may abide with you for ever.* [21. v.] *He that loveth me shall be loved of my Father, and I will love him, and will manifest myself to him.* [25. v.] *These Things have I spoken unto you, being yet present with you.* [26. v.] *But the Comforter, which is the Holy Ghost, whom the Father will send in my name, he shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your Remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you.* Chap. 16. 12. *I have yet many things to say unto you, but ye cannot bear them now.* [13. v.] *Howbeit, when He the Spirit of Truth is come, he will guide you into all Truth; — and will shew you things to come.*

After the Reply Mr. *Chillingworth* has made to Mr. *Knot* [Chap. 3. §. 71.] concerning these Texts, they ought not to have been brought forth to the same purpose again. Mr. *Chillingworth* had observed, that those Promises of the Holy Ghost were made to the Apostles themselves conditionally, upon supposition of their Divine Love and Obedience; such terms, upon which they were not to be challenged by the Majority of Bishops of every Age.

This Observation the *Guide* excepts against; because, as he says, (1.) It makes the Apostles Infallibility uncertain, and to depend upon suppositions: and (2dly,) because the Duration of a Christian Church, being inferred from the like Promises, must be as uncertain as its Infallibility.

a *Guide in Controversy*. Disc. 1. §. 7.

Now

Now this last Reason is a perfect fallacy: for though we grant, that in all Ages there shall be such a Degree of Divine Love and Obedience, as shall save some of the Clergy; yet it follows not, that there shall be always so much, and in so many, as to make a Majority Infallible. But of this in its more proper place.^a And as for the first Reason, it is an unholy Reflection upon all the Apostles, and particularly (as one would think he might have discerned) on St. Peter, the Denyer of his Master; as if there were any question to be made, after the Descent of the Holy Ghost, of their performing the Conditions; and as if God had not wrought in them all that Holiness he had made necessary to their Infallibility.

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But we need only to observe the unreasonable Arrogance, where-with these Texts are challenged to the present Clergy. Our Saviour here comforts his Disciples in a very particular manner; and makes them Promises of an extraordinary Nature; (1.) of bringing all those things which he had said or did, and they through the blindness or dulness of their hearts had never animadverted, or else forgot, to their remembrance; (2.) of leading them into all Truth, more than he had yet taught them, and which before they could not bear; (3.) of shewing them Things to come—; and (4.) of enabling them to work Miracles. By the first of which, they should be able to give account of his Actions upon the Earth, as Evangelists; by the other, to fill up and perfect his new Covenant, as Apostles and Doctors: by the third, to be Prophets under the new Testament, as there had been under the Old; and by the fourth, to Evidence the truth of all this by Signs and Wonders. These Promises were made, and eminently then performed unto the Apostles for our sakes; and, by the Apostolical Instruction we have received, the advantage of those Promises has been sufficiently derived down to us: But to entitle ourselves immediately to them, we have no foundation; nor can we do it, but by express Warrant, without the greatest Insolence. The *Latin* Church does not say, that an Assembly of Bishops can either work Miracles, or Prophecy; they do not pretend, that any new Truths are revealed to them, other than what the Apostles delivered, and the Knowledge of the old they have not by any Platonick Reminiscence neither: whereas, if they claimed any thing in these extraordinary Promises, they have an equal Title to all; to Miracles; to Prophecy; to more Truths spoke by Christ, than the Apostles ever told us; to more than were ever revealed by Christ on Earth, even to the Apostles themselves. We have therefore, from this Place of Scripture, no greater Reason to expect from any Bishop, or Body of Bishops, Miracles of the one sort, than of the other; and have no further Obligation to believe the present Church Defining than Predicting, nor their Doctrines than their Legends.

Neither does the next Text, to which we are referred, alter the Case; Acts 15. 28. *It seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us, say*

^a Chap. XIII.

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the Apostles and Elders and Brethren met together. Now the Apostles were personally Infallible; and who questions then but they were Infallible together? We firmly believe that the Holy Ghost was with them in the Council; for he was with them elsewhere, and apart: but what signifies all this to prove, that now an Infallible Body shall be made by a Number of Fallible Men? And how does it appear, that what seems good to a Majority of other Ecclesiasticks, shall always seem good to the Holy Ghost too? Had the Doctrine of Infallibility been one of these Apostolical Decrees, that Council had been vouchèd properly: but there is no such Definition in the Acts of it. So much therefore our Adversaries may collect hence, if they please, that, upon Dissentions arising, the Church may meet, and consider, as the Apostles did: but, that the Convention of every Age shall be alike Infallible, will by no means follow. We might, with their leave, observe here, that St. *James* is as great in this Council, as St. *Peter*, and, speaking last, seems to have had the more Honourable Place: he presided, says St. *Chrysostom*, because he was Bishop of that See. But I shall rather desire the Reader to take notice, that St. *Chrysostom* upon this place, speaking concerning the Scandals those cause, that in the Apostles name trouble Christians, perverting their Souls; and concerning the Difficulties, in his days too pretended, of discerning Truth; does not take an occasion from this Council, to send the doubting Christian to the Oracle of any other Modern Assembly: but, on the other side, upon the mention of the Writing the Apostles in this Council sent, he recommends to us their other Scriptures; and there, instead of directing us to the Judgment of a living Infallible Interpreter, he refers us finally to our own.

Another place we are desired to compare with the foregoing, is 1 *John* 2. Chap. I suppose; ^a v. 20, 27. Writing to *Little Children, Fathers, and Young Men*, [13. v.] he tells them, [18. v.] *As ye have heard that Antichrist shall come, even now are there many Antichrists; [v. 19.] they went out from us, but they were not of us. [20. v.] But ye have an Unction from the Holy one, and ye know all things. [21. v.] I have not written unto you, because ye know not the Truth. [24. v.] Let that therefore abide in you, which ye have heard from the beginning. If that, which ye have heard from the beginning, shall remain in you, ye shall also continue in the Son, and in the Father. [26. v.] These things have I written unto you concerning them that seduce you. [27. v.] But the Anointing, which ye have received of him, abideth in you: and ye need not that any one teach you: But, as the same anointing teacheth you of all things, and is Truth, and is no Lie: and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him. [28. v.] And now, little Children, abide in him; that when he shall appear, we may have confidence, &c.*

We have taken leave to set down something more of the Text, than we were directed to; and, it may be, we may be satisfied by

^a In the *Guide* it is 1 *John*. 5. as appears from the Contents of this Chap. But this is a mistake.

this instance, how little of the Scripture would come to our share, if the Doctors of the other Church had the Monopoly of it, and could retail it as they pleased. But, were there no Scriptures at all, what sort of Stories Oral Tradition would make, you may guess by this Citation.

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The Text out of the *Acts*, produced next before, mentions a Council, and this is brought to be collated with the other, and to make out that Conciliary Authority: as if by this method the *Guide* would have it furnished, that these words were wrote by St. *John* to some Council or other; and an ignorant Man might be left then to think that they were meant to the Council of *Trent*. Whereas they are not addressed to Ecclesiasticks, to the Pope, and such a number of Bishops, but in general to the Faithful; (orderly reckoned in Ranks, as the *Jews* upon occasion were used to be placed;) ^a to Fathers, Young men, and Children: those too in all probability not of the *Western* Church neither, but of some other part of the Catholick, where the truly Antichristian and Blasphemous Heresies, that denied God the Father to be the Creator, or the Son to have been Real Man, began to overthrow the Faith of some. Against these Damnable Doctrines he confirms the Disciples, exhorting them to abide in that Truth, which they had heard from the beginning; and telling them, (to fix them the more in the Truth, by an ill Character of those that were gone, and a good one of themselves,) that those who are gone after the Antichrists, were always all along no Christians; and that they, the true Christians, were in no great danger of being deceived into such gross Absurdities, having their Unction from the Holy one; (that Unction, by which they were again properly to be called Christians, and by which they would so remain;) being secured by the Grace of God, and the Knowledge they had already received, as having been fully instructed heretofore in such Truths, and knowing well all things belonging to that Subject. This is the obvious sense of the words. Now, from this place, that very Church, and those Persons to whom the Apostle writes, could not well have arrogated to themselves an Impossibility to declare for those Hereticks, not even in those matters there spoken of; St. *John's* expressions speaking a charitable Probability, and his obliging Confidence, rather than any positive Assertion. However, it can never be imagined, that those Persons are here pronounced Infallible in *All things*, in all other points of Faith whatsoever. And then besides, if such an Infallibility be affirmed here, it belonged to the Laity, as well as to the Clergy. But after all, if St. *John* had pronounced so much concerning those Men of that Time, from some supernatural knowledge of their Minds and Dispositions; by what Revelation are we to learn, that the same Saying shall be as true of Us; and that the Men of the last, or our Age, *know All things* too? Under such a multiplicity of Absurdities and Inconsequences, the deduction of the *Roman* Pretence, from this place, labours. *Oecu-*

^a Ταῖς, Περὶ τῶν καὶ Νέων καὶ Παίδων. *Philo.* Legat ad Caium.

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menius understands all those things, said to be known to the Disciples, to be these: *The last hour; that Antichrists abounded; and that the World was full of Lies.* All this we know too; and think ourselves therefore obliged to take the direction in the 4th Chapter of this Epistle, (instead of that submission the *Guide* would persuade,) *Beloved, believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits whether they are of God: as also that other in the last Verse of the Epistle, Little Children, keep yourselves from Idols, Amen.*

The last Authority to be compared with the precedent, is from the 1 Cor. the 12th Chapter, and the 7th and 8th verses; to which we shall add the three following. *But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withall. For to one is given by the Spirit the word of Wisdom; to another the word of Knowledge by the same Spirit; to another Faith by the same Spirit; to another the Gifts of Healing by the same Spirit; to another the working of Miracles; to another Prophecy; to another discerning of Spirits; to another divers kinds of Tongues; to another the Interpretation of Tongues. But all these worketh that one and the self-same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.*

If the *Guide* had imagined we would have looked into the place, sure he would not have sent us to it. For is it not manifest, that the Apostle describes the particular State of the Church in his days? the variety of extraordinary Gifts with which it was enriched? to what purpose, and by whom they were bestowed? by the Spirit, to the profit of the Brotherhood, and edification of the rising Church; not for the ostentation and vain Glory, nor at the choice of the Persons endowed? Now at that time, if to one was given by the Spirit the word of Wisdom, to another the word of Knowledge; so to one was given the Gift of Healing by the same Spirit, to another the Working of Miracles, &c. And as these last sort of Gifts have long since ceased, so may it be, that the first have abated much of that extraordinary measure, by which they were then bestowed. For God gave those Graces then to every Man severally, as he thought fit, and by such proportions as he pleased. In like manner has he since given to every Age, not the same Gifts, but under a diversity of dispensation; to one Age, those Miraculous Powers, for the extraordinary Conviction and Instruction of the first Believers; to another, the less surprising, though not less excellent, the abiding Graces; to one, the Presence of his Servants, to another, their Writings; dividing to each severally as he will, as it shall seem most convenient to his Heavenly Wisdom, and good pleasure.

The *Corinthians*, amidst that variety of wonderful Gifts then vouchsafed, were desirous, it seems, to have the most wonderful for their share: and that of Tongues was chiefly coveted by them in those days; for some wrong respect, it appears, and not agreeably to the purpose of God. Our Adversaries have other designs, and covet a Miracle of another sort: Infallibility, or a *Wisdom* or *Knowledge* Unerring, is their

their Choice. This Choice of theirs is made, they think, with some wisdom; and, did it appear that they had it, it would be to our profit and content. But, whereas the *Corinthians* are reproved for coveting a particular Miracle, in that plentiful time of Miracles; the *Romanists* covet their Miracle now, when God had ceased to bestow the rest. However, if they coveted only, it were more tolerable, though an offence still: but they further, take it to themselves; produce no Charter for it from God, and yet would force us to bear witness to the Gift. When too the *Corinthians* pretended to any of these Miracles, either the Gift proved itself openly, as in the Case of Healing, Tongues, and even of Wisdom and Knowledge, if above their natural Parts and Education; or else it was attested by the Concomitance of the other manifest ones: but this pretended Gift of our Adversaries is neither attended with others, to bear it Company and Evidence it; nor does by any means manifest itself, and shine out with any Lustre of its own. They claim it by no other reason, but because it was heretofore in the Apostolical Times given to others; and they, they think, either deserve it as much, or want it mightily.

That is the Argument the *Guide* makes from these places, which he desired should be compared. Those places make no Promise of a Living Infallible Director to all Ages; and chiefly, if not solely, concern the Persons to whom they are spoken, the first Planters of the Gospel. But in his opinion, one at least of those extraordinary Powers should descend, as there should be occasion for it, to the Interpreting of doubtful Scripture, and for the Instruction of succeeding Times; for, says he, it is very *Needful*. A good Argument to make out a Title; as if we had a Right presently to every thing that would be of Advantage to us. This is the Modern *Droit de Bien-seance*, transferred to Spirituals, and pleaded against the Holy Spirit. But how true would the Inference be, that all Missionaries have the Gift of Tongues, because it is highly necessary to their Office? Or would it be a good Proof, that Miracles are now wrought in *Rome*, because there may be Atheists that want them? If Heresies make an Infallible Judge necessary, why was there no General Council for the first 300 years, the time of the most grievous and dangerous Heresies that ever infested the Church? Or must we affirm, against all History, that there were such Councils, because there was so much need of them? But as needful as it is that a General Council with the Pope should be Infallible, so much more profitable, to avoid delays, would it be, that the Pope should be Infallible alone; much more yet, that every Bishop; and highly expedient, that every Priest, should be that unerring Guide. They shew not much of Wisdom or Knowledge, that make such Conclusions as these: however, that they have great need of the Gift, we allow.

Let us see now the 18th Chapter of St. *Matthew*, and the 20th

verse, with which we are bid to compare the 17th and 18th. But

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we shall first desire a Licence to read more of the context, and shall begin therefore at the 15th verse. Moreover, if thy Brother shall trespass against thee, go, and tell him his fault between thee and him alone: if he shall hear thee, thou hast gained thy Brother. [16. v.] But if he will not hear thee, then take with thee one or two more, that in the mouth of two or three Witnesses every word may be established. [17. v.] And if he shall neglect to hear them, tell it unto the Church: but if he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as an Heathen man and a Publican. [18. v.] Verily I say unto you, Whatsoever ye shall bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven. [19. v.] Again, I say unto you, that if two of you shall agree on Earth, as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in Heaven. [20. v.] For where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the midst of them. [21. v.] Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my Brother sin against me, and I forgive him? &c.

This whole Chapter directs our behaviour to our Brethren; and particularly, from the 15th verse, if a Brother shall Trespass against us, by what steps we are to proceed, and after how many Admonitions to give him over. Where we are told, that if the offending Person does not recover himself, and ask Pardon; he shall be bound, that is, Condemned before God as well as Men: but if Brethren agree, the Offence shall be pardoned in Heaven; nay, nothing shall be denied them by their Father. This is the natural meaning of the words; and the same is understood by the Fathers, particularly by St. Chrysostom: so that no other sense can be opposed to it, as from Authentick Tradition.^a Now, to wave the interpretation of those that will not suppose this Process to end in a formal Excommunication of the Offender, and cutting him off from the whole Assembly, but only in a Licence given to the offended Person, after that to break off the former correspondence, and no more to converse with him; not too to take notice that St. Augustin,^b and St. Chrysostom, in this Case, make the Parties injured to be the Persons that bind or loose, according as they shall remit the Offence or not: to pass by all this, and to suppose that the Bishops have here an Authority given, and that Excommunication is directed; yet this at least must be granted, that the 17th and 18th verses do not speak concerning the Catholick Church, but only concerning a particular Congregation, nor concerning defining of Doctrines, but admonishing and censuring an injurious Person. In the first place therefore, no more Authority can be challenged hence to the Universal Church, than is to be allowed to any singular: and then, in the second place, since, in our Adversaries own Opinion, the Keys of the Church may err, and condemn the Innocent; how shall this Text, that does not make the Discipline of

^a See Disc. I. Chap. 7. Art. the 4th.

^b If you look upon a Brother as a Heathen or Publican, you have bound him on Earth: if you have corrected your Brother, you have loosed him. Aug. Sermon. 16. De Verbis Dom.

the Church unerring, of which only it can be surmised to speak, prove it Infallible in Articles of Faith, of which it says not a Syllable? As to the 19th and 20th verses, if they refer to the Context, they are to be construed to the same sense, (that given above,) and will be as little to our Adversaries purpose: if too they are taken abstracted, they will be no more at their service neither. For suppose we, that the Promise was absolutely fulfilled to the Apostles, and that whatsoever any two of them desired was granted: yet to others, it must be understood in a more limited sense; upon condition, things convenient are asked, by a good man, in the Spirit of Charity, for a worthy Person, who too contributes his best endeavour. These Conditions, St. *Chrysostom* says, are implied under the Phrase, *in my Name*; and that two or three are rarely so met together. *For it is not*, says he, *every Synod or Meeting that is meant by our Saviour*, but one so qualified.^a It is manifest these Words can be brought to promise no more: neither will it follow hence, if a Number of Bishops meet together, and pray to God to give their Majority an Infallible Spirit, that therefore immediately they are to have it; which is the only Inference that can be made from this place. Besides, this Text, by our Adversaries way of deduction, proves more than they themselves will be content with: making the smallest Synod as Infallible, as the most Universal; and giving as much Authority to any Bishop and two or three Laymen, as to the greatest Bishop, joined with two or three Thousand Bishops more.

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The next Proof for Infallibility is from the 16th of *Matth.* 18, 19, v. It is given by the *Guide* in *Latin*, with a touch of *Syriack*: *Tu es Petrus*, &c. and so, no doubt, is a better Argument to those that understand not the Language: but in *English* the known Words are these: *And I say also unto thee, that thou art Peter, and upon this Rock I will build my Church: and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven.*^b

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Now of this place we have no certain Interpretation from any Authentick Tradition. For St. *Chrysostom* (for example) makes the *Rock*, upon which the Church was to be built, to be St. *Peter's* Confession, that *Jesus was the Christ, the Son of God*; St. *Augustin*, with little

^a Vid. *Nic. de Clamengit*, in Fascic. Rerum Expetend. & Fugient. *London*. p. 400.

^b *Launoy*, in the Seventh Letter of the Fifth *Tome*, reduces the several Interpretations of this Text, whether professedly or incidentally given by Fathers and Doctors, to four sorts. The first understands the Church to be built on St. *Peter*: the second, upon all the Apostles in common: the third, upon St. *Peter's* Confession: the fourth, upon the Rock Christ Jesus. He then brings in order, under these distinct Heads, the several Expositions he finds: and at last, upon the review, forms this Judgment. I. That the third and fourth Way, which are the same in effect, have very much the advantage of Authority above the first. II. That, if the Fathers can be said to be Unanimous in any of these Expositions, they are so in the third; and much more so, if the fourth be reckoned with the third, as in right it ought. To these Observations I would add another: that, of all those who make St. *Peter* the Rock, only St. *Jerom* is found to concern his Successors of *Rome* in it, and to make that See to be the Rock of the Text. And this too he insinuates by way of Allusion only, in a Complimental Letter to Pope *Damasus*; but in his Commentary on this place, where he must be presumed to give the true Sense, there he gives another.

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difference, Our Saviour so confessed: some expound it of St. *Peter's* Person, and others jointly of the rest of the Apostles. The *Gates of Hell* some take for Heresy and Vice; others, for Death and Destruction. That too, against which those *Gates* should not prevail, is commonly supposed to be the *Church*, but thought by St. *Jerom* to be the *Rock*; that is, in his Opinion, the Apostles. Besides, as to the Power granted to St. *Peter* in the next verse, whether of Teaching, according to the *Jewish* Phrase, or of Discipline, or whatever other extraordinary Power; it is here but promised; not given, actually, 'till after the Resurrection, nor fully, until *Pentecost*. This Promise therefore is to be expounded by the Completion. And then we find, that the other Apostles were equally Partakers of the Gift, both that of Forgiving and Retaining Sins, and that other of the Holy Ghost: as too it is apparent from the *Acts*, that St. *Peter* had no Power over the rest of the Apostles, nor any Negative upon them in the first Council.

From this place, several Assertions have been advanced, either, first, in behalf of the See of *Rome*, or, else, of the Universal Church: in behalf of the *Roman* See, that it should have a perpetual Existence, never err in Faith, and have the Government of the whole Church: in behalf of the Universal Church, that it should never fail, or never Err.

Now, as to the Church of *Rome*, she seems not, by any rational Construction, to have any private Interest in this Text; neither does Tradition interpret it for her: the whole current of antient Authorities carrying it another way; St. *Jerom* himself, who calls her *the Rock*, in a Complimental Epistle which they much boast of, never in the least mentioning her on the proper occasion, in his Comment on the place. She cannot therefore fairly challenge hence the Privilege of perpetual Existence, much less the Authority of a Supremacy: so far is she from having any Title to Infallibility, a Prerogative absolutely denied the Pope by the *Gallican*,^a and I suppose, by our *English Romanists*.

As to the Church in General, whether it can totally fail, we do not dispute. Whether too, by virtue of this Text, there must not always be preserved an Unerring Church, (though we may hereafter, yet) we do not now question: for That upon a Division may be the Minor Part, and Dissenting from the Pope, and undistinguishable by any outward Mark. But whether or no the Majority of the Church, or any assignable Part of it, asunder, or consenting with the Pope, shall always be Infallible; that we desire at present should be demonstrated from this place.

For when it is said, that *the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against the Church*, whether founded on St. *Peter's* Confession, or upon St. *Peter* so Confessing; the utmost that can be concluded is this, that such a Church there shall always be, that simply shall confess that

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Article of Faith, or, if you please, that shall in all points confess the whole Faith: but where that Church shall be, or what the Numbers of that Church shall be, is not defined here; neither is it made impossible for the greater, or any assigned part to Apostatize, much less, to err in some point, provided such a Church here spoke of shall some where or other still remain. For suppose by this Text there is always to be an Unerring Church, yet the Text, which (in the Opinion of the *Gallicans*) does not place that Unerring Church at *Rome*, does not neither (to do the *Papalins* right) assign her any other Seat; neither does it determine her Numbers, or give us any other Mark whereby she may be discerned. As then the *Roman* Church, that part of the Universal Church, may err; so may any other assignable part of the Universal err too: and as the *Roman* Church may err alone; so too she may err in Conjunction with any assignable proportion of the other Churches, and yet an unerring Church be preserved still.

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When too it is promised to *St. Peter*, that the *Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven* shall be given him, and that what he binds, &c. the *Keys* here mentioned, are either of Knowledge, or of Jurisdiction, or both. The Fathers generally understand it of the last; some Moderns of the first only: let us take them together. As then one is given, so the other: both eminently, and with exemption from Errour, to the Apostles; ordinarily, and with no such exemption, to their Successors. The *Keys* put into the hands of the Apostles were Master-keys; the others opened or shut but to such Apartments; those in the hands of the Apostles were rightly used; these in the hands of their Successors might be used amiss, and against the Will of the Master of the House. So much is confessed by themselves concerning the *Key* of Discipline: and if the *Key* of Knowledge be here to be understood; where the Text excepts the Use of one from Errour, and not the other, they cannot shew. But, as we observed before, our *Gallican Romanists* have unawares yielded up the Cause to us. For, if the particular Successors of *St. Peter* have not Infallibility conveyed to them by this Text, other Successors of the Apostles are not to expect it hence: and if the Bishops have it not apart, they have then from this Text no Warrant to claim it to the Majority of their Body with or without the Pope: which is the Proposition ought hence to be proved, and after which at present we only enquire.

The next Proof produced is from *1 Tim. 3. 15*. We begin at the former verse. [14.] *These Things write I unto thee, hoping to come unto thee shortly.* [15.] *But if I tarry long, that thou mayest know how thou oughtest to behave thy self in the House of God, which is the Church of the living God, the Pillar and Ground of the Truth.* [16.] *And without controversy, great is the Mystery of Godliness, &c.*

The Church, says our Guide, unlimited to the Apostles days; that is, the Successive Teachers of it, are the Pillar and Ground of Truth; the Foundation of God that standeth sure, *2 Tim. 2, 19*. But this, which he lays down for sure, is not so well founded. For, first, it seems to

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some not incongruous, to join these words, *The Pillar and Ground of Truth*, in construction with those that follow, and not with those that go before; a new Sense beginning with them, and running thus; *The Mystery of Godliness* is the Pillar and Ground of Truth,^a and without controversy great, namely this, *God seen in the Flesh, &c.* This Syntax the Greek will bear very well; and the Sense (especially if the *Pillar of Truth* be taken materially, and in St. Chrysostom's Acceptation, which you find here below) is not improper: however, I may safely say, it is much more natural than that which the Romanists would bring in upon us. But we need not fly to this Novel Construction: for in the other, the received, and authorized one,

(2dly.) It is not certain, whether in this place *Timothy* himself be not supposed to be the Pillar and Ground of that Truth, which the Apostle, the Master Builder, is now establishing: the Sense running thus, *that thou mayest know*, [as] *a Pillar and Ground of the Truth, how, &c.* This has been suggested by Mr. Chillingworth, and has Gregory Nyssen for its Voucher.

And then (3dly.) Supposing it not to be said of *Timothy*, yet there are other Senses, under which it may be affirmed. For St. Chrysostom, taking Truth here as opposed to Type and Shadow, and understanding a Pillar of Truth to be phrased, as a Pillar of Fire or Smoak, denominated not from what it supports, but of what it consists; seems to give the Text this Construction, *which is the Church of the Living God*, being a *Pillar and Ground* [or whose Pillar and Ground is] of weighty and substantial Truth. His Paraphrase runs thus. *The House of God, which is the Church of the living God, a Pillar and Ground of Truth, not as that Jewish House. For this it is that supports our Faith and our Preaching: It is Truth, that is the Pillar and Ground of the Church.*

But (4thly.) Suppose the Church said to be the Pillar of Truth, as that which supported Truth, and on which it was built: if we take Truth in St. Chrysostom's sense, as contradistinguished to Types, the Sentence will not import, that the Church bears up all Truth, and nothing but the Truth; but only, that it holds up and shews forth those great Truths, of which the Old Law was but the Shadow, the great Mystery that follows, of *God manifested in the Flesh, &c.* And then this at best, should we suppose it to give the Church an Infallibility, would give it only in such Fundamentals, of which betwixt us and the Romanists there is no dispute.

But, lastly, let the Church be said to be the Foundation of Truth, that is, of all saving Truths, so as to support them, raise them up, and shew them to the World. Take then the Church for its Policy and Frame, as it was constituted by the Apostles; and we readily acknowledge it to have been such: but this hinders not but this Fabric may since have been much impaired, or defaced, dilapidated,

^a The Foundation of Foundations, and the Pillar of Wisdom, is to know there is a first Being. Maimon. in Dr. Ham. on the place.

or superonerated by the folly of the Builders; though not entirely ruined, by reason of the firmness and strength of the Building. If too we understand by the Church the Persons who constitute it, we know well that the Apostles were its Pillars and Foundation, as they founded and supported it by their Doctrine and Rules; and that the Faithful, edified and built up by them, were a Temple.^a We grant too that their Successors, at least, the far greater part of them, did for some time make good those Names, bearing up and evidencing the whole Truth. And yet, notwithstanding, it might remain possible, that the Majority of Clergy or People, who should come after, might fail any longer to support it or retain it; and that some since, who seemed to be Pillars, may have advanced their own Capitals too high; may have let fall something of what ought to have been held up; and, instead of that, may have taken up some Errour, and fixed it *where it ought not, in the Holy Place.*

The Church therefore, in either sense, taken either for the Building, or for the Builders, was actually in the Apostolical Times the Foundation and Ground of Truth: in the following Ages it ought to have been so likewise; that is, the same Frame ought to have been kept up; and it was the Duty of the Apostles Successors to be Pillars. But whether what ought always to be done, should be done always, that this Text does not affirm. If it affirms at all, it affirms concerning the first Church: but of that certainly which was to come, it was no Prophecy, but an Exhortation. And as an Exhortation it may be well understood, even to *Timothy* himself. For the Apostle instructs him in this Letter how he is to behave himself; and here he intimates a weighty Motive for such a Behaviour, that he should take good care, either to be a steady Pillar of the Church, or to see that the Frame of the Church was not injured under his Government: for the Church was the House of the Living God; and the Trust was very great, of the formerly Mysterious, now Conspicuous Truths, committed to his Charge. He ought therefore to take great heed: and that the more, because, as the Apostle proceeds to warn him, *the Spirit expressly speaketh, that in the latter times some shall depart from the Faith, giving heed to seducing Spirits, and Doctrines of Devils,*^b &c. If then, says St. Paul, *thou put the Brethren in remembrance of these things, thou shalt be a good Minister of Jesus Christ.*^c Take heed therefore unto thyself, and unto the Doctrine,^d &c. the Apostle not speaking positively concerning the future Demeanour even of *Timothy* himself, much less, of any Number of future Bishops.

This is the plain easy Interpretation of this place. As for that of the *Roman Church*, neither St. *Chrysostom*, nor the Authors of the Commentaries ascribed to St. *Jerom*, or to St. *Ambrose*, ever thought of it. Whence we are at least assured of this, that it is no more the Traditional, than it is the Rational Meaning.

^a Gal. 2. 9. Eph. 2. 20. 2 Cor. 6. 16. 1 Pet. 2. 5.
^c Verse 6. ^d Verse 16.

^b 1 Tim. Chap. 4. v. 1.

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The 4th Chapter of the *Ephesians* (the 11th and 14th verses of which are produced next by the *Guide*) begins with a general Exhortation, *that they would walk worthy of their Vocation*: and then, as to the Particulars, directs first to Love and Unity, *that they should keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*, [3. v.] that those, who had the more eminent Gifts, should not contemn the rest; neither they, who had the lesser, should be discouraged, much less, envy the others; for *Grace is given according to the measure* Christ has thought fit, and for common benefit: that *some are Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers, for the perfecting of the Saints, for the work of the Ministry, for the edifying of the Body of Christ*; all those cooperating to produce in each Christian the same Faith, and Knowledge of the Son of God; to the intent they may all grow up *unto that measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ*, as to be perfect Men, and no more Children, tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of Doctrine, by the slight of Men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive. So does the Apostle caution them as to the first Particular, against those that would toss them to and fro, and break them one against another. He then at the 17th verse resumes the same general Exhortation; *This I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not, as other Gentiles walk, &c.* proceeding to other Particulars, against the Sins of Lying, Anger, Stealing, Fornication, &c. That they should keep stedfast to the Duties they knew, *suffer no man, that lieth in wait, to deceive them with vain words* concerning these things. Now all that this place supposes, is, that heretofore there were Apostles, Prophets, Evangelists, Pastors and Teachers, the which we deny not: and the Direction given to the *Ephesians* is this, that those Graces should not be made an occasion of Pride and Conceit, Division and Emulation, by the Craft of ill men; but that the Disciples should suffer themselves to be edified and perfected by those Gifts, growing more men, than to be led away by every Deceiver, into the deceitful lusts of their former unregenerate State. This the Text spoke to the *Ephesians*, to whom it was writ: and the Exhortation is good to us, that we should make the due Improvement of the Helps we enjoy, of what is come down to us from the Apostles and Evangelists, *i. e.* of the Holy Scriptures, and particularly of this Epistle. But, that a Succession of such highly qualified Men should be continued down to our Time, that is no supposition of the place. Yes, says the *Guide*, as long as men are liable to be tossed about, there must be the same Infallibility: that is, there do continue the one sort of Persons, the Deceivers, and the Deceivable; and therefore the other must remain, that cannot err, the Apostles, or inspired Doctors: and, as the winds of false Doctrine arise on one side, the Holy Spirit must of necessity descend down and blow on the other. But nothing can be more unreasonable, or more presumptuous, than this Inference. For that blessed Spirit blows where, and how it lists: and as it did not think fit,

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to obviate all Cavils and Objections, and to prevent all Deception then ; so now it has not taken care for a formal Definition of all the Questions that may have been raised since. If none had been deceived in the Apostles Time, and the Faith of every man had been fully assured, we might have wanted Infallibility more impatiently now : but men, we see, were tossed about in those days ; and there was need, it seems, of something Super-Infallible, to have hindered it. Those *Apostles* therefore and *Prophets*, &c. were given, not absolutely to hinder winds of Doctrine from rising, nor to make it impossible that any deceivable men should be tossed about by those winds ; but to give to the Chosen and Pure of Heart such a Stability and Anchorage, that, though they might be blown upon and ruffled, yet they should be able to keep the Course to their Port, and not make Shipwrack of their Souls. Had it pleased the Divine Providence, Man at first might have been made Infallible, and Impeccable too ; had the Holy Spirit so pleased, every Hearer of the Gospel might have been a Believer, every Believer Infallible, and the Will only left to its liberty of Obedience and Disobedience to what the Understanding knew. But the Creator took not this measure in the beginning, nor the Holy Ghost after. A few only were Infallibly assisted, and these did not Preach to every Man of that Age ; and were not personally with their Infallibility in all Places where their Gospel came : neither did it appear upon them where they were, in such a Latitude, or with such an irresistible Force, that there was no room for further Enquiry, nor even a possibility of Contradiction. For many, even in the Churches founded by the Apostles, doubted of their Mind in many things, and many perversely gainsaid, who never had, it may be, the opportunity of any further instruction or conviction. As then it cannot be said, without impiety, that this Divine method was defective, and that there was not at that time administered means of Knowledge sufficient for Stability of Faith ; God working, by his own ways, his own end, choosing some Nations out for the hearing of the Gospel, and even then so proposing that Gospel to them, that the Hearts of men might be tried by its Reception, and the Approved be saved : so neither can it be said more venially in the after Ages, that the good Wisdom of God is wanting to itself, or them, if they have not their Apostles too, and find not such an Infallibility, as they have fancied, continued to them. It is we that are wanting in Duty and Gratitude, we, to whom the Scriptures of those Apostles are come, and who know more than many a Church Contemporary with the Apostles then did ; (instructed, as many then were, by some not Infallible Teacher, and to whom the Writings, sent by the Apostles to other Places, were not yet communicated ;) it is we, I say, that shall be wanting to God, and ourselves, if we do not see, and confess that we have those Opportunities of Knowledge God thought sufficient enough, to lead the honest and industrious into all saving Truths ; though not so much, as every wanton idle Man may wish, or every perverse Caviller demand. It

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was *needful*, in the Opinion of the Rich man in Hell, that, to reclaim his Brethren, one should be sent from the dead: but it was thought as unnecessary by *Abraham*; for they had *Moses* and the Prophets, and, if they would not hear them, they would not be persuaded, says he, though one came from the Dead. We have *Moses* and the Prophets, our Saviour Christ, his Evangelists and Apostles; they have told us already what was thought necessary, and thence we must study their Mind: but they will neither return on Earth themselves, nor send any other Infallible, to give us an exacter Information. We are to be content with what God has given, and not undutifully pretend to more. And as no man persuades himself that he is rich, because he has need of Wealth; or that God has given him an excellent Understanding, because he finds he wants it: so neither is a Church to arrogate to itself Infallibility, because she thinks she needs it. But I have said enough before of this begging Argument, drawn from pretended Necessity, by such as are unwilling to labour, and use their honest Endeavour; which offers itself here again, and is so impudent as not to receive an answer.

We return therefore to this Apostolical Exhortation, and hope, that as every man must acknowledge himself sufficiently instructed by it in the Duty of abstaining from Pride, Contention, Anger, Uncleaness, &c: so no man will have profited so little by the use of this and the other Scriptures, as not to discern between Modern Bishops and the Apostles; nor to be so weak, as to be taken with the slight and juggle of this Argument, a *craftiness* that is not *cunning*. For he must be a *Child*, that is *deceived* by such an Inference: and with this wind, from this corner, whoever *turns*, *turns* easily. We grant to the *Guide* his Allegation from St. *Peter*, 2 Epist. 3. 16. that some Scriptures are *hard to be understood*: but, as to the Scriptures he here cites, it is not hard to understand that no Infallibility is imported by them. Those hard places of St. *Paul*, which St. *Peter* means, were not the only places *wrested by unlearned and unstable men to their own destruction*, for so also were the other Scriptures: And the Reader, I presume, does by this time see that no Sayings are more violently and unnaturally forced, than those which are *wrested* to this Infallibility even by *Learned Men*.

§. VII.

The last Proof for this Infallibility is weaker, if possible, than any of the foregoing. It is taken from the frequent Injunctions made by the Apostle to Pastors and People, as [1 Cor. 1. 10.] *That they should all say one thing, and that there should be no Schisms among them*: [Phil. 1. 27.] *That they stand fast in one Spirit, be of one mind*: [Chap. 2. 2, 3.] *That they be of one meaning, agreeing in one*: [3. 16.] *That they should continue in the same Canon or Rule*: [Rom. 12. 16.] *That they should be of one mind, following along with the Humble, not wise in their own conceits*: [Chap. 16. 17.] *That they should mark those that make Differences and Scandals, contrary to the Doctrines they had learned*; [1 Cor. 14. 32, 33.] *That the Spirits of the Prophets*
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are subject to the Prophets, &c. Now, says he, this Precept how can it be observed, unless there be in the Church some Persons, whose Judgment, Faith, &c. all the rest are bound to follow? And who can these be, but the Guides? &c.

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So far the *Guide's* Meaning is true, that these Exhortations suppose something in which Christians should be United: that is, the Truths of Christianity which they had received, and the mutual Kindness they owed one to another. And so much may be supposed now, without the continuance of an Infallible Judge: there being Truths delivered to us, in which we ought to agree; and the same Duty of Charity obliging us in those things, in which we differ. These Admonitions, therefore, concerning the Christian Faith and Love, do not direct us to repair to a Living Infallible Guide; but to make a careful Use of the Heavenly Guidance we have already received, as we will answer the Neglect before our Eternal Judge. For though such Exhortations take place, if there be a Present Judge deputed; yet they are so far from inferring one, that they are as proper, and more necessary, when there is none: being then pointed against Negligence, or Prejudice, or Passion, such things by which our own Judgment may otherwise be corrupted. So two private Neighbours may be advised to end their Difference, and not so much as a Trial by consent be ever thought of. So two Sovereign Princes may be counselled to agree, and no Arbitrator appointed. And if, in a Schism of *Antipopes*, any good man should have exhorted them to have removed the Scandal, he had not therefore made himself their Judge, nor supposed any other.

These Apostolical Directions do so little prove the design of a perpetual Infallibility, that they need not be encountered by others, that are much stronger against it. Such as, *Beware of False Prophets* [Mat. 7. 15.] *Prove all things: hold fast that which is good* [1 Thes. 5. 21.] *Believe not every Spirit, but try the Spirits, &c.* [1 Joh. 4. 1.] For from these, and other Passages, great Presumptions might be raised by us against the Popish Pretence: but the Proof lies absolutely on their side; and what they produce is so weak, that it falls of itself, and excuses us from the trouble of any further Opposition.

Now then, after we have with great Patience examined all their Scriptural Proofs, the Reader may be pleased to stand and take breath, and only to consider, whether he has found in them any the least degree of Evidence, that was necessarily to be expected for the Establishment of such a Power. He may reflect that, first, the Design of a Judge did require that his Person should be ascertained, his Jurisdiction expressed, in what Causes he should pronounce, and what Speech should be esteemed his Sentence: and then, 2dly, that the extraordinary nature of an Infallible Tribunal, which was to supersede our Natural Guide, and suspend the use of Human Understanding, and this in Affairs of infinite Moment; which was new too, and never

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before known to the World under the Old Testament; did require some very extraordinary notice, a notice under the New, more express than that Passage of *Deuteronomy*; as clear as any other Divine Revelation, and as plain as any Dictate of Reason. He was therefore to expect in this Case the Erection and Designation of such an Office, in Formal Precise terms, and as express, at least, as any other Article of our Faith. But, instead of all this, he will remember that he has found no other Evidences produced, than such as will very fairly admit another, and a far easier Sense; nay, which require another Sense to be affixed to them; which no Rational man unprejudiced would ever construe to the Popish Meaning; and which, *de facto*, none of the Antient celebrated Interpreters ever did: which too have been so far from being esteemed by those Doctors to prove an Infallibility, that they never gave them so much as an occasional Hint to mention and remember it on the place. From all which Considerations, I think I may, with the leave of any Equitable Reader, fairly conclude, that there is no Scriptural Testimony at all for the Existence of this pretended Judge.

§. VIII.

And now, when our Adversaries have failed so much in their Authentick Writings and Records, it remains, that they should call us on to the hearing of their Unscriptural Testimonies, and tell us, that they have many a Witness to produce, who is able to speak much to the Affair; that the Infallible Court is a Court by Prescription, and they can prove its Authority by infinite Depositions. Such pretended Witnesses of theirs, which may be said to be many in remote parts, and which they may pray to have examined, shall be enquired after, and fairly heard in due time. But, in the mean while, that such a Suggestion is made only to put off the Sentence, and to hinder Justice, any Indifferent Reader will presume aforehand.

For their failure of Proof from Scripture does not only very much weaken and disparage their Cause, by the want of the best sort of Evidence; but does besides enable us to form a very Peremptory Conclusion against them.

For AN INFALLIBLE COURT is a thing in itself of so high a Nature, that it may well seem to require something more Authentick, than a Verbal Commission, for its Warrant: It was withall so new and so strange in our Saviour's Time, that if any thing of his Institution had been put in Writing, This in all Probability could never have been omitted. Besides, the Knowledge of such a Court was to be the Leading and the Principal Truth, by which all other Truths were afterwards to be regulated and fixed, and by which the Christians of all Ages were to be chiefly instructed: and therefore, on all accounts, it must have found a very particular Mention in the Holy Records, if it had not been premised in the first Place. But, however, if the Erection of this Court, with the Nomination of the Persons, had not been Registered by itself, as a remarkable Passage, in the *Gospels*, or in the *Acts*; yet it could never have been forgot, when fit and proper

per Occasion was given, particularly in those places which the *Romanists* take for its Proof, and where they are so far in the right, that this Infallibility, had it been at all intended, ought to have been mentioned of necessity. For the Stability of the Church spoke of in St. *Matthew*, the Submission to the Church there directed; the Promise of the Holy Spirit, and of his Assistance in St. *John*; were all, in our Adversaries opinion, proper places for this Subject, and such on which they, for their part, are never used to forget it. But the Apostle St. *Paul*'s distinct Enumeration of Heavenly Gifts, his Notice of the grievous Heresies that were to enter, his Cautions against them, his frequent Exhortations to continue in the True Faith; these certainly could never have suffered him to have passed by this wonderful Grace, and to have left the Disciples without the Benefit of so necessary a Direction. Let any *Roman* Doctor, prepossessed as they are, with the Opinion of an Infallible Guidance, consider with himself, whether in these Cases he would not have thought himself justly to be blamed, had he forgot it; whether he would not certainly have proposed it, as the only effectual Remedy, and God's wisest Provision against Error; and whether he would have failed to have addressed his doubtful Disciples to it: and then let him tell us, whether he can think St. *Paul* more forgetful than himself; or less wise, or less careful of the Salvation of those to whom he writes? Of such a different Proceeding there can be no cause assigned, but the difference of the Principle, by which the Apostles went, from that which has been since taken up by the later Ages.

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The proper designed result of this Chapter was this, That there was no Scriptural Notice of a standing Infallibility: and from that Conclusion this Corollary does naturally follow, That there was not therefore any such Infallibility at all erected. As therefore we concluded the first Chapter, with a just suspicion against it, from the single view of the Pretence: so may we, by force of this Corollary, put a full end here to the whole Dispute; and justify our surceasing from any further Enquiry in so plain a Case. But the Reader, either out of Curiosity, or out of mere Grace to the Parties, and for superabundant Satisfaction, may, if he pleases, proceed on with us to the other Allegations.

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C H A P. IV.

The Proofs from Tradition, to what they are to speak, and of what kind they are, [Sect. I.] None of any kind for Infallibility in gross. Not from the Article of the Creed concerning the Church. This proved in general from the nature of the Creed, [Sect. II.] Then from the particular consideration of the Article, [Sect. III.] Whence arises another Peremptory Conclusion against the whole Pretence, [Sect. IV.]

§. I.

FROM the Proofs taken out of Scripture, we now descend to those we are to expect from Tradition. But although in the Scriptural Testimonies we were content to follow that order, which the *Guide* thought most advantageous to his Cause; yet here, where he has not been pleased to lead us the way, we shall take ourselves to be at liberty to pursue a more natural Method.

We may therefore consider the Traditional Evidences for an Infallible Judge or Guide, either, (1) as they speak such an Infallible Authority in gross, not ascertaining the Person; or else as it is determined to certain Persons: If determined; either (2) as assignable to the Pope singly, or in general to the Majority of the Body of Bishops; and those, whether (3) apart and in their several Dioceses, the diffused Church; or (4) assembled together in a Council; or else (5) lastly, to the Pope and that Majority consenting. The Majority of all the Bishops, I say; because our present Enquiry supposes a Division in the Church upon some new Question, concerning which all Bishops are not agreed.

The Subject, to which these Traditional Testimonies are to speak, may be so distinguished. The Testimonies too themselves may be of different kinds: either (1) Tradition properly Divine, some Sayings of our Saviour or his Apostles, reported from their Mouths, whether verbally or summarily, by the Antients; or else they may be the Opinion and Judgment of those Antients, expressed, or (2) in their Writings; or (3) by their Practice. These are the three sorts of Unscriptural Evidence, that must prove an Infallibility; as that Infallibility be assigned in any of those five manners above-mentioned.

§. II.

Now, to begin with the Traditional Authorities for Infallibility at large, and to examine their several kinds about it.

I. Here is no Traditional Divine Saying offered to this Purpose: no Word reported from our Saviour, or the Apostles, making mention of such a Power somewhere given; and directing us, so much as in the general, to resort to the Infallible Authority, and submit to its Determination.

II. There is no such Saying of any Antient, affirming the modern Existence of Infallibility; no Mention of the Unerring Tribunal.

III. We

III. We find in Practice no such Supposition, from the Appeals and Addresses of contending Parties: no such Phrase or Stile as this; "I am ready to refer myself to the Decision of those that cannot Err;" "I appeal to the Infallible Judge."

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I know of nothing that can look like any sort of Evidence on this Subject; except that Article of the Creed should be alledged, wherein we profess to believe in the Holy Catholick Church: as if by this Profession we did own some Living Unerring Guide, and our Duty to submit to that Conduct.

Now to this Suggestion there is a very ready Answer, without enquiring into the meaning of those words. For whatever the meaning be, it must be such a one, as is expressed already in the Holy Scriptures: the Articles of the Creed being declared by sufficient Authority to be Scriptural Assertions, and not to be derived from Oral Tradition. For this we have the Positive Affirmation of two Antient Expositors of the Creed, St. Cyril, and the Author of the first Book to the *Catechumens*, going under St. *Augustin's* Name.

St. Cyril, speaking to the *Catechumens*, says in his Fifth *Catechetick* Discourse: *Embrace and keep this Faith, which is now delivered to you by the Church, and which is confirmed by the whole Scripture. For because every person is not able to read the Scriptures, but some are debarred from that Knowledge for want of Learning, and some by want of Leisure; for that reason, lest any Soul should perish by Ignorance, we have the whole Doctrine of our Faith comprehended in these few Lines.—Keep in your memory this Faith; and expect hereafter the Confirmation of each Article from the Holy Scriptures. For the Creed does not consist of the Opinions of Men; but of the Chief Heads of Holy Scripture, collected out of it, and brought together in this Form.*

The first Book to the *Catechumens* begins thus: *Receive, my Children, the Rule of Faith, which is called the Symbol: and when ye have received it, write it in your hearts, and say it every day to yourselves. Before ye go to sleep, and before you go abroad, arm yourselves with your Symbol, [or Creed.] No body writes the Creed to read it, but to get it by heart; lest that which has been preserved to us by diligence, should be blotted out by forgetfulness. Let your Book be your Memory: that which you are now to hear, ye are to believe; and that which you shall believe, ye are to repeat again with your Tongue: As the Apostle says, With the Heart we believe unto righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession is made unto Salvation. This then is the Symbol which you are to remember, and to repeat. These words, which you have heard, are found scattered here and there in the Holy Scriptures: but they have been collected thence, and brought together in this manner, lest the Memories of the Unlearned should be at a loss; and to the end that every man should be able to say, and to comprehend, [or retain,] that which he does believe.*

It appears therefore evidently, that no Article of the Creed is to be produced as Traditional proof; and that this Article concerning the

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Church is to import no other Proposition, than such as may be collected and demonstrated from the Holy Scriptures. Upon which account, it cannot be supposed to imply either an Infallibility in gross, or affixed to certain Persons; except such Infallibility could be proved from the Written Word; a thing by no means to be done, as we have already seen.

§. III.

This Answer in Bar would be sufficient alone. But we may be content to consider more fully this their only Argument; and the rather, because we may meet the Article again on other heads: besides, these words *Church* and *Catholick* being often to occur, we have here given us a convenient Occasion to explain them.

First then, a *Church* is a Society founded by Christ, on such Belief, and such Obedience, as he has prescribed; which we own, and to which we engage ourselves by Baptism. This Church was first Erected at *Jerusalem*: and from that there have been since raised, by the Order of our Lord, and Labours of his Servants, infinite more.

The Word *Catholick* is *Greek*, and includes in it the signification of All, or a Whole. Now it is known that the Notion of All or Whole may be either simply taken, for a Sum and Aggregate of parts not otherwise joined; or for a Whole, properly so called, whose parts have between themselves some other Union.

As then the word *Catholick* implies no more than Number: so the first single Church at *Jerusalem* might be stiled *Catholick*, in contradiction to the *Jewish*, because it lay open to all men, (without exception of Nation, or Sex, or Quality,) to *Jews*, and *Gentiles*, Men and Women, Bond and Free. So too, when there were more Churches propagated, all those Churches Collectively might be called the *Catholick* or *Universal Church*, as being the Particulars in a Sum or Aggregate, without any consideration yet of a nearer Conjunction. In the same manner, it is plain that the Doctrine, that was taught in common in all those Churches, might be called *Catholick* too.

Now, it having pleased the Holy Providence of God to qualify his Servants for the Universal *Catholick* Promulgation of his Gospel by the Gift of Tongues, and to send them out immediately into all the World, in their several Missions: as all Parts were in a little time made happy by the Knowledge of the Truth; so there resulted this Advantage, from that Dispersion, to the Word of Truth, that it was now lodged and deposited, as it were by so many Copies, in so many several distinct hands, and was thereby the better secured from being either lost, or corrupted. Upon which account, there could be no question, in the first Ages, but those Doctrines or Precepts were Apostolical and Divine, which were found to be taught in all the distant Churches, and Universally attested by the whole World.

From this Consideration therefore of the State of the Christian Church in its beginning, the word *Catholick* might by a Metonymy be brought to signify True: and thence it might come, that in Theologick

logick Language, Catholick Doctrine is the same as True Doctrine; and a Catholick Church, that which Professes the True Faith, and the True Obedience.

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So it might be. But finding the word Catholick, under that Figurative sense, very early, not only in the Authors of the Fourth Age,^a or of the Third;^b but of the Second too, as in *Clemens Alexandrinus*;^c and higher, in the *Letter of the Church of Smyrna concerning Polycarp's Martyrdom*;^d (if not in *Justin Martyr*:^e) finding, I say, the word so early used in that sense, as an ordinary Appellative, and wanting no Adjunct to explain it: one may be tempted to think, that this was then no new Metonymical Expression, just raised to signify from the particular Circumstances of Christianity; but that rather it had been received into common Use before in those Countries, and had the Notion of Verity affixed to it. For long before, among the Logicians, ever since *Aristotle's* time, a Catholick Attribute was that which belonged to the Subject essentially, and for ever.^f And so in *Quintilian*, a Catholick Precept or Maxim was that which held true absolutely, and without any exception.^g And lastly, in the Titles of the Chapters of *Pliny's* Natural History, we find the Properties of the Planets called their *Catholick Affections*; and, afterwards, the Propositions concerning Lightning, *Catholica Fulgurum*.^h From all which, it is very probable, that Catholick did stand in Profane Usage for Universally the Same, and constantly True. And this Notion of Truth or Certainty appears further from the contrary word *Heresy*: which signifies an Opinion taken up upon Choice, or at Pleasure;ⁱ at the best, only Probable and Contingent, and so distinguished from Science and Demonstration; but sometimes understood in a worse sense, and as opposed to Truth, even in the time of the New Testament;^k at farthest, notoriously so taken by *Justin Martyr*, *Ireneus*, and *Clemens Alexandrinus*,^l &c. The last of those mentioned Authors very much countenances the Comparative Observation we are now making.^m And upon the whole, it may be, one may be allowed to

a Of this the Instances are well known, and many noted by Bishop *Pearson* on this Article, in his Exposition of the Creed.

b The Synod of *Antioch*, held in the year 272, has these Expressions in its Circular Letter, Καθολικὴν Φρονεῖν, Ἐκ τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας κατεστῆσθαι Ἐπισκοπῶν, speaking of the Church of *Antioch*; and Πᾶσιν αὐτῇ Καθολικῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ. St. *Cyprian* in the 47th, and 49th Epistle of the *Oxford* Edit. (ann. 251.) uses *Catholica Ecclesia* in that sense; and so *Firmilian* in his Letter anno Chr. 256. So *Tertullian*, in the beginning of the Century, in his Book *De Præscrip.* c. 30.

c Μικρολογίας τῆς Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας τὰς ἀνθρωπίνους συνήσεις πεποιήκει. *Strom.* 7.

d *Polycarp* is called, in the Letter of the Church of *Smyrna*, [*Usser.* p. 25. *Euseb.* Hist. l. 4. c. 15.] about the middle of the Second Century, Ἐπίσκοπος τῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ Καθολικῆς Ἐκκλησίας.

e Καθολικὴ δόξα seems to bear such a sense in the beginning of his Book *de Monarch.*

f Καθολικὸν δὲ λέγω, ὃ ἐν ᾧ πάντες τε ὡσαύτη, καὶ κατ' αὐτό, καὶ ἡ αὐτό. *Analyt. Post.* l. 1. c. 4. Πρῶτος καθολικὸς αὐτὸς: μὴ καθολικὸς, φησὶν. Το γὰρ αὐτὸ καὶ πανταχὴ καθολικὸν εἶναι φαίνεται. *Ibid.* c. 7.

g *Quintil.* l. 2. c. 13. *Præcepta Catholica*, i. e. *Universalia* & *Perpetualia*. *Leges immutabili Necessitate constructæ.*

h *Lib.* 2. cap. 17, 54.

i Αἱρεσις, Προσωπικὸς ἐν δόγματι ἀνθρώπων ἔχουσι. *Diog. Laert.* in *Proem.* *Hæreses*, quarum opera sunt adulteræ doctrinæ; διὰ τὰς ἑκαστὴν ex interpretatione Electionis, quæ quis sive ad instituendas, sive suscipiendas eas utitur. *De arbitrio suo inducere.* *Tertul.* *De Præscrip.* c. 6. *Hæresis*, *Humana Præsumptio.* *De Jejun.* c. 1.

k *Act.* 24. 5. 14. *1 Cor.* 11. 19.

l Ὅτι τῶν Αἱρέσεων ἀναγκὴ τὴν ὀνομασίαν, ὥς ἀντιδιατελεῖν τὴν Ἀληθείαν, λόγῳ χρησόμεθα. *Strom.* 7. Ἐπισημαίνω τὰς Αἱρέσεις τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ, κατὰ τὴν τὴν αὐτῇ τὴν ζήλειαν. *Ibid.* And so Αἱρετικὸς is rendered by *Hejychius* ὁ ἀπὸ τῆς παρὰ τὴν Ἀληθείαν ἀμετρίως ἔχων.

m The latter part of the 7th *Strom.* beginning at *Ἐπειδὴ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος πνεῦς τὴν ἀπὸ Ἐκκλησίας* — which we have often cited already, supposes Hereticks to be led by uncertain Opinions and Fancies of Probability; but the True Church to be founded on Science and Demonstration [that is, on *Προπίστος Καθολικὸς*.] On this occasion, he says:

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gues, that the loose meaning of Universal or General does not always in Ecclesiastical Writers belong to Catholick, there where it is ordinarily assigned. *

But whatever the reason might be of the Acceptation of the Word, this is certain, that, in Christian Phrase, Catholick has been the same with Orthodox; and the True Doctrine, or Church so named, in opposition to the False, very Antiently, if not all along from the Beginning of Christianity.

Next, we are to consider the Word as it signifies All, or a Whole of Parts, not only summed up in a Number, but United in its Constitution.

Any single Church is such a Whole of Particular Persons Confederated and Conjoined together, in the Profession of the same Truths, and the same Obedience, under Christ our Lord; by whose Authority this Strict Regular Society was first founded; and, in Obedience to whom, it is always to be maintained.

Such a single Church was that of *Jerusalem*, the Original and Mother of all the rest. And then, when there was no other, he that should have broke the Union and Order of that Body, would have been a Schismatick; and he that had kept it, as properly stiled a Catholick.

But after, when other Churches were formed by the Apostles and their Disciples, these distinct Churches, as they were founded severally in that first Unity of Order, each within themselves; so too they were founded in a Collateral Unity one with another: all those several Churches or Bodies making one Church, or one Body, called therefore the Catholick Church.

For those several Churches were not only of the like kind and nature, professing the same Faith and Obedience; but they were all, virtually and in effect, the same Church: each Member of each Society having a Right in all; by his Admittance into one, being admitted into the rest, and made perfectly free of all those Christian Corporations. So that the Identity between any such two Societies was not only specifical, but in some kind numerical too: and, as the Christian Society of *Jerusalem* continued the same, notwithstanding the change of Persons by lapse of Time; so the Christian Society of *Antioch* was the same with that of *Jerusalem*, notwithstanding the difference of Persons by distance of Place. Upon the account therefore of this Fundamental Close Union, by which each Church is immediately joined with, and incorporated into each other, all those

Επειδὴ οὖν οἱ μὲν τῶν Πλῆθων ἐπιχειρημάτων, καὶ ἵπταται τῇ Ἀληθείᾳ ἡ φύσις: and, Τολῶν ὅτι τὴν Διόριστον τῇ ψυχῇ, Ἀγνοίας, Οἰκισίας, Ἐπιστήμης: Οἱ μὲν οὖν τῇ ἀγνοίᾳ, τὰ ἔστιν: Οἱ δὲ οὖν τῇ ἐπιστήμῃ, ἡ Ἐκκλησία ἡ Ἀληθής: Οἱ ὅτι τῇ Οἰκισίᾳ, οἱ καὶ τῇς Αἰρέσεως. To which add that Sentence before cited numb. 11. and then it will appear that Δόξα Καθολικὴ may be well said πρὸς ἀποδιακρίσει τῇ Αἰρέσεως.

a Possibly in that passage of *Eusebius*, (Hist. l. 4. c. 7.) Πραγματὶς οὖν ὅτι αὐτὸς καὶ μέγας, αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντες, ἡ τῆς Καθολικῆς καὶ μόνης Ἀληθῆς Ἐκκλησίας λαμπρότης, the words αὐτὸς καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχοντες, and μόνη Ἀληθής, may be but the Exposition of ἡ Καθολικὴ. And in that of *Justin Martyr's* Dialogue, Τὴν καθολικὴν καὶ συνελόντι φανταίαν αἰωνίαν ὁμοθυμαδὸν ἀμφοτέρων ἀνάστασις ἡρώσιον καὶ κρίσιν, the word καθολικὴ may have in it the signification of αἰωνία, as well as of what follows, &c.

Churches

Churches together are properly stiled the Catholick Church, and each of those Churches is Catholick too.

This Secondary Collateral Union is immediate and internal, belongs fundamentally and essentially to the Constitution of a Christian Church, and is so expressed by the Antients, by *Tertullian*^a particularly, and by *St. Cyprian*.^b

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Besides this Essential Unity between different Churches, there is another Mediate and External one; as when the several particular Churches shall join together in some common Form of Policy, and under the Government and Direction of some one Church, in which the rest Concenter, and by the Mediation of which they are further United. This Principal Church is then the Root, the Origin, and the Center of this Political Union. Such a Church is the Metropolitan Church of each Province, in respect of the particular Bishopricks: the Patriarchal, in respect of the particular Provinces: and such the Church of *Rome* would be, in respect of the Patriarchates themselves. The *Romanists* therefore suppose those several Churches, that Communicate with the *Roman* Church, to be Catholick by that Communion; and those altogether, with her their Chief and Head, to make the Catholick Church: and this by Divine Right, and from the Institution of Christ; which whosoever denys, is most properly a Schismatick in their Opinion.

Whether the Church of *Rome* has such a Supremacy by Divine Ordinance; or whether all this External Unity, by which Particular Churches Politically confederate together for common Government, be not positive and Human; we are not now to enquire: that Notion of Catholick, which denotes Communion, and is opposed to Schism, belonging not to our present purpose. At this time, our Search is after a Judge of Controversy, and we are to consider the Church Catholick, only as it signifies Orthodox, and in opposition to Heresy and Errour: we having nothing now to do with the Church of *Rome*, as it pretends to be the Center of Unity, but as it claims to be the Basis of Truth.

This is the Import of the Words *Church*, and *Catholick*: we come now to consider them, as they lie in the Creed.

Here then we are to observe first, concerning the Creed in general; that as Catholick signifies Orthodox, so this Creed was nothing else but the Orthodox Profession. For, it so coming to pass, that there arose up in the Beginning of Christianity very dangerous Errours, and destructive of the true Faith; the Catholick or True Church thought advisable, in opposition to those Errours, to form to itself some short Fundamental Profession, whereby they might distinguish themselves from Hereticks, as by a *Shibboleth*: which Profession being Charac-

^a Tot & tantæ Ecclesiæ, una est illa ab Apostolis prima, ex quâ omnes; sic omnes prima, & Apostolicæ, dum unâ omnes probant Unitatem. *Tert. de Præscript. c. 20.*

^b Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars tenetur. *Cypr. de Unit. Eccl. Et si Pastores multi sumus, Unum tamen Gregem pascimus. Id. Ep. 68. Edit. Oxon.*

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teristick, or the Cognifance and Word of a true Regular Christian, was called, for that reason, *Symbolum*, or a Mark and Token.

Our Saviour himself made his own *Symbol* or Cognifance first; when he commanded his Disciples to Baptize in the Name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. For by this Mark of Difference, the True Christian was, first, distinguished from a Heathen, as believing in the Father, the God of the *Jews*; secondly, from an ordinary *Jew*, as believing the Son Christ Jesus to be the *Messias*: and, lastly, he was discriminated from those *Jews*, who admitted Christ to be their Prophet and *Messias*, but would not recede from the Old Law; by believing in the Holy Ghost, who spoke by the Apostles, and declared the Abrogation of that Covenant. So did our Saviour himself order his Disciples to be Characterized, at their Admission, by the Belief of those three Persons, and Obedience to their several Directions.

But, because in a little time Deceivers crept in, who, under the name of Christians, and the shew of this Character, subverted the Faith; being really *Jews* or *Heathens*, and using the words of this Profession in a Meaning quite different from the first Intention: it grew therefore necessary to determine those few words of the Original Symbol to their proper sense, by the Addition of others, which should further distinguish and divide the true Catholick Christian from the Heretical and false. Left therefore an *Ethnick* Christian, under the Name of Father, should mean some other God, different from the Creator; he was to add expressly, *the Maker of Heaven and Earth*: and, lest he should mean such a Son, as was Man only in Appearance; or the *Jews* such a one, as was Man Only, and as the rest of men; he was obliged to profess his Belief circumstantially, in that Son, *who was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary, and who suffered under Pontius Pilate, was Crucified, Dead, and Buried, &c.*

The Archetypal Original Symbol of our Saviour, so explained, is called the Symbol or Creed of the Apostles: being explained after their Mind, and expressly in their own Phrase. This, as far as the Article of the Holy Ghost, (excepting that of Christ's Descent into Hell) was every where Uniformly professed over all the World; and called antiently the immoveable Rule, and Unreformable Canon. It was the Fundamental Characteristick of Catholicism: by the Profession of it men were Baptized, and admitted to be the true Christians; and that Baptism, at which such a Profession could not be presumed, was reputed and declared null; and consequently a Christian, otherwise made, supposed to be none.

Now, although those that professed this Creed, were by it sufficiently discriminated from the grosser Hereticks, such as deserved not really the name of Christian: yet other Heresies there were, very dangerous and wicked, that might hide themselves under this Form; and could not be detected and severed, but by some more precise Distinction. The *Arian* Heresy, denying the Coeternal Existence of our Saviour,

viour, occasioned therefore that Enlargement concerning the Son, which we find in the *Nicene* Creed; and afterwards, the *Macedonian*, denying the Person of the Holy Ghost, that Explanation we have on that Article in the same *Nicene* Creed, as it is commonly called. After that too, the *Nestorians*, *Eutychians*, &c. gave further Reason for the Additional Explications, that are given on those Subjects, in the Creed that goes under the Name of *Athanasius*.

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So were these Symbols and Cognisances of the True Belief enlarged and multiplied occasionally: each of them, in their several Times, being Characteristical enough; 'till new, and other Heresies arose, which were to be excluded by some further Distinction. But all along, whereas these and after Creeds differenced the Pure Christianity from Christianity Corrupt; the Apostolical was supposed to discern between the True and that falsely so called: and accordingly, the Admission into common Christianity by Baptism continued still to use only this Mark: while, at the same time, there were other Marks in use, to separate one Christian from another.

Now, as Heresies and Errours are of different sorts; some more gross, and more contrary to the Christian Faith, some less; some utterly inconsistent with Christianity, the Heresies of the first Ages; some consistent with it; and of these, some highly dangerous, and some pernicious in a less degree: so, on the other side, Orthodoxy, or a Catholick Belief, may either be so in perfection, purely and absolutely, and void of all sorts of Errour; or else in its degree, and qualifiedly; not pure from all Errour, but from such, of which some, otherwise good Christians, are guilty; from such so gross, and very dangerous; at least, from such which are absolutely incompatible with the Christian Profession.

Accordingly, one that Professed the Apostles Creed, in the Elder Times, and when no other Errours appeared to infest the Church, but such as were refuted by that Form; was, by that Symbol, reputed and known for a Catholick Absolute. Afterwards, when the *Arian* or *Macedonian* Heresies came up, if he adhered to those, and did not subscribe to the *Nicene* Creed; he was, by that new Mark, to be held no Absolute Catholick, and a Heretick in that regard: but he yet continued so far Catholick, as to be accounted a Christian; and Catholick too he might be justly stiled, in respect of other Hereticks, the *Simonians*, *Basilidians*, *Valentinians*, *Marcionites*, &c. whose Impieties he had renounced in the Apostles Creed. In the same manner, he that Professes the *Nicene* Creed, is a Catholick respectively to those Hereticks, and to the *Arian* and *Macedonian* too; though not therefore necessarily a perfect Catholick: for he may be a *Nestorian*, *Eutychian*, &c. And so too, he that Owns the *Athanasian* Creed, as he is Catholick in respect of all those fore-mentioned Errours; so he may not yet be compleatly Catholick: for he may be Heretical in those Points particularly, about which the *Roman* and the *Protestant* Churches differ.

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And according to this account it is, that we Protestants, speaking concerning Christian Doctrine, may allow the *Romanists* the Title of Catholick; provided they will bear the Symbol with a difference, and distinctive Mark of Diminution. For as an *Arian* Catholick will signify one that holds to the Apostles Creed, and is not a *Marcionite*, &c. and as an *Eutychian* Catholick will mean one that holds to the *Nicene*, and is not an *Arian*: so a *Roman Catholick*, or *Popish Catholick*, will denominate one, free from the Heresies of the first Seven Hundred Years; though grossly Erroneous in other Points, and such of which an *Arian*, or *Eutychian* would never have been guilty.

The Apostles Creed, of which we are speaking, was so framed for a Symbol of Catholicism. But what we have suggested of the latter Articles, that they were variously inserted over the Christian World; that we are now to observe particularly concerning this of the Catholick Church.

For (1) this Article was not in the Antient Eastern Creeds: not in the *Nicene*, properly so called, and as delivered by that Council. It is not in those Creeds among St. *Jerom's* Works: as it is not in that we call the *Athanasian*. (2) It was early in the *Latin* Creeds; as we learn by *Tertullian*:^a but with some difference. For whereas the *Roman* brought it in Affirmatively, and in the place where it now stands: the *African* brought it in at last, and indirectly too. As in St. *Cyprian's* time it run thus; *I believe in the Remission of Sins, and Eternal Life, by the Holy Church*: In the time of those three last Expositions of the Creed, ascribed to St. *Augustin*, thus; *I believe in the Remission of Sins, the Resurrection of the Dead, and Eternal Life, by the Holy Church*. And, besides, it may be observed, that in these *Latin* Symbols the Epithet, whether for Ornament or Distinction of the Church, was *Holy*, and not *Catholick*: this *Greek* word being borrowed afterwards from the Usage of the *Grecian* Churches.

Now then, to return to our present Enquiry, the occasion of this Digression; and to see, whether the Notion of an Infallible Judge or Guide be to be understood under this Article: Let us observe that,

The word *Church* has not in it the Signification of a Tribunal, or Court of Judicature.

And then, in the next place, the Epithets *Holy* or *Catholick* do not superinduce any such Meaning. The most they can signify towards it is True and Orthodox: But whoever is True and Orthodox, is not therefore an Infallible Guide. For (1) a Particular Church may be Orthodox, and actually Unerring; and yet not be Infallible: for it might not have been impossible for her to have erred, even in those Points, in which she does not err. She may too be Orthodox in all those Points she has already declared; and yet she may afterwards err in new Points, and which want a new Declaration. And (2dly) the Position of a Church Unerring, or, if you will, Infal-

^a Tert. de Bapt. c. 6.

libile, does not therefore infer, that the Unerring Church is an Unerring Guide, and an Infallible Judge in Controversy : except, at the same time, it be supposed, that that Unerring Church may be known to be so, and distinguished from others, by proper Marks, and such as are external to those Truths in which she does not err. For if we agree, that there is such an Unerring Church ; but are to find her out by the Truths she professes, and by the Examination of her Doctrines : we are not then guided by the Infallible, to Truth ; but by the Truth to this Infallible ; neither is such a Church to us, a Judge of Doctrines ; but it is we who are by those Doctrines, to Judge of Her.

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Now, if we consider this Article, as it lies in the *African* Creed, where the Candidate for Baptism professed to believe the Remission of Sins, &c. by the Holy Church ; the most the *African* could be supposed to say, was, that Remission was not to be had out of the Unerring Church : but, that such a Church Unerring was the Infallible Guide, he does not at all affirm. For his plain meaning must either be, that he expected to be saved by being Baptized into the Catholick Church in General ; or with a particular Implication, either that this Catholick Church was the Church which professed the Creed he repeated ; or else the Church in which he was going to be Baptized. If he meant an Orthodox Church in General, which ever, and where ever it was ; it is plain then, from what we just now premised, that he meant not the Church to be a Guide, or Judge ; for, as a Guide, she must be ascertained and determined. And too, if he meant an Orthodox Church in particular, determining that to be so, which professed the Apostolical Creed ; it is as manifest, that he spoke not of that Church's being Judge in other Points. But if he designed the Local Church, in which he was to be Baptized, by that name ; it is then, too, evident, that however he might take that Church to be Catholick in all her Tenets, yet he did not affirm that she might not grow Uncatholick, even in those, or, at least, in other new ones : much less did he assert that he knew her to be Catholick by Permanent outward Marks of Place or Number ; by which Marks (to be a Guide) she was to be distinguished in that Age, and to the End of the World.

It appears, I suppose, that an *African*, in the recital of his Creed, was not obliged, by that indirect mention of the Church, to ascribe any Judicial Infallibility to her. And then, as to the *Nicene*, though this Article be there expressed directly, in the Clause brought in by the Council of *Constantinople* ; yet it can seem to have no other Construction, than what the *Africans* gave. For he that professes to believe One Holy Catholick Church ; to acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins ; and to look for the Resurrection of the Body, and Everlasting Life after Death : what does he mean else, but that he believes the Remission of Sins [to be obtained] by [being Baptized and admitted into] the Catholick Church, in prospect and hopes

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of Everlasting Life? Such a sense the *Nicene* Creed manifestly carries, agreeably to the *African*: and then it can never be presumed, that the *Roman*, or any other did under the same Words intend a different Meaning. But all this appears further.

For if the Notion of *Holy*, or *Catholick* Church, will not infer that of a Judge or Guide: the Phrase *I believe*, or *I believe in*, will not contribute much towards it.

The Primary Notion of the word *Believe*, as it is used in the Creed, denotes a firm Perswasion concerning the Truth, either of the Essence, or Existence of the Thing believed: as that there is such a Being as a God; such a thing to be had as Remission of Sins. If it implies any further sense, either of Reliance or Submission, or Hope and Expectation; that additional Notion arises from the Nature of the Thing believed. As, he that believes there is a God, submits to his Guidance by implication, because he is God: And he that believes the Remission of Sins, hopes for it, as for a thing extremely desirable. By the same Construction, he that believes in the Catholick Church, believes first the Essence or Existence of it; that there ought to be, or is such a Society; or that this Society is it: but is not to be supposed to own it for an Infallible Guide or Judge, except some such Notion be involved in the Notion of the Church, which he so believes. When therefore the Phrase *I believe in* is continued through all the Articles, as it is in *St. Cyril's* Creed; it signifies always according to the connotation of the Subject to which it is applied: and then, to believe in the Remission of Sins, or in the Resurrection of the Dead, is the same as to acknowledge one Baptism for the Remission of Sins, and to look for the Resurrection of the Dead, in the *Nicene*. But the *Roman*, (as *Ruffinus* observes,) to make the distinction plainer; and that we may not seem to believe in the Church, as we do in the Trinity; puts its *Credo* to all the latter Articles without the Preposition *in*: saying, *Credo Sanctam Ecclesiam*, &c. *I believe that there is*, or *that this is the Holy Church*.

The Sum of all is this; that the Article concerning the Church acknowledges either the Essence and Nature; or else the Existence also of such a Society.

The Essence of the Holy Church consists in this: that it is a Society instituted by Christ, into which men enter by Baptism, Professing the Belief of his Holy Truths, and Obedience to his Holy Commands, in hopes of Eternal Salvation; which Society it is the duty of those Christian men (according to one of those Commands) to maintain and to propagate to the end of the World. This is its Essence in General: and it may be particularized by the Belief of such and such Articles, which the false Churches deny. Now the Confession of such a Society, with its Nature, Privileges, and Duties, is the Confession of a very great and weighty Truth, and enough to make up one Article of our Creed.

The

The Existence of this Society will respect either the Past, or the Present, or the Future: That there was such a Church, or is, or ever shall be.

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That there was such a Church once instituted, and actually erected, is, together with the Essence of it, an undoubted part of our necessary Belief. But that this Church was existent heretofore in some other past Age, or that it exists now, or shall always hereafter; these Propositions, though Truths, may be only Contingent, and not so Certain as an Article of our Creed. How far these Circumstances of Existence are implied in this Article, it is not our business now to enquire: ^a it is enough for us, at present, to have discovered that the Notion of a Catholick Church, although signifying an Unerring Church, does not signify an Unerring Judge or Guide; and that consequently the Existence of this Church, however it may be Co-signified, does not infer neither the Existence of such an Infallible Propo-
nent.

By this way of deduction it sufficiently appears, that no Infallibility in gross is meant under this Article. And this Course I have the rather took, because it has naturally led us into an easy Meaning of an Article of so great Importance. But, that no such thing, as an Infallible Tribunal, was ever intended by it, we have still a further and an undeniable Evidence.

We have still extant many Antient Expositions on the Creed, (two we have cited above,) made on purpose to instruct the *Candidates* for Baptism; composed, too, much about that time, when this Article came to be Universally received into the Symbol; as the *Catechetical Discourses* of St. *Cyril*, Bishop of *Jerusalem*, the Exposition of *Ruffinus*, and those four Books we find in St. *Augustin's* Works on that Subject; the several Expositions in *Chrysologus*, and in *Maximus Taurinensis*: and from these we shall best learn the sense of the Church of that time concerning herself; and whether any Judgment-Seat was intended by this Article.

Now none of these Catechetical Doctors, in their Discourses on this Article, are found to make any manner of mention of an Infallible Judge, neither in General, nor Particular: nor do they refer the Christian Novices to the further direction of any Unerring Person or Assembly. Whatever they propose to their Disciples out of the Creed itself, they think themselves obliged to prove out of the *Scripture*; being content that neither they, nor their Church should be credited on other Terms. Accordingly, upon the Precedent Articles, they discover and they refute the Errours of those Hereticks that had arose; and upon this they declare the Institution of a Church by Christ; and that to be the True Church, which rejected those Heresies; that the others were impious Confederations, and Councils of Vanity; that this they were to adhere to as the One, the Holy, the Catholick. But they still prove the Church, into which the *Catechumen* was entering,

^a See the 13 Chap.

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by her Doctrine; and never the Doctrine, by the Church: they affirm *de Faëto* that it did not err; but never assert, that *de Jure* it could not have erred, by privilege of Place, or Number: much less do they oblige the *Catechumen*, in virtue of this Article, to submit for the future to the Decisions of such a Tribunal, and blindly to receive whatever other Articles such a Number of Men should determine, with the same Faith and Assent, with which he now believed the Articles of his Creed, and the present Faith in that Church professed. Of such an Authority in the Church, and such a Submission in the Members, of which our Modern *Roman Catechists* say so much on this Article, these Antient Doctors say not a Syllable. Hence therefore, from all those Premises, we conclude undeniably, that an Infallible Judicatory was never at all intended by this Article; and that Holy and Catholick Church here did never in the least signify any necessary Implication of the Pope, or of a Majority, or certain Proportion of Bishops, or Faithful: by which we learn, that this Article of the Creed can neither be brought against us on this Head, nor on any of those that follow.

§. IV. BUT THEN FURTHER, WE DO NOT ONLY LEARN from the Expositors of the Creed, that an Infallible Authority in the Church is no Article of the Creed; but we find, from their Silence in this matter, great Reason to think, that there was in their Time no such Article believed at all.

For had there been owned any such Principle of Christianity at that time, it must have been of the same Importance and Necessity, which it is now esteemed to bear; and alike reputed the Primary and Fundamental Principle of Divine Truths to men. Neither can it be imagined, that it should not have had its proper place in the Creed, Universally, and from the Beginning: being of such Consequence to the understanding of the other Articles; by whose help their sense was chiefly to be determined; and for whose sake they were to be believed by most of Mankind. Had therefore this Principle been then owned; a Principle so necessary to be known, that the Denial of it is the formality of Heresy, and the very Ignorance of it unexcusable; insomuch, that most other Truths may be implicitly believed in this, but this must be explicitly professed, under the pain of inevitable Damnation; had it, I say, been owned then for true, how could it have been left out of the Creed, without the greatest Negligence in the Composers, and the greatest Danger to the Salvation of Men? Is it imaginable, that the Mention of the Church would, throughout all *Africk*, have been made so by the by, and as it were by chance; much less, that it should have been so totally neglected by the Eastern Christians, the most Numerous, and the most Knowing of those Times? Or is it likely, that at last, when the Church came generally into the Creed, the Infallible should not be particularized by some distinctive Character; and that so necessary a Notice of so high and useful a Prerogative should have been utterly forgotten? But, suppose

pose the Article of an Infallible Guide left out of the Creed by I know not what design ; (I suppose, because it was a Principle of more Evidence, than the Being of a God ;) yet it is hard to think, that upon the Mention of the Church, though brought in to another purpose, no Expositors should have occasionally remembered this Beneficial and Instructive Truth. Was an Unerring Guide so little thought of, and of so slight a Consideration, that it came not into the mind of the *Catechist*, and was not worth the mentioning to the New Christian ? What could be more natural, at the Instruction of those that were just entering into the Church, than to have described her to them by her proper Marks ; to have commended her by that high Endowment ; to have exhorted them to believe their Creed upon her Authority ; and directed them to submit all future Questions to her Infallible Decision ? The Expositions of these *Catechists* are levelled chiefly against those many Heresies, with which their Age was distracted ; and great Use there was to be made of the Infallible Guidance in their Times : an Occasion therefore for the mentioning of that Guidance, if ever, was to be taken in those Discourses ; and yet, for all this, so many Zealous Knowing Men, of so many several Countries, have all conspired to omit it. In the Holy Scriptures there might be some pretence made of an indirect obscure Reference to it ; and upon sufferance it may be supposed that the more express Mention was referred to Tradition : but here, in our Case, the Men we cite are those by whom the Tradition should be conveyed ; and this is the proper Time and Place for them to speak it out ; and yet it is not so much as pretended by the *Romanists*, that there has been the least Mention made of it by them. There must be some great Mystery in this profound Silence of those Expositors, concerning a standing Infallibility : and what can it be but this, that they were utterly ignorant of the Thing ?

And so we have again gained another Positive and Irrefragable Argument, against the Intent of our Adversaries, from this other Evidence of their own shewing. We might therefore from this Silence, first of the Scriptures, and then of the Creed and its Expositors, fairly put a Final Silence on the contrary Party, and here at least close the Dispute. But if the Reader is pleased to lend me his Patience, the *Romanists* shall not complain they were not heard out : only they must be content to know, that as the Proof now offered has discredited their Cause ; so what remains grows still harder upon them. For whereas, if an Infallibility at large had been countenanced by any tolerable Testimony, it would then have been the easier affixed to some one of the Competitors, either Pope, or Church, &c. according as they should make the better Claim : so now, on the other hand, all the Parties together not being able to furnish out such an Evidence for the common Cause ; we are left to proceed, free from any Prepossession, to the Examination of their several Titles ; and are to expect, that whoever of them challenges this Infallible Authority,

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should so make out his Propriety to it, as at the same time, if he can, to prove its Being.^a

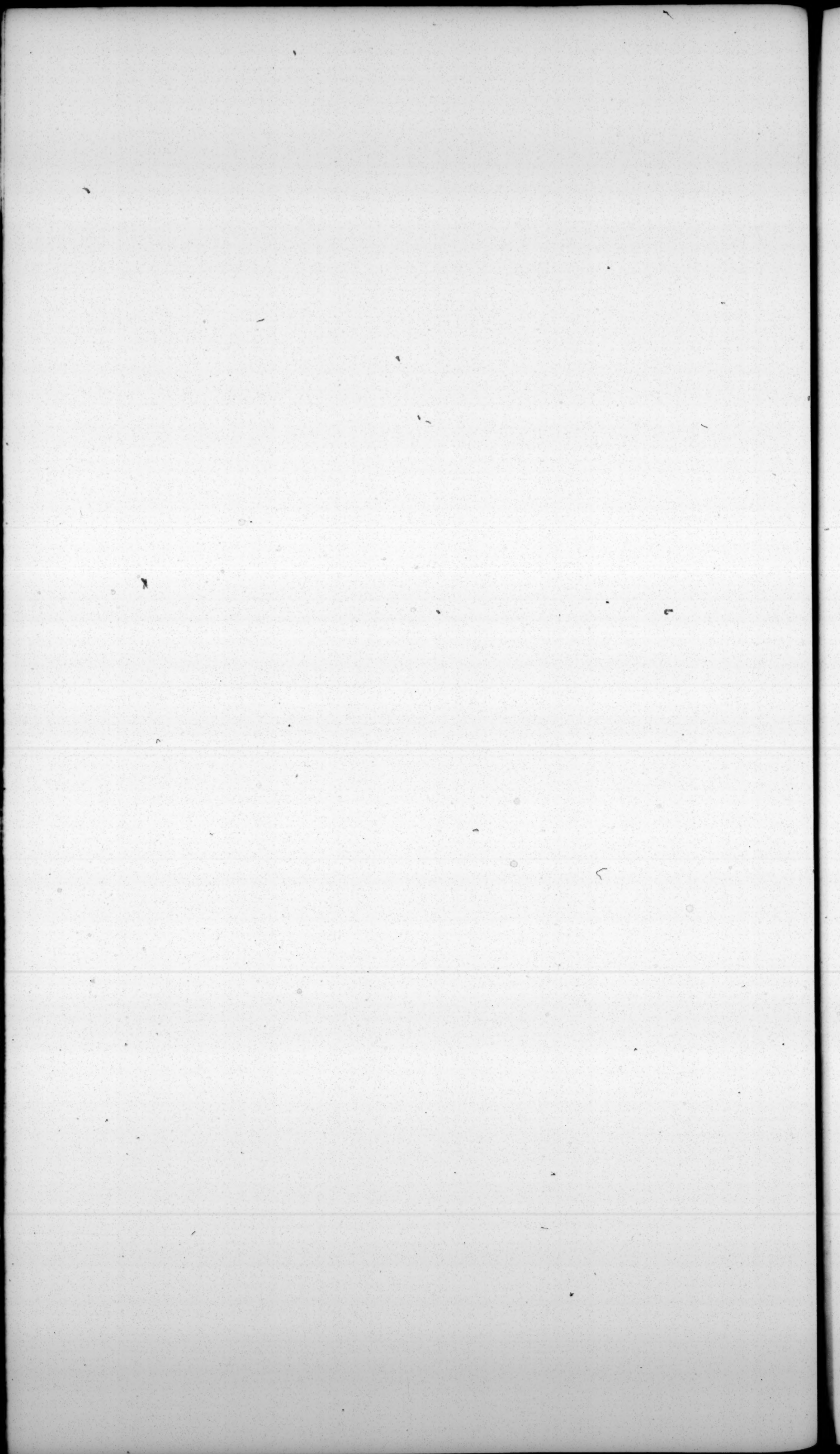
^a The Reader, who shall compare this with the former Edition, will remark, that the last Paragraph is there printed in a *small* Character, and that the Author hath abruptly laid down the Pen, without proceeding to more particular Pretensions of INFALLIBILITY; and, upon Enquiry, it appears, that he hath not left any thing more in writing upon this Subject. The Reason of his stopping here, and pursuing his Design no further, seems to have been owing to the State of those Times when these Papers were wrote; for they were begun before the *Revolution*; and that Event put an end to the Controversy. But the Reader will have the less Reason to regret the Loss, if he considers how well he is enabled to confute any Pretensions to INFALLIBILITY in *Roman Catholick GUIDES*, by applying the general Rules and Observations here laid down to any particular Case.

F I N I S.



A
CALCULATION
OF THE
CREDIBILITY
OF
HUMAN TESTIMONY.

First printed in the PHILOSOPHICAL TRANSACTIONS, for
the Month of *October*, 1699.



A
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MORAL Certitude *Absolute* is that in which the Mind of Man entirely acquiesces, requiring no further Assurance: As if one, in whom I absolutely confide, shall bring me word of 1200*l* accruing to me by Gift, or a Ship's Arrival; and for which therefore I would not give the least valuable Consideration to be ensured.

Moral Certitude Incomplete has its several Degrees to be estimated by the Proportion it bears to the *Absolute*. As if one, in whom I have that degree of Confidence, as that I would not give above One in Six to be ensured of the Truth of what he says, shall inform me, as above, concerning 1200*l*: I may then reckon that I have as good as the Absolute Certainty of a 1000*l*, or Five Sixths of Absolute Certainty for the whole Sum.

The *Credibility* of any Reporter is to be rated (1) by his *Integrity*, or *Fidelity*; and (2) by his *Ability*: and a double *Ability* is to be considered; both that of *Apprehending* what is delivered; and also of *Retaining* it afterwards, till it be transmitted.

"What follows concerning the Degrees of Credibility is divided into *Four Propositions*. The *Two First* respect the *Reporters* of the Narrative, as they either Transmit *Successively*, or Attest *Concurrently*: the *Third*, the *Subject* of it, as it may consist of several *Articles*: and the *Fourth* joins those three Considerations together, exemplifying them in *Oral* and in *Written* Tradition.

a This Transaction, though first published by the Author some Years after the *Discourse on LENT*, is now placed before it, on account of the relation it has to the foregoing *Discourses on INFALLIBILITY*, where the same sort of Calculation is made use of, to shew the Uncertainty of ORAL TRADITION. See *Dysc.* I. Chap. IV. &c.

P R O P O S. I.

Concerning the Credibility of a Report, made by Single Successive Reporters, who are equally Credible.

LET their Reports have, each of them, Five Sixths of Certainty; and let the First Reporter give me a Certainty of a 1000*l*, in 1200*l*: it is plain that the Second Reporter, who delivers that Report, will give me the Certainty but of $\frac{5}{6}$ ths of that 1000*l*, or the $\frac{5}{6}$ th of $\frac{5}{6}$ ths of the full Certainty for the whole 1200*l*. And so a Third Reporter, who has it from the Second, will transmit to me but $\frac{5}{6}$ ths of that Degree of Certainty, the Second would have delivered me, &c.

That is, if, a , be put for the Share of Assurance a Single Reporter gives me; and, c , for that which is wanting to make that Assurance complete; and I therefore supposed to have $\frac{a}{a+c}$ of Certainty from the First Reporter; I shall have from the Second, $\frac{a^2}{a+c^2}$; from the Third, $\frac{a^3}{a+c^3}$.

And accordingly if, a , be = 100; and c = 6, (the number of Pounds that an 100*l*, put out to Interest, brings at the Year's end;) and consequently my Share of Certainty from One Reporter, be = $\frac{100}{106}$; which is the present Value of any Sum to be paid a Year hence: The Proportion of Certainty coming to me from a Second, will be $\frac{100}{106}$ multiplied by $\frac{100}{106}$, (which is the present Value of Money to be paid after Two Years;) and that from a Third-hand Reporter, = $\frac{100}{106}$, thrice multiplied into itself; (the Value of Money payable at the end of Three Years,) &c.

Corollary.

And therefore, as at the Rate of 6 per Cent Interest, the present Value of any Sum payable after Twelve Years, is but Half the Sum: So if the Probability or Proportion of Certitude transmitted by each Reporter, be $\frac{100}{106}$; the Proportion of Certainty after Twelve such Transmissions, will be but as a Half; and it will grow by that Time an equal Lay, whether the Report be true or no. In the same manner, if the Proportion of Certainty be set at $\frac{100}{101}$, it will come to a Half from the 70th Hand: And if at $\frac{1000}{1001}$, from the 695th.

P R O P O S. II.

Concerning Concurrent Testifications.

IF Two Concurrent Reporters have, each of them, as $\frac{5}{6}$ ths of Certainty; they will both give me an Assurance of $\frac{35}{36}$ ths, or of 35 to one: If Three; an Assurance of $\frac{215}{216}$, or of 215 to one. For

For if One of them gives a Certainty for 1200*l*, as of $\frac{2}{3}$ *ths*; there remains but an Assurance of $\frac{1}{3}$ *th*, or of 200*l* wanting to me, for the whole. And towards that the Second Attefter contributes, according to his Proportion of Credibility: That is, to $\frac{2}{3}$ *ths* of Certainty before had, he adds $\frac{2}{3}$ *ths* of the $\frac{1}{3}$ *th* which was wanting: So that there is now wanting but $\frac{1}{9}$ *th* of a $\frac{1}{3}$ *th*, that is $\frac{1}{27}$; and consequently I have, from them both, $\frac{35}{36}$ *ths* of Certainty. So from Three, $\frac{215}{216}$, &c.

That is, if the First Witness gives me $\frac{a}{a+c}$ of Certainty, and there is wanting of it $\frac{c}{a+c}$; the Second Attefter will add $\frac{a}{a+c}$ of that $\frac{c}{a+c}$; and consequently leave nothing wanting but $\frac{c}{a+c}$ of that $\frac{c}{a+c}$ = $\frac{c^2}{a^2+c^2}$. And in like manner, the Third Attefter adds his $\frac{a}{a+c}$ of that $\frac{c^2}{a^2+c^2}$, and leaves wanting only $\frac{c^3}{a^3+c^3}$, &c.

Corollary.

Hence it follows, that if a Single Witness should be only so far Credible, as to give me the Half of a full Certainty; a Second of the same Credibility would (joined with the First) give me $\frac{3}{4}$ *ths*; a Third, $\frac{7}{8}$ *ths*; &c: So that the Coattestation of a Tenth would give me $\frac{1023}{1024}$ *ths* of Certainty; and the Coattestation of a Twenty-first, $\frac{2097151}{2097152}$ *ths* or above Two Millions to One, &c.

P R O P O S. III.

Concerning the Credit of a Reporter for a Particular Article of that Narrative, for the whole of which he is Credible in a certain Degree.

LET there be Six Particulars of a Narrative equally remarkable: If he, to whom the Report is given, has $\frac{2}{3}$ *ths* of Certainty for the whole, or Sum, of them; he has 35 to one, against the Failure in any One certain Particular.

For he has Five to One, there will be no Failure at all: And if there be; he has yet another Five to One, that it falls not upon that single Particular of the Six. That is, he has $\frac{2}{3}$ *ths* of Certainty for the whole: and of the $\frac{1}{3}$ *th* wanting he has likewise $\frac{2}{3}$ *ths*, or $\frac{2}{9}$ *ths* of the whole more; and therefore that there will be no Failure in that single Particular, he has $\frac{2}{3}$ *ths* and $\frac{2}{9}$ *ths* of Certainty, or $\frac{10}{9}$ *ths* of it.

In General, if $\frac{a}{a+c}$ be the Proportion of Certainty for the whole; and $\frac{m}{m+n}$ be the Chance of the rest of the particular Articles *m*, against some one, or more of them *n*; there will be nothing wanting to an absolute Certitude, against the not failing in Article, or Articles, *n*, but only $\frac{n^c}{m+n \times a+c}$.

P R O P O S. IV.

Concerning the Truth of either Oral or Written Tradition, (in Whole, or in Part,) Successively transmitted, and also Coattested by several Successions of Transmittents.

(1) **S**UPPOSING the Transmission of an *Oral Narrative* to be so performed by a Succession of Single Men, or joined in Companies, as that each Transmission, after the Narrative has been kept for Twenty Years, impairs the Credit of it a $\frac{1}{12}$ th part; and that consequently at the Twelfth Hand, or at the end of 240 Years, its Certainty is reduced to a Half; and there grows then an even Lay (by the Corollary of the first Proposition) against the Truth of the Relation: Yet if we further suppose, that the same Relation is Coattested by Nine other several Successions, transmitting alike each of them; the Credibility of it, when they are all found to agree, will (by the Corollary of the second Proposition) be as $\frac{1023}{1024}$ of Certainty, or above a Thousand to One; and if we suppose a Coattestation of Twenty, the Credibility of it will be, as above Two Millions to One.

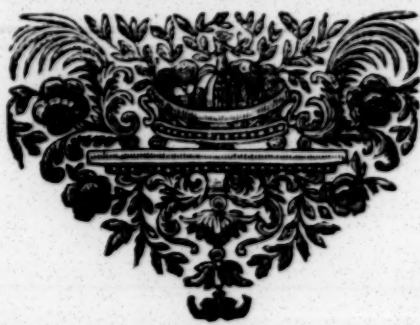
(2) In *Oral Tradition*, as a Single Man is subject to much Casualty, so a Company of Men cannot be so easily supposed to join; and therefore the Credibility of $\frac{100}{106}$ ths, or about $\frac{19}{20}$ ths, may possibly be judged too high a Degree, for an Oral Conveyance, to the Distance of Twenty Years. But in *Written Tradition*, the Chances against the Truth or Conservation of a single Writing are far less; and several Copies may also be easily supposed to concur; and those, since the Invention of Printing, exactly the same: several also distinct Successions of such Copies may be as well supposed, taken by different Hands, and, preserved in different Places or Languages.

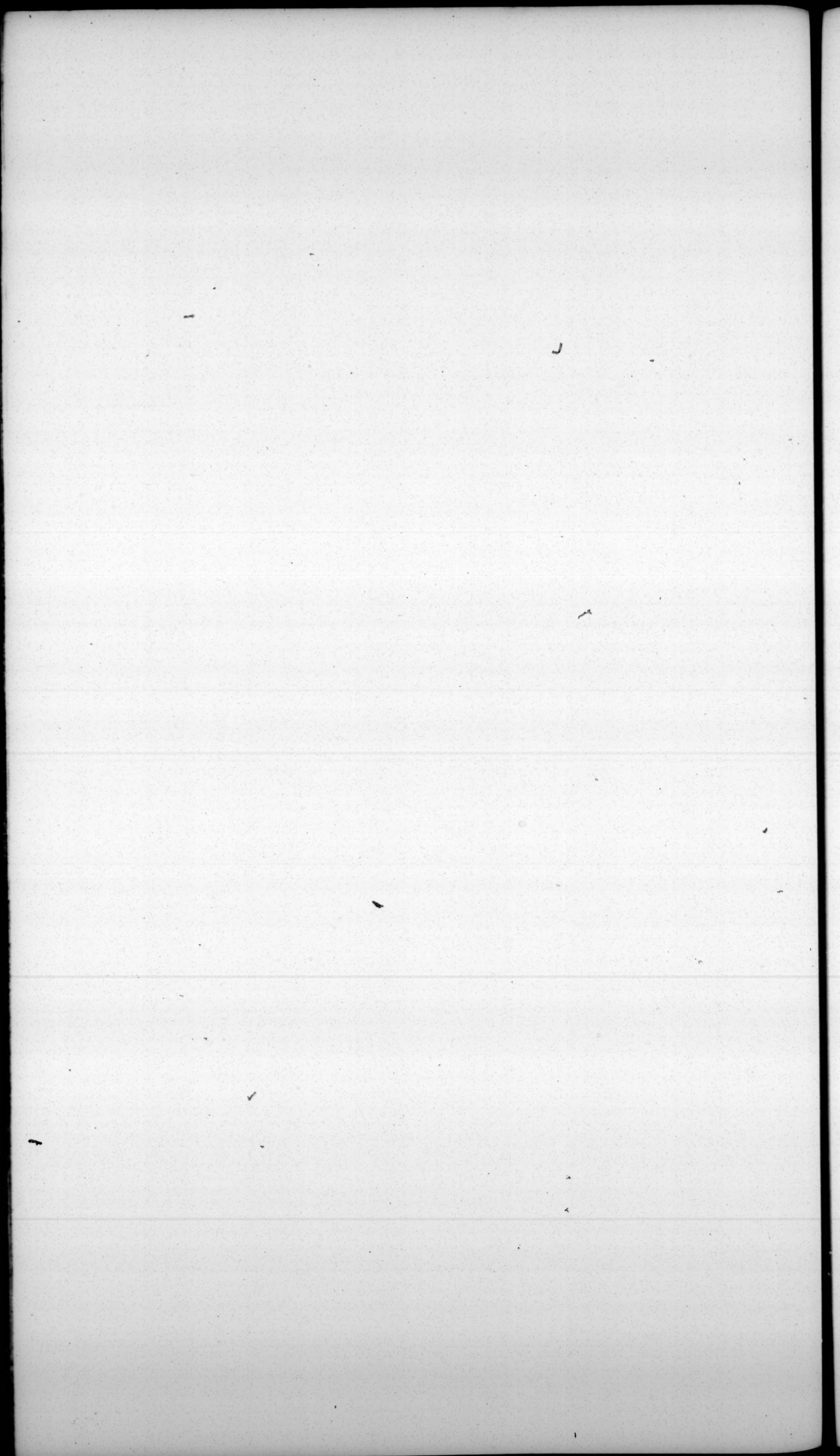
And therefore if Oral Tradition by any one Man or Company of Men might be supposed to be Credible, after Twenty Years, at $\frac{19}{20}$ ths of Certainty; or but $\frac{2}{10}$ ths; or $\frac{1}{6}$ ths: a Written Tradition may be well imagined to continue, by the Joint Copies that may be taken of it for one Place, (like the several Copies of the same Impression,) during the space of a 100, if not 200 Years; and to be then Credible at $\frac{100}{101}$ ths of Certainty, or at the Proportion of a Hundred to One. And then, seeing that the Successive Transmissions of this $\frac{100}{101}$ of Certainty will not diminish it to a Half, until it passes the Sixty ninth Hand; (for it will be near Seventy Years, before the Rebate of Money, at that Interest, will sink it to Half:) It is plain, that Written Tradition, if preserved but by a Single Succession of Copies, will not lose Half of its full Certainty, until Seventy times a Hundred (if not Two Hundred) Years are past; that is, Seven Thousand, if not Fourteen Thousand

Thousand Years. And further, that, if it be likewise preserved by Concurrent Successions of such Copies, its Credibility at that Distance may be even increased, and grow far more certain from the several agreeing Deliveries at the end of Seventy Successions, than it would be at the very first from either of the Single Hands.

(3) Lastly, In stating the Proportions of Credibility for any Part or Parts of a Copy, it may be observed, that in an Original not very long, good Odds may be laid by a careful Hand, that the Copy shall not have so much as a Literal Fault: But in one of greater Length, that there may be greater Odds against any Material Errour, and such as shall alter the Sense; greater yet, that the Sense shall not be altered in any Considerable Point; and still greater, if there be many of these Points, that the Errour lights not upon such a single Article; *as in the Third Proposition.*

F I N I S.





A
DISCOURSE
CONCERNING
LENT,
IN TWO PARTS.

The FIRST, an *Historical* Account of its *Observation*:

The SECOND, an *Essay* concerning its *Original*:

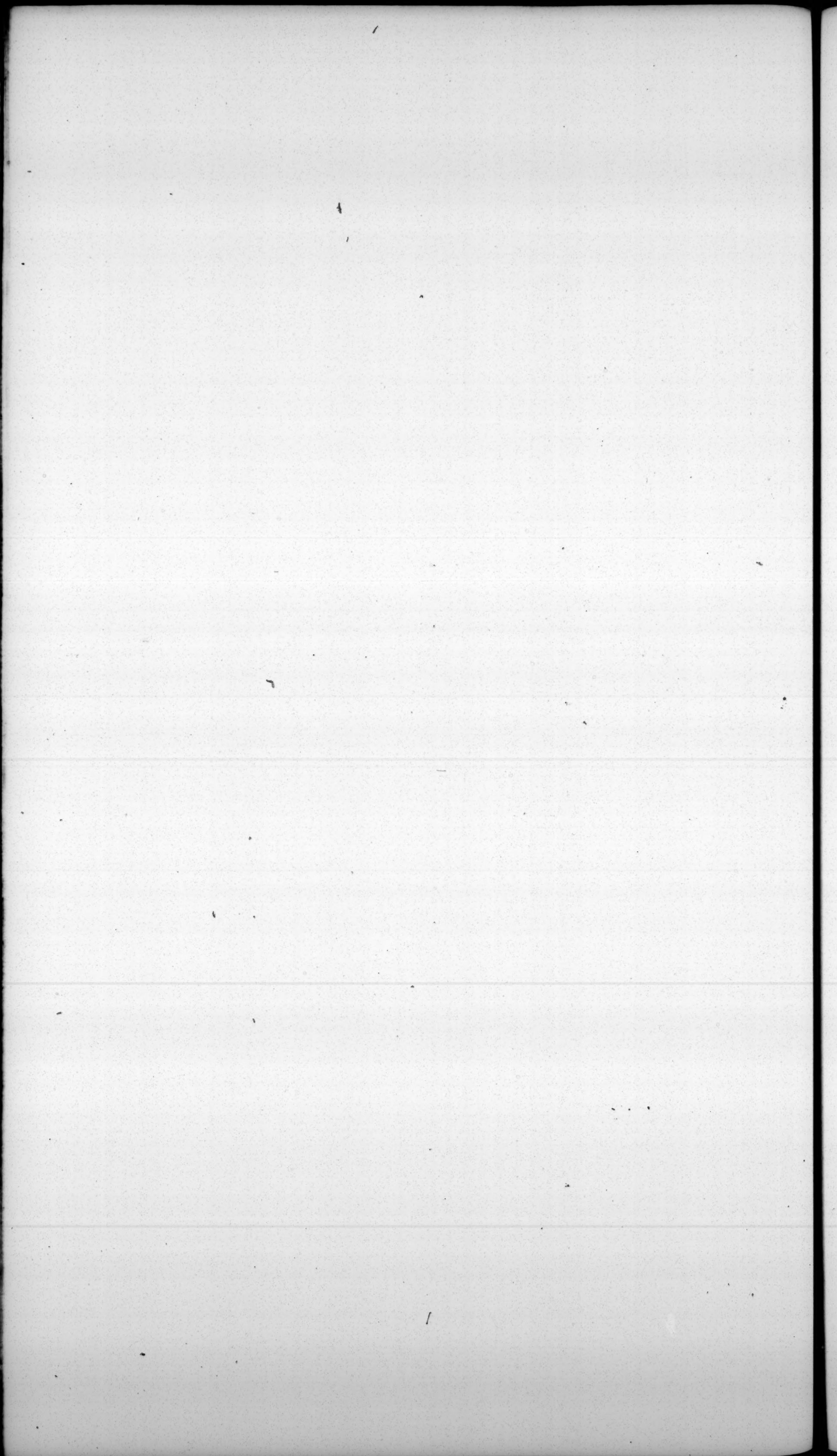
This Subdivided into Two *Repartitions*:

WHEREOF

The *First* is Preparatory: and *shews*, that most of our *Christian Ordinances* are *Derived* from the *Jews*:

AND

The *Second Conjectures*, that *Lent* is of the same *Original*.



T O T H E
R E A D E R.

I Am not unsensible, that a Discourse concerning Lent, which declares not against it, may be apt to be suspected, at first sight, of a very Ill, or Morose Design; either of retrieving some Antiquated Superstition, or of bringing back upon the World some Old Rigours and Austerities, from which they have been happily set Free.

But the Title-Page, or at least the Summary of the Contents, may, I hope, ease the Reader of that Jealousy: and, if he will bear but the Penance of perusing the Treatise, he will find, that the Historical Part aims only at Truth in matter of Fact; and that such an Origination is offered, as neither complies with the Romish Errours, nor induces any other Restraints, than what he, in the Liberty of his own Discretion, shall think fit to Injoin himself.

The Derivation of our Christian Lent, from a like Preparatory Time of the Jews, has seemed to me to be very Probable, a long while: and having intimated so much of it in a late Royal Audience, as served to Exhort, and to Direct to the Duty of the Season; I was easily persuaded to consider it more expressly in some, as I then thought, short Discourse, but which by degrees has increased to a greater bulk.

For presently it appeared necessary, to the better adjusting this Parallel Line, as it were, of Jewish Practice, that I should first distinctly view that of the Christian; tracing it from its beginning, by the Elder Accounts; and ascertaining it, as I went, with what exactness I might. And here, the differing Opinions of the justly Celebrated Monsieur Daillé, meeting me in my progress, obliged me to stay longer on some Places, and to clear the Ground of the Objections he had thrown in the way.

And then, when this Work was dispatched; and there seemed to remain no more, than that I should bring forth the Reason, and Usages of the Jewish Lent, and propose its Agreement and Affinity with ours: it was further judged requisite, lest this single Similitude should be thought only Casual, to shew, that there were, in the Christian Religion, many other like Correspondencies, which must apparently be attributed to the same Original.

This therefore chiefly occasioned that Addition to the Second Part, which makes the First Repartition: and finding the Subject to be copious, I enlarged the more willingly upon it, not only to serve my first Intention the more effectually, but to try if, by this means, some more tolerable Account might not be given of many an Antient, and now Uncouth, Christian Practice. For, though of late many very Learned Men of our own and Foreign Nations have much illustrated the New Testament by such Comparative Observations, yet their Curiosity has not happened to carry them so far, as to hold their Jewish Light to the dark Corners of our Unscriptural Antiquity. A Task, I heartily wish such a one, as our Able Dr. Lightfoot, had undertook: if only, that he might have saved me the hazard I now run, in pretending to make Other things understood, by the Help of what I understand so little.

But concerning these elder Unscriptural Customs, the Reader is desired to observe, that I intend not to Recommend them, by the Original I endeavour to Assign: my Attempt designing nothing more, than to propose the Fact, and Conjecture at its Rise; a Curiosity allowed in all Searches after Antiquities, of any kind, and commonly received by the Learned World with Favour. For as the Scripture commands us to stand in the Ways, for our Direction, and see, and ask for the Old Paths, that we may walk therein^a: so we may also stand a little, and see the Old Disused Paths, though we are to leave them; as we view the Old Forsaken Foss-ways, looking about, for our Delight, and Instruction.

For, if the Derivations I offer at should have the good fortune to obtain, there will be no worse Consequences than these: On one hand, That such Rites were not so much borrowed from Heathenism, nor otherwise contrived and superinduced towards the latter end of the Second Age; as some have suggested: And, on the other hand, That though they might be as old as the Apostles, and have had the honour to be practised by them; yet they were not then newly Erected, and purposely Instituted, as the Popish Authors would persuade us; nor all of them Recommended, much less given in Precept, to Posterity.

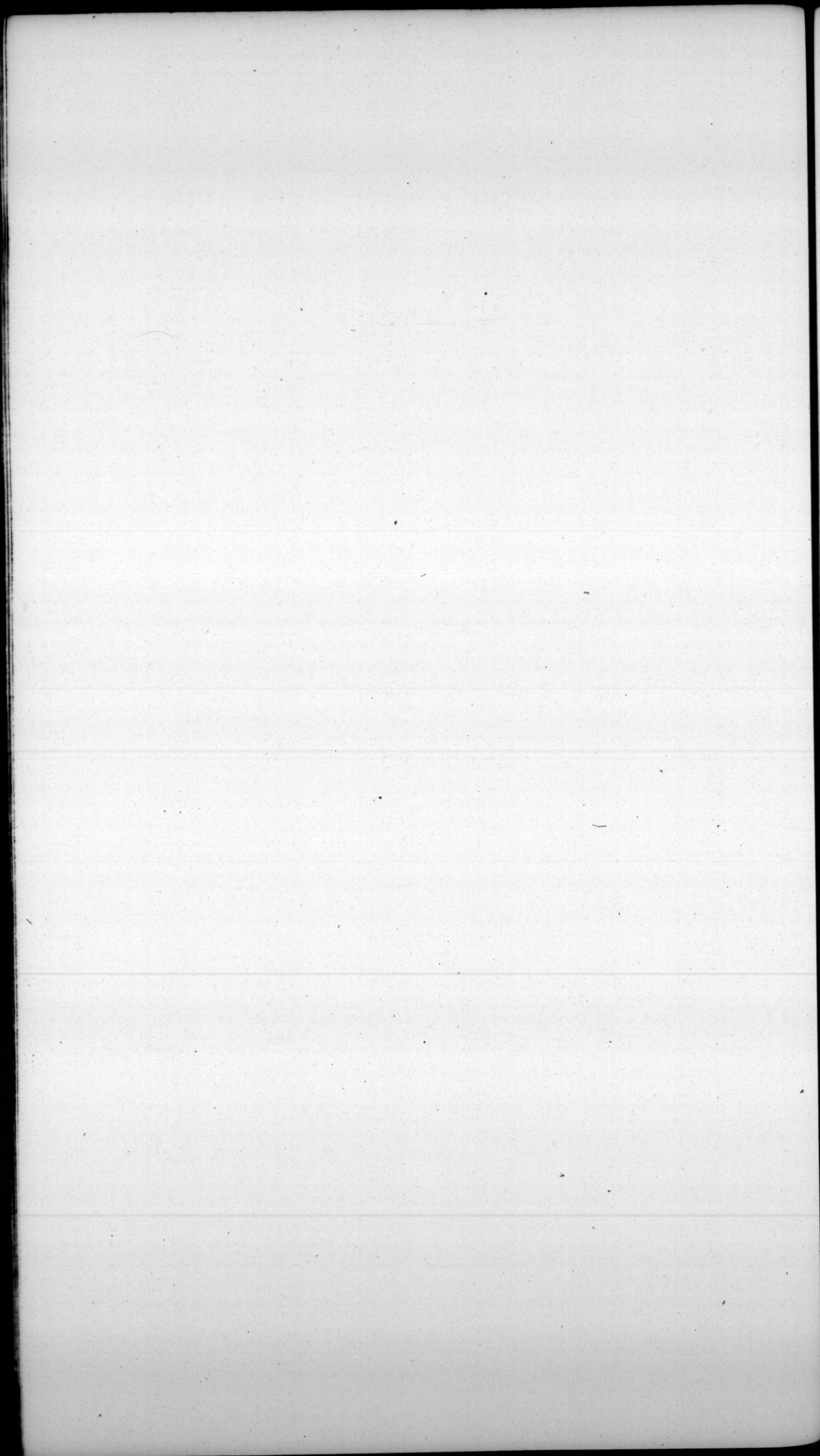
But the Obligation, or Unlawfulness, Expedience, or Inconvenience, of their Continuance, is a Consideration of another kind; to be judged by the Nature of the Respective Rites; by the Intimated, or Presumed Intention of the Apostles; and by the Declaration of the Primitive, Apostolical Church. I pretend not therefore to Intermeddle in it; nor undertake to determine, whether some of those Customs, though designed, as they say, for a more Honourable Interment, were not however kept too long; or whether some have not been since Buried, that were never

^a Jerem. 6. 16.

Dead: professing, in this whole matter, to adhere still to the Judgment of our Church; whose Prudent and Pious Moderation, if I may speak from my own Experience, the further any one shall Consider, the more he will see cause to Approve.

This Allowance for the Sincerity of my Intention, the Justice, I hope, of the Reader will not deny me: but I shall nevertheless want the Pardon still both of the Learned, and Unlearned. For, though I have endeavoured, what I could, to make the Discourse plain, and intelligible; and have therefore rid it of all strange Languages, and their Criticisms, setting them aside, and by themselves; yet the Subject itself may in some places be strange and nice to the Unacquainted, and require a little better Attention. And so, though I designed to shun being Tedious, especially in matters commonly known; and would have been glad, elsewhere, to have avoided Mistakes: yet, I know, I am much at the Mercy of the Learned; as I shall be always ready to be instructed by their Corrections.

a Viz. at the End of each Chapter: from whence they are now removed, and placed at the Bottom of each Page to which they belong. In which Situation, they will be more at hand for those who are willing to peruse them, at the same time that they will be kept so distinct from the Text, as that those, who have not that Curiosity, may pass them over. And this Alteration was thought the more adviseable, as the Notes and References in the other Parts of the Work, which were before put at the Side of the Page, are now brought down to the Foot of it.



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P A R T I.

A N

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

OBSERVATION OF LENT.

C H A P. I.

Concerning the Festival of the Resurrection.

§. I. *The Weekly Festival, or Sunday.*

§. II. *The Yearly; the many Differences about it.*

§. III. *The Difference between the Asiatick Churches and the Others; and the Proof thence, in general, for the Apostolical Antiquity of Easter.*

§. IV. *In particular, from the Letters of Polycrates and Irenæus.*

LENT, in the old *Saxon*, is known to signify the *Spring*; and thence has been taken, in common Language, for the *Spring-Fast*, or the *Time of Humiliation* generally observed by Christians before *Easter*. And as it is a Season of Recollection and Repentance, ending at that *Festival* of our Saviour's *Resurrection*, and annually regulated by the Time of it; so the Historical Knowledge of the one depends upon the other, and the *Fast* cannot well be understood, without the *Feast* be first settled, and some Account of it premised.

§. I. Now the *Feast* of the *Resurrection* is of two Sorts: either the *Weekly*, the *Lord's Day*; or the *Yearly*, called *Easter*. And as to the *Weekly*, it is on all hands acknowledged to have been perpetually and universally observed, ever since the beginning of Christianity. It is particularly remembered in the *New Testament*, as a Day for *Christian Assemblies*, under the name of the *First Day of the Week*:^a and in the Book of *Revelation* it is called the *Lord's Day*.^b *Pliny*

^a Acts 20. 7. 1 Cor. 16. 2.

^b Rev. 1. 10.

in his Relation he made to *Trajan* concerning the Christians of *Bythynia*, about the Year of our Saviour 104, is supposed to have intended it, when he says, *They were used to meet together before Light, on a Certain day.*^a And *Justin Martyr* in his *Apology*, about the Year 138, giving an account of the Day of their ordinary Assemblies, expresses it to be *Sunday*.^b So has the *Weekly Day* of the *Resurrection* been all along kept *Holy*; nor has any Christian Church ever censured, or thought fit to set aside, the Practice.

§. II. AND if there has been constantly such a *Weekly Memorial* of the *Resurrection*, we shall little doubt but it had too an *Yearly Solemnity*. It is true, there is not so early a Mention of that *Annual Festival*; (neither is it likely that there should have been as much occasion for the Remembrance of what happened but once a Year, as of that which was done every Week;) but neither has there been wanting very good Evidence for its great Antiquity: a Dispute that arose about the Year 190, concerning the Time of keeping it, giving us accidentally to know, That such a Day had been always kept, down from the Apostles time.

About the Time of the *Weekly Feast*, the *First Day*; there could be no Disagreement: but about the *Annual* there might be very much. For if all Nations of Christendom had then reckoned by the same kind of Year; (suppose by the *Jewish*, which was *Lunar*, and consisted of so many Revolutions of the *Moon*;) and besides, if all had agreed, That our Saviour arose on the 16th day of the *first Month*; yet, after all this, there was a very obvious Question, and which would frequently return: Whether they should keep the *Yearly Feast* on that 16th day precisely, whatever day of the Week it happened to be, if on a *Friday*, the *Weekly Day* of the *Passion*; or whether they should not rather make the *Yearly Remembrance* to fall in with the *Weekly*, and so keep it on some *First day* of the *Week*, which should be near to that 16th day of the *Month*.

This was the Variety which was actually the Occasion of that Debate I am now to mention. Other Differences there might have been raised from the Difference of Years, and some were insisted on in after times; which I shall here remark, not for present use, but to help the understanding of what may be hereafter incidentally mentioned. For if all had agreed to celebrate the Annual Festival on the Sunday near to the Annual Day; yet this Yearly Day must have been different, if they reckoned by different Years, or by different Beginnings of the same sort of Year. So those Montanists in Sozomen,^c who went by the Solar Year, and kept the Resurrection-day on some Sunday near the sixth of April, would no more agree with those who placed it by the 14th day of the first Lunar Month of the Jews; than the 14th

^a Soliti stato die ante lucem convenire. Epist. Lib. 10. Ep. 97.

^b Τῇ τῇ ἡλίου ἀνατολῇ ἡμεῖς πάντων καὶ παλαιοῦ καὶ ἀρχαίου μνησθῆναι ἐπὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὁμοθυμαδὸν συνίτην.

^c Lib. 7. Cap. 18.

day of the Moon's Age, would always be upon the same day of April. And so those who agreed to use the Year of the Moons, according to the Jewish Form, might still differ among themselves; if some followed the erroneous Calculation of their cotemporary Jews, and begun their Year sooner than Moses had directed, as the Christians of Cilicia, Mesopotamia, and Syria did before the Council of Nice: and if others, amending the Jewish Calendar, stayed till the Æquinox, according to the Original Appointment, as the rest of the World did, to whom those Easterns therefore, by the direction of that Council, in a little while conformed.

And further, those who were so far agreed, as to keep their Easter-day on a Sunday, and to observe the same Reformed Jewish Year, might yet differ in their placing of the Sunday in that Year: Some, as the Latins,^a assigning it to the 16th day of the first Month, on which day our Saviour was by them supposed to have arose; and thenceforth to any of the six days after, on which the Sunday should happen: and Some to the 15th day, the first and great day of the Jewish Paschal Feast; and thenceforward to any of the six days after of the same Jewish Solemnity; (a Practice to which the Western Church has since agreed;) as the Alexandrians used to do, who, supposing the Resurrection to have been on the 17th, might think they came near enough to it, when the Sunday was never to be further from it, than two days before, or four after: And Some might allow it to be on the 14th day, the day in which the Paschal Lamb was sacrificed, as, amongst others, the old British Inhabitants of our Isle were found to do; who, if they thought our Saviour to have risen on the 16th day, placed their Easter-Sunday as exactly near it, as the Alexandrians placed theirs; and if they thought he rose on the 17th,^a they were yet more exact than any, and put it as near as was possible; so as never to be more distant from it than three days, either before or behind it. For such Reasons, our old Predecessors might have thought fit thus to keep their Easter: however they were blamed by our Austin for it; and afterwards called Hereticks and Quartodecimani, a term of Dislike more justly given to those of whom we are going to speak, and who occasioned this too nice and too long Digression.

§. III. THE most likely Question to happen, concerning the Place of the Yearly Resurrection-Day, [whether it should be always kept on a Sunday, or no,] was the great Controversy between the Churches of Lesser Asia and Rome, and in which all Christendom became engaged: a Dispute managed by the Bishop of Rome too warmly, but which has done so much good, as to give occasion for the preserving some Records relating to this part of the History of Christianity, by which we are certainly informed of the Great and Universal Antiquity of Easter, and its preceding Fast. Those Asiatick Churches, be-

^a Bucher. in Vigor. Can. Pasc. Cap. 11.

sides their singularity in breaking off their *Fast* on the 14th day, celebrated the Solemnity of the *Resurrection* on a fixed day of the *first Month* of the *Jews*, whatever day of the *Week* it proved to be: and the rest of the *Christian World*, if it happened not to be a *Sunday*, observed it on some *Sunday* near it. But both the Parties kept the *Festival*, and each of them contended, That it had been so kept in their several Churches from their first Plantation.

For about this Matter, at the Request of *Victor* Bishop of *Rome*, the several Bishops of *Christendom* met in their several Synods; and all of them, except those of *Asia*, properly so called, agreed on these Two Points, as derived to them from Apostolical Tradition.

1. That the Solemnity of our Saviour's *Resurrection* was not to be celebrated on any other day, but the *Lord's Day*:

2. And that the *Paschal Fast* ought not to be ended till that Day.

This was the Answer of all those Synods to the Questions in difference: and the Returns of many of them are mentioned by *Eusebius* to have been extant in his time.^a

The general Result of those Synodical Determinations, which *Eusebius* gives us, is sufficient to satisfy us, That the Bishops of both sides were fully possessed of the Apostolical Tradition of their different Customs of observing *Easter*. And such an uniform Concurrence of so many venerable Persons, from such distant Places, about such a solemn and observable Practice, and at a Time no more remote from the Age of the Apostles, cannot but induce us to give Credit to this their single Affirmation, as it is by him Authentically reported. For, as to the Time of this Dispute, it is well judged to have been agitated about the Year 190 of our Lord's *Birth*, not 160 after his *Pas-sion* and *Resurrection*, the *Memorial* of which we now speak of; not much above 120 Years from the Martyrdom of St. *Peter* and St. *Paul*, nor above 90 after the Death of St. *John*.

§. IV. GREAT Regard is therefore to be had to the Judgment of the whole *Christian Church* of that Time, which *Eusebius* summarily reports to us,^a of their Tradition concerning *Easter*. Had indeed the several Answers, the Bishops of the Provinces sent, remained to our days, or had *Eusebius* given us more Extracts of them; we could not have failed of many remarkable Particularities, alledged by them, in

^a *Hist. Eccl. Lib. 5. Cap. 23.* In that time a great Controversy was raised: the Bishops of Asia [strictly so called] judging, by their Antient Tradition, That the Paschal Solemnity was to be kept on the 14th day of the Moon, then when the Jews sacrificed the Lamb; and that their Fasting ought to break off on that day, whatever day of the Week it happened to be: and the other Bishops, of the rest of the World, observing from Apostolical Tradition a different Custom, and which now obtains, That it was not fit to break up the Fast on any other day, but the Day of the Resurrection. Upon this there were several Synods and Consultations held by the East; and they all unanimously by their Letters declared this to the World for an Ecclesiastical Rule, That the Solemnity of our Saviour's Resurrection from the Dead was to be kept on no other day but a Sunday: and that on that Day only, the Paschal Fasting was to cease. There is yet to be seen the Writing of those of Palestine, over whom Theophilus Bishop of Caesarea presided, and Narcissus Bishop of Jerusalem. There is another too from those of Rome, concerning the same Question, speaking of Victor to be Bishop. — Another of the Dioceses of France, where Irenaeus was Bishop. Another of those of Orléans, and the Cities thereabouts. One particularly from Bacchylus Bishop of Corinth: And several others, all concurring in the same Opinion, and giving the same Determination.

Favour and Justification of this general Assertion. But they are all lost: neither was it agreeable to that Historian's purpose, to fill his Books with Proofs for the Antiquity of this Solemnity, a Matter in his days never doubted by any. For which Reason, neither does he give us out of them any Instances in Confirmation of that particular Usage, in which the great part of the World agreed with *Victor*, and which afterwards generally prevailed. He rather thought fit, at a time when the *Asiatick* Custom was left off, to preserve some little Account of what they had to say for their singular Fashion: and even out of that little, we shall be able to see, how well the general Tradition was grounded.

Polycrates, Bishop of *Ephesus*, the chief of the *Asiatics*, in his Letter to *Victor*, (a Fragment of which *Eusebius* gives,^a) professes, That they kept the *true Day unfalsified*; and then says, (in answer, I suppose, to *Victor*, who had boasted of the Sepulchres of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, and other Saints, from whose Authority he might have recommended the Custom of his side,) *That there were too deposited in Asia, the Remains of very great Saints and Martyrs, Philip and his three Daughters, St. John who lay in our Lord's breast, Polycarp, Thraseas, Sagaris, and Melito, who all had kept the 14th day of the Passover, according to the Gospel; and so (adds he) have I, according to the Tradition of my Kinsmen, [or Countrymen, or my Predecessors in this See^b,] with some of whom I conversed. They were seven, and I am the eighth; and they always kept the Day when Leaven was forbid: I therefore, who am now 65 Years old in the Lord, and have conversed with our Brethren of the whole World, and have perused all Holy Scripture, am not at all moved at those who trouble and threaten me. For my Betters have said, God is rather to be obeyed than Man.*

This Holy Man was himself a great Evidence of the Antiquity of the Custom for which he stands. He was about the 8th Bishop from *St. John*, (for however the Word is to be rendered, about so many fate in the same Interval at *Rome*,) and writes this about 90 Years after his Death, when he himself had been a Christian 65 Years of them, and able to testify of all those Years, if he was baptized Adult, as they then generally were. We may too think, that he had some particular Instances in his View, of the Practice of those Persons, whose Names he vouches, if we may infer from what we chance to know of two of them, *Melito* and *Polycarp*. For *Melito*, who was Bishop of *Sardes*, had, (as *Eusebius* tells us in another place^c,) some twenty Years before, wrote a *Treatise of the Lord's Day*, and two Books concerning the *Passover*, or the Christian Solemnity at that time

^a Hist. Eccl. Lib. 5. Cap. 24.

^b Επὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ ὀ μικροτέρῳ πάντων ὑμῶν Πολυκράτης, κατὰ παραδεδωκένον τῶν συγγενῶν μου, οἷς καὶ παρακληθήσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν. Ἐπὶ μὲν ἡμῶν συγγενῶν μου Ἐπίσκοποι, ἐξῶ δ' ὄντες. Συγγενὴς is here commonly translated *Kinsman*: but I have ventured to guess it may signify a *Countryman*; one of the same City, Ἐπίσκοπος τοῦ τόπου: or a Bishop of the same See; making the Succession to have been a Family, and the Kindred Spiritual. This is certain, the Number of Seven Predecessors agree well with the Distance between Him and *St. John*.

^c Hist. Eccl. Lib. 4. Cap. 26.

of the Year; there having been a great Dispute raised about it at Laodicea, then when Segaris, the Bishop of that Place, (named here by Polycrates,) received his Martyrdom; a Dispute, I suppose, of the same nature with This. And in it Polycarp (here too mentioned) had been engaged before; who went to Rome (as St. Jerom expresses it) about some Questions concerning the Paschal Observation, in Anicetus his Pontificate^a. And the Conversation, which he had with Anicetus about that Subject, we have related by Irenæus a Disciple of Polycarp's, and who had been bred up in Asia. He, now Bishop of Lyons in France, though declaring for Victor, yet interposing and endeavouring to moderate the Heat of the Controversy, in a piece which Eusebius has saved of that Letter^b, among other things, told Victor as follows.

And the Presbyters before Soter, who presided in the Church which you now govern, I mean Anicetus, and Pius, and Hyginus, and Telesphorus, and Xystus, neither kept [the 14th day] themselves, nor permitted those of their Church to do it. And, nevertheless they, not keeping [it], held Communion with those who came from other Dioceses, where it was kept, Although [then when they were together in Rome] the keeping [it] was more contrary to those who kept [it] not^c: And none were ever refused Communion for this Matter. But the Presbyters before you, who kept [it] not, sent the Eucharist to those of the Dioceses who kept [it]. And when Blessed Polycarp was at Rome in Anicetus his time, and there were some Differences between them about other things, they presently agreed, never proceeding to have any Contention on this Subject: Anicetus not prevailing with Polycarp to forego a Custom, which he had all along observed with St. John, the Disciple of our Lord, and the other Apostles with whom he had conversed; and Anicetus alledging, That he, for his part, ought to keep the Custom of the Bishops his Predecessors. And these things standing so, they communicated together; and in the Congregation Anicetus gave Polycarp the Respect of Celebrating the Eucharist: and they departed from each other in Peace: in all the Churches, those who kept, and those who did not keep, preserving Peace [and Communion] one with another.

Here then we have Polycarp, a Disciple of St. John, attesting to the Asian Tradition, an undeniable Witness of its Apostolical Antiquity. We know too, that this Discourse of his with Anicetus must be at farthest in the year 161, if we reckon Anicetus his Death, with Bishop Pearson; and in the year 153, if with Mr. Dodwell; between 30 and 40 years before this Dispute of Victor's. And, indeed, it seems plain from the same piece of Irenæus his Letter, that this Difference had been taken notice of almost from St. John's time, though mutually tolerated. For to that purpose, he mentions the Behaviour

^a Catal. Script. Eccl.

^b Hist. Eccl. Lib. 5. Cap. 24.

^c Καὶ τοὶ μὲν οὖν ἐναντίον ἦν τὸ μέν τῶν μὴ τηρῶν. In this Epistle of Irenæus it seems very evident, That μέν is to be understood, not absolutely, but in construction with τῶν παρατηρούντων, as well in this place, as others; according to the common rendering. Valesius, for τῶν μὴ τηρῶν, reads ἐν τῶν μὴ τηρῶν, adding the Preposition ἐν, which he thinks to be wanting. I have rather supposed then, or something of that Sense, to be understood.

of *Anicetus*, *Pius*, *Hyginus*, *Telesphorus*, *Xystus*, all Bishops of *Rome* up to the year of our Lord 101, by Bishop *Pearson*; 102, by Mr. *Dodwell*; very near the time of St. *John's* Decease.

From all which, we see not only what good Authority the *Asiatics*, disputing with *Victor*, had for their Tradition: but that this Matter had been long before brought into Question; and made so remarkable very early, that those of both sides must have had some distinct, and more than general Remembrance of the successive Practice of their several Customs conveyed down to them. Neither, indeed, could those of *Victor's* Judgment have ever opposed the *Asiatick* Observation, whose Antiquity was so well proved; if they had not produced, on their side, as good Evidence for their own: such Evidence, I say, as they might well be furnished with from the elder Memorials of the same Debate.

And thus did both sides of this Great Dispute, however they differed in the particular Manner of their *Paschal* Observation, absolutely agree, in the general, concerning the Apostolical Antiquity of it. A little while after this time, *Clemens* of *Alexandria* wrote a *Treatise concerning the Paschal Observation*, and some *Dissertations concerning Fasting*, all which are lost. And the Design of his *Paschal* Book, as *Eusebius* tells us^a, was to deliver down the Traditions, which he had received from those before him, about that Subject: and in it he made mention of *Melito*, and *Irenæus*, whose Relations he set down. *Hippolytus* likewise, a Bishop and Martyr, a Disciple of *Irenæus*, in the year 221, wrote a Book of the *Paschal Season*: in which, as *Eusebius* says^b, he gives an Account of the past Times, by a repeated Cycle of 16 Years; concluding in the first Year of *Alexander the Emperour's* Reign, which Book is wanting. But a Table of his, engraven in Stone, was happily dug up at *Rome* the last Age; which, beginning at that first Year of *Alexander*, gives all the *Easter Days* which were then to come for 112 Years, with as much Formality and Method, as they have been used to be calculated since^c.

Such express Accounts of the *Paschal* Season, there have been heretofore given, very near the Apostles Times; which, had they been preserved, might have more particularly informed us: serving, however, to let us know in gross, That the Solemnity was not then held an inconsiderable Matter; but all along much debated, and studied, and determined with great Exactness.

Upon the whole Matter, therefore, we have seen, that as we had some reason to presume the Apostolical Observation of a *Yearly*, from the *Weekly* Day of the *Resurrection*; so this Presumptive Probability is besides actually confirmed to us by sufficient Authority. And from these Premises I hope I may have leave to conclude, if not, That this *Paschal* Observation was delivered by the Apostles to all the Churches with the *Weekly Lord's Day*; yet, That it was a Tradition received

^a Hist. Eccl. Lib. 6. Cap. 13.

^b Ibid. Lib. 6. Cap. 22.

^c Apud *Bucher*. in *Vilgorium*.

by many Churches in the Apostolick Days. And this I presume to take for a Truth in so high a degree of Evidence, that it will not be questioned by such as shall consider impartially.

C H A P. II.

Concerning FASTING.

§. I. *The several Kinds of Fasts.*

§. II. *Several Occasions of Fasting: particularly Penitence and Baptism.*

§. I. **S**O far we have viewed the Evidence for the Antiquity of the *Paschal Solemnity* in general, with a more particular respect to the *Festival of the Resurrection*: we now come expressly to consider the preceding *Fast*, and its various Observation.

But first, for the better understanding of what is to follow, it will be fit to premise some Account of *Fasts*, and their Variety, and what were the more solemn Times for that Duty.

There are *Three Sorts of Fasting*, which *Tertullian* reckons up to us^a; consisting either in the Lessening, or Deferring, or Refusing, of our *Food*.

The *first sort* is *Abstinence*, not from all *Food*, but from some kinds of it; a *Fast* in part, as *Tertullian* calls it^b: *Abstinence* from *Flesh* especially, and *Wine*; Or not only from *Flesh* and *Wine*, but from any thing of *Broth*, or any *Juicy, Vinous Fruit*. Such a Dry Diet as *Tertullian* speaks of, appropriated by him to his Fellow-Sec-taries, the *Montanists*^c; but used by *Christians* before, and by *Daniel*, when he mourned three full *Weeks*, and eat no pleasant bread, neither came flesh nor wine in his mouth; neither did he anoint himself at all^d.

The *second sort* was, when they did not *Dine*, but deferred their *Eating* to some time of the Afternoon, till after Three; as the *Catholicks* did in *Tertullian's* Age, who on certain days continued their Assemblies to that hour^e: and both that their *Assembling*, and that *Fasting*, was called a *Station*, from the Military Word, says *Tertul-lian*^f; but immediately from the *Jewish* Phrase, and the Custom of those devout Men, who, either out of their own Devotion, or as Re-presentatives of the People, Assisted at the Oblations of the Temple, not departing thence till the Service was over^g. Such *Stations* are

a De Jejun. Cap. 2.

b De Jejun. c. 9. Portionale Jejunium.

c De Jejun. c. 1.

d Dan. 10. 2, 3.

e De Jejun. c. 1, 10.

f De Orat. c. 14.

g Maimonides de Cultu Divino, put out by Lud. de Veil, Tract. 2. Cap. 6. Because the Sacrifice of the Congregation belonged to all the Children of Israel, and all of them could not assist; it was provided of old, that there should be chose Fit Men, who should be present at them, as Deputies of the whole Nation. And as the Priests and Levites were divided into their Courses, so were these; each Course serving their Week, and giving their Attendance, either at the Temple, if they lived near it, or else at the Synagogues of their Habitation: Praying four times a day, and Fasting the Mondays, Tuesdays, Wednesdays, and Thursdays of their Week. Their meeting at these Prayers, and their Attendance on this Duty, was called a Station: and they, the Men of the Station. This is to be seen more at large in Lightfoot of the Temple-Service, Chap. 7. §. 3.

termed

termed *Half-Fasts* by *Tertullian*^a, and were held later by the Appointment of *Montanus*. But before their time, we know from *Hermes*, an Author very antient, and in the Beginning of the Second Century, that the *Stations* of the first *Christians* were sometimes kept as severely, and that, when they came at last to Eat, *nothing was to be tasted, but Bread and Water, that day*^b.

Such a kind of *Fast* as this, ending in a moderate Refreshment towards Night, is generally to be understood, when any great number of Days is said to be fasted together.

This *Fast* is too supposed to have begun from the Evening before, when the Stars appeared. For then the Day began with the *Jews*, as well as with the *Athenians*^c.

But under this kind, which allows some time for Food in the 24 hours, the Periodical Day, we may too reckon that Manner of *Fasting*, which forbids to eat or to drink while the *Sun* is up, the Vulgar Day; but either gives liberty all the Night; the *Fast* of the *Mahometans*, during their Month *Ramazan*^d: or else gives leave to refresh themselves, provided it be done before their first sleep; as is the Manner of the *Jews*, in all their ordinary *Fasts*^e.

The *third sort* is, when they Eat not at all, the whole day, from Sun-set, or the Appearance of the Stars, till the same season again: as the *Jews* now do in their strictest *Fasts*, as on the *Ninth* of their Month *Ab*, or on their *Propitiation-Day*^f.

And in this manner not one, but more days, were sometimes passed in a *continual Fast*: as *three days* were by *Esther*^g, and the rest of the *Jews* of that time: and as the *forty* were miraculously by *Moses*, *Elias*, and our Blessed Saviour. And such a protracted *Fast* of *two*, or *three*, or *more days*, was afterwards in Use with *Christians*; especially before *Easter*, as we shall find hereafter.

These are the several Kinds of *Fasting*, a Duty all along observed by devout Men, and acceptable to God under both Testaments; whether as it was helpful to their Devotion, or as it became a part of it. It was helpful, as it served medicinally to restrain the looser Appetites of the Flesh, and to keep the Body under; and as it gave Liberty and Ability to the Mind to Reflect, and Consider, and Attend, either while they were actually assisting at *Divine Service*, or preparing for some solemn part of it. It was too an *Act* of *Worship* itself; either as it proceeded from a Sense of their Sins, and of the Misery of their Condition from those Sins: or as it was expressive of that

^a De Jejun. 13. Stationum Semi-jejunia.

^b *Hermæ* Fast. Lib. 3. Simil. 5. Cum jejunarem & sederem in monte quodam, & gratias agerem Deo pro omnibus quæ fecerat mecum; video Pastorem illum sedentem juxta me, & dicentem mihi, Quid tam mane hic venisti? Respondi, Quoniam, Domine, Stationem habeo. Quid est, inquit, Statio? & dixi, Jejunium — Illo Die, quo jejunabis, nihil omnino gustabis, nisi Panem & Aquam. Here Statio is taken simply for a Fast, from the Practice, & suppose, of those Stationary Men on those four Days: as it is otherwise in *Tertullian*, for a Fast till after Three, from the Custom, it may be, of other Devout Men, who might not depart from the Temple till about that Hour, when the Evening Sacrifice was done.

^c *Plin.* Nat. Hist. l. 2. c. 27. Ipsum Diem alii aliter observavere. Babylonii inter duos solis Exortus: Athenienses inter duos Occasus: Umbri à Meridie in Meridiem: Vulgi omne à Luce ad Tenebras: Sacerdotes Romani, & qui Diem definire Civilem; item Ægyptii, & Hipparchus, à Media Nocte in Mediam.

^d *Rycant's* Hist. of the Pres. State of the Ott. Emp. l. 2. c. 23.

^e *Maim.* de Jejun. c. 1. §. 8.

^f *Ibid.* c. 1. §. 6.

^g *Esther* 4. 16.

Sense before God, and intended to deprecate his Anger, and to supplicate for his Mercy and Favour; to which purpose, it was accompanied with such Circumstances of an afflicted, humbled State, as were proper to raise Commiseration, and obtain Relief. Thus, under the Old Testament, they put on Sackcloth, lay in Ashes, mourned and wept: and thus *Esther* is expressed by *Josephus*, *To have supplicated God* (as he says) *after the Custom of her Nation; casting herself down upon the Ground, putting on a mourning Habit, and abstaining, from Meat and Drink, and all things delightful, for those three days*^a. Neither was the Practice of the *first Christians* much different from this of the *Jews*, on the like occasion, as we shall presently find.

§. II. WE have seen the various Manner of *Fasting*, and proceed now to the Occasions and Times of *Fasting* in the *Primitive Church*.

That which I shall *first* mention, was the *Fast* of a *Penitent*; one who had committed, after Baptism, some grievous Sin, and was excluded from the Assembly, either by his own Conscience, or by Publick Sentence; and desired to be reconciled to God and the Church. The Course of this their second Repentance was much more severe, than of that before their Baptism; it appeared so upon the sight of them, as they are described by *Tertullian*: (then a *Catholick*, and about the Year 200:) *Neither washed nor trimmed, neglected and unclean; taking no delight in any thing; living in the roughness of Sackcloth, and the filth and harshness of Ashes; their Faces disfigured with Fasting*^b. For the *Discipline*, they were under, directed them, (as before he tells us at large, in his manner of Style,) *To lie in Sackcloth and Ashes; to disfigure their Body with a neglected Uncleannefs, and to deject their Mind with Grief: all the while to use no other Meat or Drink, but what is simple and natural, [Bread and Water,] not to satisfy the Appetite, but to keep up Life; and frequently to nourish and strengthen their Prayers with [strict] Fasting; to groan, to weep, to roar to the Lord their God day and night; to fall down at the feet of the Presbyters, to kneel to the Friends of God, and to beg of all the Brotherhood to intercede for them*^c. Such was the rigorous *Penance* of lapsed Christians, and their *Fasting* truly an *Affliction of their Souls*, as it is termed in the Old Testament.

Another solemn Occasion of *Fasting* was the Profession of Repentance those made, who were converted to the Faith, and preparing to be Baptized. Before the Reception of that Sacrament, it was not only the Practice of the Candidates to *Fast*, but of the whole Congre-

^a Arch. 11. 6. Καὶ ἔσθοντο ὅτι ἐκείνη τὴν ὥραν τὴν πεντήκοντον, ἡμεῖς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν ἁγίων. καὶ πενήκοντον ἡμέρας ἔσθοντο, καὶ πένθος καὶ πένθος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁγίοις ἀντιλαμβάνοντες, τὴν αἰσθητικὴν καὶ τὴν ὁρίαν.

^b De Pœnit. c. 11. Illotos, sordulentos, extra lætitiā oportet diversari, in asperitudine sacci, & horrore cineris, & oris de jejuniis vanitate.

^c Ibid. Cap. 9. Exomologesis prosterndi & humiliandi hominis disciplina est, conversationem injungens misericordiae illicem; de ipso quoque habitu atque victu mandat, sacco & cineri incubare, corpus sordibus obscurare, animum mœroribus deicere, illa quæ peccavit tristi tractatione mutare; ceterum passum & potum pura nosse, non ventris scilicet, sed animæ causâ: plerumque vero jejuniis preces alere, ingemiscere, lacrymari, & mugire dies noctesque ad Dominum Deum suum; Presbyteris advolvi, & caris Dei adgeniculari, omnibus fratribus legationes deprecationis suæ injungere.

gation with them: as *Justin Martyr* in his admirable *Apology* has informed the Emperour and us. He is supposed by Mr. *Dodwell* to have wrote no later than the Year 138; and there, after he had given an account of our Faith, he adds this Relation: "*As many as are persuaded, and do believe, that these things taught and said by us are true, and promise to be able to live accordingly; they are instructed to Pray, and, with Fasting, to beg of God Remission of their Sins; we Praying and Fasting together with them. Then they are brought by us to the Place where Water is, and are regenerated in the same manner of Regeneration, wherewith we were regenerated before. For, in the Name of the Father, &c.*"

Such a *Common Fast* there was antiently at the Administration of this Sacrament, that it could not be the work of every day of their Affembling, but must have had some set time: as we know the most solemn time was on *Easter-Day*; those, who were baptized into his Death, then as it were rising up with him: the whole Congregation having Fasted together with them before, not only upon that particular Reason, but upon a common Account, as we shall immediately see.

And though the *Fast* and *Humiliation* of the other Penitent was proper to his Person, and to be undertaken at any time, whensoever he was sensible of his Offence: yet there might too have been some more solemn time even for this Duty; whether the Penance were enjoined upon a notorious Sinner, or something of it voluntarily undergone by a more secret Offender. And no time could be more fit for this purpose, than that in which the whole Congregation would join together in Prayer and Fasting, for themselves and them: such a time, as the Season before *Easter* was, in which all prepared more worthily to receive, and some therefore strove to be again thought worthy in any degree to receive, the solemn Communion of that Great Day.

Thus did the Fasting on both those Occasions frequently take the opportunity to close in with the *Fast* before *Easter*: an Observation I now only mention incidentally, designing no more by the early Practice of these two Occasional *Fasts*, the one Publick, and the other both Publick and Common, than to prepare the Reader the easier to admit the great Antiquity of this both Publick and Universal *Fast*, which we are now coming particularly to consider.

a Apol. 2. Edit. Commel. p. 73. Οσοι αν πεισθωσι & πιστευουσιν αληθη ταυτα τα υφ' ημων διδασκόμενα & λεγόμενα ει-
ναι, η βίην υτως διωκομεν (κατανοωμεν), ενχομεν τε καὶ αὐτοις νεκρυντες παρὰ τῷ Θεῷ τῷ πνευματικῶν ἀρεσιν διδασκοντες.
ἡμῶν σπουδαιοτέρων & σπουδαιοτέρων αὐτοῖς. Ἐπειτα ἀγορευτὴν υφ' ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ ὕδατι εἶναι, καὶ πρὸς ἀναγέννησιν, ὃν & ἡμεῖς αὐ-
τοὶ ἀναγεννησάμεν, ἀναγεννῶμεν. Ἐπ' ὀνόματος τοῦ Θεοῦ Πατρὸς & υἱοῦ, &c.

C H A P. III.

Concerning the Fast before the Festival of the Resurrection.

§. I. *The General Presumption for its Apostolical Antiquity.*

§. II. *A Particular Proof of it from Irenæus.*

§. III. *The different Length of that Fast down to Irenæus his time: with some, probably, of 40 Days.*

§. I. **I**T is to be remembered, That the Second Point of that Dispute between *Victor* and the *Asiatics* was concerning the Ending of the *Ante-paschal Fast*; whether or no it ought to be left off before the *Resurrection-Day*: the *Asiatics*, as it seems, concluding their *Fast* at the *Lord's Supper*, on the 14th day of *Nisan* in the Evening; and the Others, who kept the *Festival* of the *Resurrection* on a *Sunday*, not breaking off their *Abstinence* before, though possibly their *Fast* might have been more strict on the *Friday*, the *Anniversary* of the *Passion* of our *Lord*.

Now this *Question* concerning the *Determination* of the *Fast*, so summarily reported by *Eusebius*, is sufficient to let us know, That there was such a *Fast* then kept by both sides; and had been, in all probability, as antiently kept as the *Feast* of the *Resurrection*: (for, of That, we do not perceive that there was the least doubt made:) So much, to use *Eusebius* his Words, which here follow, to this purpose, *does their Difference of Fasting commend their Agreement in the Fast*.

For a further Confirmation of this Truth, it were to be wished, now in an Age wherein it is doubted, That there had been preserved to us, either *Melito's* Treatises, or the several *Synodical* Answers upon this Debate, with *Victor's* and *Irenæus* his *Circular* Letters; or at least, That *Eusebius* had given us a more circumstantial Extract. But those Writings are lost, either by the common Fate of many other Books; or else because neglected, when the Dispute was given up, and the Practice of *Victor* universally prevailed. And *Eusebius*, for his part, might not think himself concerned to collect out of them any Authorities for a Practice, in which those of that time all agreed, and which none of his time questioned. It was the more proper business of his *History*, to give an Account from them of the Controverted Points; and, for the rest, to leave us to this their general and common Conclusion, That each way of *Ending the Fast* (and consequently the *Fast* itself) was derived from *Apostolical Tradition*^a.

§. II. HOWEVER, it has chanced, that a short Scrip of the former part of the same Letter of *Irenæus* we cited before, and which

^a *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. 5. 23.*

Eusebius produced to give a taste of the Temper and Address of that Good Man; does not only serve to inform us, with what Variety this their *Lent* was then kept, (which is one part of our Task to observe,) but helps us besides to a particular Argument for its High Antiquity.

For that Numerous Part of the Church, that agreed with *Victor* about the Time of *Ending* the *Fast*, did however observe that *Fast* very differently, though without any Opposition or Division: The Account of which amicable Variety among themselves *Irenæus* thus briefly gives to *Victor*, the better to qualify his heat against the *Asiatics*, raised by that other angry Difference^a.

For there is not only a Dispute about the Day, but also about the Manner of the Fast. For some think they ought to fast One day, some Two,

A

and some More. Some too measure their Day by Forty Hours, both of Day and Night.

B

and some More, some Forty^b. Their Day too they measure by the Hours of the Day [only] and [also] by the Hours of the Night.

And this Variety of those that keep the Fast is not now risen in our days, but long before, in the time of those before us:

those who it seems governed [in the Churches] with less exactness than they ought, giving down to their Successors such Custom, as had its Beginning from Simplicity and want of Knowledge.

those who it seems^c retained [what had been delivered to them] with less exactness than they ought, delivering to their Successors such Custom for Traditional, which had been taken up by Simplicity and want of Knowledge [Singularity].

And yet nevertheless all of them did, and we now do, keep Peace [Communion] one with another: and the Difference of our Fasting commends the Agreement of our Faith.

Differences, we see, will still happen upon this Subject: for neither is the World at an Agreement about the Meaning of this Place. Though, indeed, it be no great wonder, that the Sense of such a concise Fragment should be a little uncertain; where we have no

a *Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 5. Cap. 24.* Οὐδὲ γὰρ μόνον πρὸς τὴν ἡμέραν ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμφισβήτησις, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὴν αἰῶνα αὐτῇ τῇ Νηστείᾳ. Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἱοντι μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτὴν νεσοῦναι, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ ἢ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ ποσάχρονον. Ὡς καὶ ἡμετέρας τι καὶ νυκτεράς συμμετρεῖσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. Καὶ τισὶν αὖτε ποικιλία τῆς ἐπιτηδεύουσης ἐν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ καὶ νυκτὶ, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολὺ ἀντίκειται ἐπὶ τῇ αἰῶνι ἡμῶν, τὴν παρὰ τὸ ἀκράδως ὡς ἑκὼς κρατύντων, τὴν κατὰ ὁπλοτητα ἐἰδυομένην συνήθειαν εἰς τὸ μετρίως ἀποποιεῖσθαι. Καὶ ἔστιν ἰλαστόν πάντες εἶναι ἐκλωδοῦσθαι τε, καὶ ἐκλωδομένην ἀπὸς ἀλλήλων καὶ τὴν ἀμφισβήτησιν τῆς ἡμέρας τὴν ὁμοίαν τῇ πίστει συνίστησι.

b All *Valesius* his Manuscripts put no stop after *ποσάχρονον*, and that determined him to his way of Rendering this Place. But *Ruffinus* understood it as I have pointed it; and Sir *Henry Savil* reads the following words so, as to change the place of the Copulative Particle thus, *ὥς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ νυκτεράς* and Mr. *Thornike* [in his Service of GOD at Relig. Assemb. p. 247.] says, This Reading is acknowledged by *Petitus*. This Lexion *ὥς τε ἡμετέρας καὶ* — if it has any Copy to justify it, is certainly to be preferred for the Reader at the End of this Chapter. But if it had no Manuscript on its side, and a Change must be somewhere made in this Sentence, such a Trajection of a Particle by conjecture is much more allowable, than the Substitution *Valesius* makes afterwards of *νεσοῦναι* for *ἡμέραν*: as the Sense by the one is much more advantaged than by the other. And indeed the advantage of the Sense is so great, that, if such an Alteration is not to be admitted, to join this last Sentence to the preceding, I should then take the Sentence to begin there without Connection, and as it might happen in the Excerpts of a Letter.

c *Κρατύντων*, it is true, may signify to Govern in a Church, but it does as well to Hold or Keep a Practice; as in St. *Mark* vii. 3, 4. And this last Sense is more suitable to the Place.

help, from what went before, or came after, to determine it. I have therefore given a double Rendering of the doubtful Passage; one marked with the Letter A, according to *Valesius*, which is embraced by *Daillé*, and those who have a mind to depress the Antiquity of *Lent*, and especially of the *Forty Days*: and another marked with B, much according to *Ruffinus* his Version, made about the End of the Fourth Century.

And, to begin with what concerns the *Fast* in general, it can never be supposed, though some would be willing it should, That *Irenæus*, in the last of the two doubtful Passages, however rendered, speaks any thing to the Disparagement of the *Fast* itself: as if those, who long before his time had Governed the Church less exactly, had shewed their less Exactness in the Institution of a *Lent*. Had he said so, he had indeed effectually silenced one part of the Grand Dispute, that concerning the *End* of the *Fast*; for he had declared against any *Fast* at all: but he must have been taken then for an ill Arbitrator by *Victor* and the rest, as well as by *Polycrates*, who all equally joined in the Tradition of the *Fast*; and must of necessity, by the change of the Question, have become a common Adversary and turned the whole Dispute upon himself.

But this Great Man used another Method, and went by the common Principle. For he speaks to *Victor* of the Practice of those of his own side; who differed from the common Custom, but with whom Communion had been always held, and was not now refused by *Victor* himself. Some of those Differences, it is plain, he charges with less Exactness; and reflects upon the Authors of them, whoever they were, but not upon *Victor's* Predecessors, or his own: and his Argument then for Peace proceeds thus with great force, That the Bishop of *Rome* should not break off Communion with the *Asiatics* for their different Manner; for those who joined with him against them, and remained in his Communion, had their different Customs too.

There is therefore no Reflection from this place upon the Original of *Lent*: but, on the contrary, there is a strong Confirmation of its Apostolical Antiquity, under either Version. For those who (according to *Valesius*) Governed the Churches with that little Exactness, as to be Authors of an undue Custom, were very *Antient*, long before the days of *Irenæus*, and are supposed here to have had Contemporaries, who observed the right Manner. But further, in the other, I think, more exact Interpretation, those who were long before *Irenæus* his time, and consequently very near to the time of *St. John*, are said expressly to have been (though not faithful and exact, yet) *Retainers and Keepers* of a Custom, which had therefore been rightly practised yet earlier, even before the days of those, who were long before *Irenæus*.

§. III. THUS much concerning the *Antiquity* of a *Lent*, I could not omit to add, from these few Lines of *Irenæus*, casually preserved to us, and which speak very casually to that Matter: To the *Manner* of *Keeping Lent* they are more express and direct; but very brief and concise, as wrote on another design, and not for *Victor's* or our Information in the Particular we desire to see.

In this transient Mention of the *Manner*, he says, *some observed One day, some Two, and some More*: not expressing who they were, or in what they were less Exact; for *Victor* might understand him well, though we do not. Those who kept but *One Day*, and whose *Resurrection-Day* was a *Sunday*, in all probability kept what we call *Good Friday*, the *Weekly Day* of the *Passion*; and if they did not too use some sort of *Abstinence*, though not so strict, on the *Saturday*, they were so little exact, as to offend against the Rule, and to break up their *Fast* before *Easter-Day*. But if there were any, whose *One Day* was the *Saturday*, they who begun their *Fast* so late, little wanted that Rule to tell them when to end it; and their neglecting the *Passion-Day* could not seem very exact to those that observed it.

As to the *Two or More Days*, it is not neither determined after what sort they were kept: whether in One continued *Fast*, uninterrupted by any Food, as *two or more* of those days were certainly fasted by some of the next Age, especially in the *Passion-Week*; or whether the *Fasts* were several, though the *Days* were continued, each Day ending with some Refreshment. If those *More Days* were very Many, they were (as we have intimated already^a) likely to have been kept in the *last Manner*. There might too have been more Days than Two kept together, not only once just before *Easter*, but oftner, and at some distance within the Compass of a larger time. Hereafter Examples will appear of such *Fasts*: and the several Practices may have been old, though the Mention of them in Books be later.

Hitherto the Words are plain, and of certain Construction; though we may not know every particular Case to which they might refer: but those that follow are of ambiguous Interpretation, and particularly the word *Forty* is expounded, as we see, by some of *Days*, and by some of *Hours*.

It is not absolutely necessary to any design of these Papers, That *Forty Days* should be here named expressly: for they may well be admitted under the latitude of the word *More*, if we shall hereafter see Reason to understand them so early. I hope therefore I am not partial, when I judge the Old Translation of this Place to be preferable to the Modern.

For *first*, a Day of 40 Hours, is a space of time never before heard of; neither determined by the *Sun's* Appearance, nor Revolution. And if we should admit of such a single Day, measured not by the

^a Chap. 2. §. 1.

Sun's Motion, but by our *Saviour's* lying in the Grave; yet it would be strange to join *two or more* of those days together. *Valesius* therefore wonders, That the Absurdity has been endured, and that no Body has seen, that the *Greek* word for *Day* must be changed into that for *Fast*, and the Sentence run so, *Some measure their Fast by 40 Hours*, &c. This Change he is forced to by the Sense, not countenanced by the Authority of any Copy. But, not to object the Oddness of this *Fast*, that was to begin at soonest after Breakfast on the *Friday*, and which took notice of our Lord's Burial, but not of his Crucifixion, much less of his previous Sufferings and Apprehension; to pass this over, for this might be one of those less exact Manners, which once had place, though afterwards left off: yet still the Mention of *Hours of Day and Night* would be very redundant, especially where the Author is so brief; for what need is there of this Circumstantial Description? and how could Forty Hours have otherwise come together?

Such Objections as these, to which the New Interpretation lies open, do put us upon looking out for another more proper: which I take that of *Ruffinus* to be.

For the *Forty Days*, which some are unwilling to find so soon in the Church, will appear hereafter not to have been so unheard of, for a *Fast*, as 40 Hours: but rather to have been a Number much celebrated within a little while in the *Christian Lent*, and, in all probability, sacred before to *Abstinence* in the *Jewish Church*.

Ruffinus his Version is thus, *And some Forty [Days]: so that they make the Day, by Computation of Hours of Day and Night*^a. And if the Place be understood as commonly it is, and there be no more meant by it, than that the One or More days before spoke of, were the Civil or Periodical Days, and consisted each of 24 Hours; yet the Inconvenience *Valesius* urges will not follow; and a *Fast* of Forty such Days will not exclude, we know, so much Refreshment every Evening, as may support Nature. The greatest Incongruity I can find in that Acception of the Words, is, That it makes *Irenæus*, on a Subject he does but touch, to give *Victor* unnecessarily a verbose Description of a Day, one and the same thing; where the only Intention was to put him in remembrance of a Variety. I should rather therefore think, That when he had given a short Account of the different Numbers of Days, he should then add a short Mention of the different Quantities of a Day: That some computed the day *Vulgarly*, by the Appearance of the *Sun*; and some *Civilly*, by its Revolution. And according to this Design of *Irenæus* I have directed one of the Translations above, to which this of *Ruffinus* will agree.

Neither will it, I suppose, be very material to object, That a *Fast* only from *Sun-Rising* to *Sun-Set* has not been usual since among Christians: for it might have been practised then, though disused af-

^a *Quidam enim putant uno tantum die observari debere jejunium, alii duobus, alii vero pluribus, nonnulli etiam quadraginta: ita ut Horæ diurnas nocturnasque computantes Diem statuant*

terwards as less exact; and (as we have seen) the *Jews* have all along fasted in that manner upon most Occasions, and the *Mahometans* continually do. Neither will it be wondered, That so known a Difference, as that of the *Vulgar* and *Revolutional* Day, should have been expressed so negligently in few Words. And as for any other lesser Criticism*, it may easily be satisfied for, if only by the natural force of the Sense, and its apposite suitableness to the Scope of the Place.

And thus far have we learned from *Irenæus*, That the *Observation of Lent* was very *Antient*: and that its *Fast* then consisted not of *One*, or *Two Days*, but *More*; and, in some Places, very probably of *Forty*.

CHAP. IV.

The Practice of Fasting mentioned about the Year 200, by Clemens Alexandrinus and Tertullian.

- §. I. *The Weekly Fasts of Wednesday and Friday, mentioned by Clemens Alexandrinus.*
- §. II. *Testimonies out of Tertullian, concerning both the Weekly and Ante-Paschal Fasts.*
- §. III. *Observations upon those Testimonies. Some part of the Ante-Paschal Fast thought necessary by the Catholicks of his time; the rest discretionary.*

§. I. **N**EXT in Order of the *Christian* Authors, that remain to us, is *Clemens of Alexandria*; and who would have assisted us much in this Argument, had his Book of the *Paschal Season*, his *Dissertations about Fasting*, and possibly that about the *Ecclesiastical Canons*, and against those that followed the *Errour of the*

* "Some Criticisms of this sort having been made by Dr. Grabe, in his Edition of this Fragment at the End of his *Irenæus*; our Author drew up an Answer to them, which he left in an interleaved Copy of this Book. It is written in *Latin*, as Dr. Grabe's Notes were; and, as it contains a further Illustration of what is above advanced concerning the Meaning of this difficult and much controverted Passage, it was thought proper to insert it here."

Videor mihi habere quæ opponam commentatis à Dilectissimo Grabio in Irenæi de Paschate Diſſum ab Eusebio conservatum.

1. Πιστὶ καὶ ἡμέρας de Die, non de Tempore luxè sumpto intelligi multò probabilius est; cùm Disſcriptio tota fuerit de Die, — An Dies solis esse deberet? An Mensis Decimus Quartus? Neque necesse erat ut τῶν αἰνῶν adjiceretur, si ex præcedentibus constaret quæsitum fuisse de Die.

2. Πιστὶ Eidos καὶ νηστείας reddi potest, De specie eâ Jejunii, quæ à Tempore, quo jejunatum erat, distingueretur: Et quidem hic debet; cùm statim sequatur, In eo variatum esse, quòd alii unum, alii duos, alii plures Dies jejunarent. Minus autem proprie diceretur Eidos καὶ νηστείας, quòd rectius Socrati Eidos Ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδέας καὶ ἰδέας, Et quidem propriè Eidos Συναγῆς appellaretur. Neque ullo modo necesse est ut Irenæus hoc loco de Varietate ciborum loqui intelligatur, de quâ verbum non fecit; idè tantùm, quòd Socrates ejus mentionem Disputationi simili immiscuerit.

3. Eandem ob rationem, quam suprà attulimus, συμπεπλημένον τῶν ἡμερῶν αὐτῶν accipi non debet de generali Temporis notione, cùm καὶ ἡμέρας vox toties ante repetita sensum stricteorem desideret.

4. Cùm ὅλην προαγγελίαν continuous penantur, supervacue adjectum est, eas Diurnas simul Nocturnasque fuisse. At de Domini nostri Jejunio per Dies Quadraginta, addendum prorsus fuerat, continuatum fuisse per Noctes non minus quàm per Dies, ut non vulgari modo transactum constaret.

5. Μία ἡμέρα. Quibus unica jejunabatur, Tertulliani tempore Sexta esse debebat feria, abſtinentiæ solenni dedicata. Constitutiones Apostolicæ posteriores sunt. At hæc, cùm infirmiores, quos vires non sinant totum biduum tolerare, Sabbatum saltem continuare jubent, non minus voluerunt ut usque ad Sextæ feriæ Vesperam tamen jejunarent.

Jews^a, been now extant. In what is come to our hands, there is nothing to be found of the *Anniversary Ante-Paschal Fast*, or *Paschal Feast*: of the *Weekly Fasts* and *Festivals* there is an accidental mention made, and only for the sake of an Allegory. ^b *The truly knowing person*, says he, *knows the hidden meaning of the Fast of those two Days, Wednesday and Friday: whereof the first belongs to Mercury [the Idol God of Gain]; the other to Venus [the Heathen Goddess of Pleasure]. For he fasts all his life from Love of Money, and of Pleasure. — And such a one, having performed what is commanded, makes that the Lord's Day, in which he puts off the evil Mind, and takes up the knowing one: celebrating that Resurrection of our Lord, which has been so wrought in himself.*

This is indeed Allegorical all: but it has a certain Ground, upon which it descants; and supposes as constant an Observation of those *two Days* of the Week, as of the Weekly Day of the *Resurrection*. They were the ordinary Days of *Christian Assemblies*, the *Stations* we before heard of^c, commonly fasted to a certain Hour; as the *Jews* had their Meetings in their Synagogues on their *Mondays* and *Thursdays*, when generally the devouter Sort did likewise Fast^d. Of these Days *Friday* was apparently chose for one, because on it our Saviour had suffered; and *Wednesday* is said to be the other, because he had been then sold to the High Priests: and further, we cannot but think that these which were kept in some manner every Week, in the Memory of our Lord's *Passion*, should, in the *Passion-Week* itself, have been kept with great Solemnity.

§. II. But this stated Observation of those *two Days* in the Week is more directly mentioned by *Tertullian*, a Cotemporary of *Clemens*: as the *Paschal Solemnity* is also expressly remembered by him. He wrote the Treatises now extant, about the year 200, and a little after: and, when most of them were wrote, was of the Heresy of *Montanus*; so that what we are to cite out of him cannot be well understood, without some Knowledge of his Sect.

Montanus, whom our Author unhappily followed, is supposed to have begun his New Doctrine about the Year 172. He is said not to have differed from the Catholicks in the main Articles of Faith^e; (though some of them were accused of *Sabellianism*^f;) but only in some Rigours of Practice, which he enjoined as by Divine Command. He absolutely forbad all second Marriages: condemned all declining of Danger in time of Persecution: made the Abstinence of the ordinary Stations to be longer, and more severe, dismissing their Assemblies later, and allowing then a very spare Refreshment. He ordered

^a Euseb. Hist. Eccl. Lib. 6. Cap. 13.

^b Clem. Alex. Strom. 7. Ο γνωσκων οιδε κατ' ημερας τα ανιζουματα τ' ημερων ταυτων, τ' πεπεαιδως και τ' παρουσας ληρω. Επισημαιζοντα γαρ, η μιν Ερωτη, η Αφροδιτης. Αυτην ημερας κατ' τ' βιον φιλαργουσιας η εμης η φιληδονιας. — Ουτος ουπολλω πτω κατ' το Ευαγγελιον διασπαρασσιν, κυριακω ουκ εστιν πτω ημερας πτω, οτ' αν διαταλη φουλον νοση και γνωσκων παρουσας, πτω εν αυτω τ' κυρια αναστησιν δεξαται.

^c Chap. 2. §. 1.

^d Luke 18. 12.

^e Theodoret παρ' Αιγυπτιας Κακισμουσας.

^f Idem, ibid. Hier. ad Marcellum.

the *Fast* before *Easter* to consist of *Two Weeks*^a; and besides instituted two *New Lents*, or Seasons of Fasting^b, each of a Week, excepting the *Saturday*; for they fasted no *Saturday*, but that before *Easter*^c. These, and such like Ordinances, he pretended to be dictated by the Holy Spirit to him and his two Prophetesses, on whom the Comforter had at last, according to our Saviour's Promise, descended, in a more plentiful manner than upon the Apostles, and with fuller and more perfect Instructions. Consequently, those of this Sect, from their Pretences to the Spirit, and to a stricter manner of Life, took themselves to be the only Spiritual Persons, calling the Catholics Carnal and Animal Men^d: and esteemed the Writings of their two Prophetesses above the other Books of the *New Testament*^e; supposing them to be both the Completion and Conclusion of it, and admitting afterwards no more^f.

Of this Sect was *Tertullian*, a Man of an austere Life, and rigid Temper, and a fierce Disputer: but excellently learned, and after his peculiar fashion very eloquent. His Book concerning *Fasting* happens to be preserved, where, in justification of his own Party, he sums up the Opinion and the Practice of his Adversaries, the Catholics, about that Matter. *They accuse us*, says he, *that we keep Fasts of our own; that for the most part we prolong the time of our Stations to the Evening; and that we use the Dry Diet, feeding on no Flesh, nor Broth, nor any Juicy Fruit; neither Eating nor Drinking any thing that is Vinous: and that, besides, we then abstain from Bathing, an Abstinence consequent to such a Dry Food. This they object to us for an Innovation, and conclude it to be unlawful; either to be judged Heretical, if*

a In *Sozomen's* Time, as we shall find hereafter, Chap. 10. §. I. the *Ante-Paschal Fast* of the *Montanists* was of *Two Weeks*: and there is all reason to think, That it had been so from the beginning of their Separation. For, by that time, the Catholics, we shall see, fasted a much longer Space: and these great Fasts would hardly have been left behind, had not those *Two Weeks* been the Space determined them by their Prophet; and they obliged, as here follows, to keep punctually to all his Institutions.

b *Hieron. ad Marcell. Illi tres in anno faciunt Quadragesimas, quasi tres passi sint Salvatores.* This is express for *Three Lents*: and, that one of them was kept after *Pentecost*, the same Author informs us in his Comm. in *Matth. Cap. 9.* *Montanus, Priscilla, & Maximilla etiam post Pentecosten faciunt Quadragesimam.* When the other *New one* was kept, I do not find ascertained. But it is plain from *Tertullian*, that both made but *Two Weeks*, without the *Saturday*; as you may see in his Book of *Jejun. Cap. 15.* which we shall cite below. They were therefore of a Week each; and were kept, as appears from the 13th Chapter, at the same time when their *Two Yearly Synods* were held.

c This I take to be evident from that place of Chap. 14. of *Jejun.* hereafter to be alledged; where *Tertullian* expressly says of the *Saturday*, and according to the Opinion of his Sect, that it was *Nunquam nisi in Pascha jejunandum.*

d These Names occur every where in *Tertullian*, and in this Treatise of *Jejun.* particularly.

e *Theodoret. in loco supra alleg. p. 162. e.*

f *Epiphanius* concerning this Heresy, §. 2.

g De *Jejun. Cap. 1. 2.* *Arguunt nos, quod Jejunia propria custodiamus, quod Stationes plerumque in vespem producamus, quod etiam Xerophagias observemus, sicantes cibum ab omni carne, & omni jurulentia, & avidioribus quibusque pomis, nequid vinositatis vel edamus vel potemus: Lavacri quoque abstinentiam, congruentem arido victui. Nevitatem igitur obsecant, de cujus illicito prescribant; aut haeresin judicandam, si humana praesumptio est; aut pseudoprophetiam pronunciandam, si spiritualis indictio est: dum quaquam ex parte anathema audiamus, qui aliter annunciamus. Nam quod ad Jejunia pertineat, certos dies a Deo constitutos opponunt. Ut cum in Levitico praecipit Dominus Moysi decimam mensis septimi, diem placationis; Sancta, inquiens, erit vobis dies, & vexabitis animas vestras; & omnis anima, quae vexata non fuerit die illa, exterminabitur de populo suo. Certè in Evangelio illos dies Jejunii determinatos putant, in quibus ablati sunt sponsum; & hos esse jam solos legitimos Jejuniorum Christianorum, abolitis Legalibus & Prophetis vetustatibus. Ubi volunt enim, agnoscant quid sapiat, Lex & Prophetæ usque ad Joannem. Itaque de cætero indifferenter Jejunandum, ex arbitrio, non ex imperio novæ disciplinae, pro temporibus & causis uniuscujusque. Sic & Apostolos observasse, nullum aliud imponentes jugum, certorum in commune omnibus obcundorum Jejuniorum; proinde nec Stationum, quæ & ipsæ suos quidem dies habeant, quartæ sericæ & sextæ, post festum tamen cœrant, neque sub lege præcepti, neque ultra supremam diem; quando & orationes fere hora nona concludat, de Petri exemplo, quod Actis refertur. Xerophagias verò, novum affectati officii nomen, & proximum Ethnicæ superstitioni; quales castimonie Apim. Iudæi, & Magorum Matrem certorum eduliorum exceptione purificant.*

it be a Human Doctrine; or to be condemned for false Prophecy, if it pretends to be an Ordinance of the Spirit. So that we are either way to be accused, as those who preach another Gospel. For, as to Fasts, they tell us, That certain Days have been appointed by God. As when, in Leviticus, the Lord commands Moses, That the 10th Day of the 7th Month should be a Day of Propitiation; saying, "It shall be holy to you; and you shall afflict your Souls; and every Soul, that afflicts not itself that day, shall be destroyed from among his People. And in the Gospel, they suppose those Days determined to Fasting, in which the Bridegroom was taken away; and that those only now are the Days appointed in ordinary for Christian Fasts; the old Observances of the Mosaical Law and the Prophets being now abolished: (for when they have a mind, they can understand what is meant by that, The Law and the Prophets were until John:) and therefore that, as for any other Time, Fasting is to be used according to Discretion, and upon particular Occasions and Causes, not by the Command of any new Discipline: For so did the Apostles, not laying upon the Disciple any other Burden, of Set Fasts and such as should be observed in common by All; and consequently not of Stations neither, which have indeed their Set Days, Wednesday and Friday, but so as that they are to be kept discretionalily, not by force of any Command, nor beyond the last hour of the Day, the Prayers then being generally ended by Three in the Afternoon, after the example of St. Peter mentioned in the ^b Acts. But the Dry Diet, our Xerophagy, is, they say, a new Name for a new affected Duty; too like the Heathen Superstition: being such an Abstinence as is used to Apis and Isis, and the Mother of the Gods.

This is his Representation of the Catholicks Thoughts, concerning the *Ante-Paschal* Fast, from which he argues in the 13th Chapter. You plead, says he, that the Christian Faith hath its Solemnities already determined by Scripture or Tradition; and that no other Observation is to be superadded, because of the Unlawfulness of Innovation. Keep to that ground, if you can; for here I find you yourselves both fasting out of the Paschal Season, besides those days^a in which the Bridegroom was taken away: and also interposing the Half-fasts of your Stations; and sometimes too living on Bread only and Water, as every particular person thinks fit. You answer, indeed, that these things are done at your Liberty, and not by Command: but then you have quitted your Ground, and gone beyond your Tradition, when you do such things as have not been appointed you. And so in the next Chapter, in answer to those who compared them to the Galatians, as Observers of

^a Lev. 23. 27. &c.

^b Acts 10. 30. 3. 1.

^c De Jejun. Cap. 13. *Præscriptis, constituta esse solennia huic fidei scripturis vel traditione majorum; nihilque observationis amplius adiciendum, ubi illarum innovationis. State in isto gradu, si potestis. Ecce enim convenio vos & præter Pascha jejunantes, citra illos dies quibus ablati sunt sponsus, & Stationum semijeiunia interponentes, & vero interdum pane & aqua victitantes, ut cuique visum est. Denique respondetis, hæc ex arbitrio gerenda, non ex imperio. Moysi igitur gradum, excedendo traditionem, cum quæ non sint constituta vitatis.*

^d The very learned Dr. Beveridge [in his *Cod. Canon. Apost. Vindic. l. 3. c. 6.*] suggests, That *citra illos dies* may well signify the Season just before them, and denote a larger Lent to have been kept by the Catholicks at that Time. That Meaning the Phrase will bear, but I have not given the Translation according to it, lest any one should complain, That I produced a Testimony in a strained, though a very proper Sense, which was capable of a larger.

Days and Months, he replies, That they observe not the *Jewish Ceremonies*: but that *to the New Testament there belong new Solemnities*. Otherwise, says he, if the *Apostle has abolished all Religion of Days, and Times, and Months, and Years*; Why do we [both *Montanists and Catholics*] celebrate the *Paschal Season yearly in the first Month*? Why do we pass the *Fifty days following in Joy and Exultation*? Why do we consecrate *Wednesday and Friday to Stations, and Friday [or Good-Friday] to Fastings*? — Although you *Catholics* also sometimes continue *Saturday, a day never to be fasted, except in the Week before Easter, for a Reason given in another place*. And lastly, in the next, the 15th Chapter, taking notice that the *Apostle* condemned those who commanded to abstain from Meats, foreseeing *Marcion and Tatian*, and such Hereticks, who would enjoin perpetual Abstinence in contempt of what the *Creator* had made; in vindica-

a Cap. 14. *Quid si nova Conditiō in Christo, jam & nova Solennia esse debent. Aut si omnem in totum devotiōnem temporum, & dierum, & mensium, & annorum erasit Apostolus; cur Pascha celebramus annuo circulo in mense primo? Cur quinquaginta exinde diebus in omni exultatione decurrimus? Cur Stationibus Quartam & Sextam Sabbati dicamus, & Jejunii Parasceven? Quanquam vos etiam Sabbatum siquando continuatis, nunquam nisi in Pascha jejunandum, secundum rationem alibi redditam.*

b Good-Friday.] *Parasceve* by many is understood here to signify *Good-Friday* in particular: because of the ordinary *Fridays*, as well as of *Wednesdays*, mention is made before. But the Word is never found to signify after that manner in any other place: and, besides, our Author has already spoke of the *Pascha* in the same Period: and, with him, we know *Dies Paschæ* is *Good-Friday*, (as we may see in the next Testimony but one to this, cited out of his Book *de Orat.*) and here in the close of this Passage, the *Saturday* following is *Sabbatum Paschæ*. He seems therefore, after he had mentioned the *Yearly Solemnities* of the *Pascha*, and the *Pentecost* which begun on *Easter-Day*, to come now to the *Weekly*: and is understood by *Petavius*, [in his Notes upon *Epiphan.* p. 358.] to imply, That as both *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* were the Days assigned for *Stationary-Meetings*, so the *Fridays* were appointed for *Fasts*: supposing the Word *Statio* not so much to signify the *Half-Fast*, as the *Assembling*; and the *Jejunia* to be much above those *Semi-Fasts*, and of the stricter sort. This is certain, though *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* are joined together often, yet *Friday* is at other times particularly remembered, and as the more solemn Day: as you will see hereafter, Ch. 5. §. I. and Ch. 7. §. I. And such a Sense the Words may carry, if at that time all the *Wednesdays* and *Fridays* were *Stationary*, and all the *Fridays* were *fasted*. But if the *Fridays* were not always fasted, but only held the most proper Days of all the Week for a *Fast*; yet then there might remain a Sense apt enough, after this manner; *How come we to appoint Wednesdays and Fridays as most proper for Stations, and the Fridays as most proper for stricter Fasts*? And so the *Christians* might choose a *Friday*, as the *Jews*, if they are to have a solemn Fast, chose for it their *Monday*, or *Thursday*.

All this is said upon this Passage, as it is now read. But if there were any Manuscripts to be consulted, I should look after the Words *Quartam & Sextam Sabbati*, to see whether *& Sextam* were not an Interpolation of some Copyist, who had observed them above, and thought they were wanting here.

c Mr. Daillé, willing to have *Montanus* the Enlarger of the *Ante-Paschal Fast*, would fain suppose the *Two New Weeks* of Fasting, which he instituted, to have been placed by him before *Easter*: and, for that purpose, cannot allow, That the *Montanists* fasted the *Saturday* before *Easter*; because, as we see out of *Tertullian*, in the next Paragraph we shall quote from him, in those Two Weeks they fasted not the *Saturdays*. But, on the contrary, we have learned from *St. Jerom*, That those Two Weeks were *Two New Lents* (p. 163. b.): and we have found too (p. 163. a.) some Reason to think, That their *Lent* before *Easter* was of Two other Weeks, differing, we suppose, from such a *Lent* of the *Catholics* only in this, That it was enjoined as by Divine Precept. And besides, this very place will not endure such an Interpretation easily. For the *Montanists* are known to have declined Fasting on *Saturdays*, as much as the *Catholics*: and upon that Account only, the *Sabbatum nunquam jejunandum nisi in Pascha* may be said by them as of their own Judgment, and their own Practice. It is too most reasonable to understand it in such a manner. For here *Tertullian* speaks, and not the *Catholics*; and must be therefore rather presumed to have given his Own, than Their Opinion: which Opinion besides, he says, was founded upon a Reason elsewhere given; and to say *elsewhere*, might be proper enough, if the Reason was any where given by himself in some Treatise of his, but it was too loose and uncertain, if the Reason was given by some *Catholic* in general; for where should one look for it? And who was he that gave it? To all this we may add, That if a *Catholic's* Opinion were here expressed, and his Reasons meant, it would have been rather thus, *Quanquam vos etiam Sabbatum siquando continuatis, in Pascha jejunandum, secundum rationem alibi redditam*: for the Fasting on the *Saturday* of them who did it but sometimes, was to be the Doubt, and to require a Reason: though, for *Tertullian* to give a *Catholic's* Reason, and not to censure it, would have been very unnecessary and very flat; faults not usual in his Style. And, on the other side, if the *Montanists* Judgment is there spoke, and they fasted not that *Saturday*, but the *Catholics* did; it should then, instead of *nisi*, have been *nec*, and conceived in this manner, to the Reproach of the *Catholics*, *Quanquam vos etiam Sabbatum siquando continuatis, nunquam nec in Pascha jejunandum, &c.* Such a Reproof of the *Catholics* was likely from *Tertullian*, and such a Reflection is obliquely made in the Translation above, which tells us of the *Catholics*, That they too continue the *Saturday*, but that they should only fast that *Saturday* and no other, which yet some of them were used to do.

However, I will venture to offer, that the following *Sabbatum continuatis* may be understood of *Saturday* alone, and without any Connexion with a *Friday* preceding; and mean no more, than the *Passing* it without Food, the *way* of *Dionys. Alex.* See the next Chap. §. II. and Note on the words *passi over*.

This is all true upon the common Supposition, That *Parasceve* signifies *Good-Friday* in this place. But if it be to be taken for any *Friday*, the Sense of the place is plain, and Mr. Daillé hath nothing to say.

tion of their own Sect from Heresy, he subjoins; *'For how very little is the Prohibition of Meat we have made? We offer to our Lord two Weeks of Dry Diet, and those not whole Weeks neither, Saturdays and Sundays being exempted; abstaining then from such Food, which we do not reject, but only defer.*

To these Testimonies of *Tertullian* out of this Book, we may subjoin another out of his Dissertation about *Prayers*; where, after he has explained the *Lord's Prayer*, and spoke of some Requisites to Prayer, he then comes to censure some superstitious Observances about it, and particularly taxes a Custom that had began to prevail: Those who were in a Fast, towards the Conclusion of their Assemblies, and just before the Communion, not saluting their *Brethren with the Holy Kiss*, then always used on that occasion. This declining to salute had been the Fashion of the *Jews* in their Fasts, as a sign of Sorrow; and is reproved here by *Tertullian* in Christians, as being a kind of Ostentation of their Fasting, and contrary therefore to the Direction of our Saviour, which commands us *not to appear to Men to fast.*
^b For now, says he, we are known to fast by abstaining from that Salutation. But if there be any reason for such a Custom, you may at your own home, if you please, and among your Family, from whom your Fasting cannot well be concealed, defer that Ceremony of Peace: but, otherwise, wherever you may conceal your Fast, you are to remember the Command; and by this means you will both keep your Rule abroad, and your Custom at home. For so on Good-Friday, when the Devotion of Fasting is Common, and as it were Publick, we justly forbear the Salutation; taking no care to conceal from the rest, what is done together by us all.

§. III. Now, from these Testimonies of *Tertullian* it appears, *First*, That the Religious Assemblies, or Stations, of *Wednesday* and *Friday*, were now well known and practised in the Christian Church, and generally supposed to have descended from the Apostles; as recommended by their Example to the devouter Christians, and not as enjoined the whole Body by any Precept.

Secondly, The constant Opinion of the Catholicks of his Time presumed, That *those Days, in which the Bridegroom, our Saviour, was taken away*, were to be fasted not at Pleasure, but by Direction; being designed and determined to that Duty from the Beginning. This is certainly the Catholick Sense; as it is represented by *Tertullian* in the Second Chapter in express words, where he speaks both of the Designation of our Saviour, and the Observation of the Apostles; and as it is again intimated by him in the 13th. Nor could it have been

^a Cap. 15. *Quantula est enim apud nos interdictio ciborum? Duas in anno hebdomadas xerophagiarum, nec totas, exceptis scilicet sabbatis & dominicis, offerimus Deo; abstinentes ab iis, quæ non rejicimus, sed differimus.*

^b De Orat. Cap. 14. *Jam enim de abstinentiâ osculi agnoscimus jejunantes. Sed & si qua ratio est, ne tamen huic præcepto reus sis, potes domi si forte, inter quos latere jejunium in totum non datur, differre pacem. Ubiunque autem alibi operationem tuam abscondere potes, debes mimiſſe præcepti: ita & disciplinæ foris, & consuetudini domi, satisfacies. Sic & die Paschæ, quo communis & quasi publica jejunii religio est, merito deponimus osculum; nihil curantes de occultando, quod cum omnibus faciamus.*

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brought in question by Mr. *Daille*, had he not studied his own *Hypothesis* too much.

Neither is that Judgment of the Catholicks, concerning those *Days*, any ways disparaged by the Interpretation they give there to our Saviour's Words^a. For though this Saying of his may be well understood at large, as it is by most Commentators, of those Distresses and Afflictions the Disciples should fall under upon his Departure; the very Mention of which they could not now bear: yet it will too very properly admit the other Meaning, and particularly imply some Stated Days of Fasting hereafter to be observed by them; and which our Saviour here predicts, at least, if not directs. They were privileged now, by their Attendance on the *Bridegroom*, the *Messias*, from the ordinary *Monday* and *Thursday*-Fasts of the stricter *Jews*; or from others extraordinary set up by *John*: but, when the *Bridegroom* should be taken away, that Exemption, he tells them, would cease; and, withall, new Cause of Fasting would arise, and new Times be appointed. And then he adds, under the Figures of a *Garment*, and of *Bottles of Wine*, That neither would those Fasts of his new Institution be proper as yet, under the old Dispensation; neither were his Disciples prepared now to undertake and observe them: but that hereafter, when all things should be new, his New Dispensation should have New Fasts of its own; and his Disciples too become for them New Men, by the Renewing of the Holy Ghost. This Exposition of the Text, concerning such new Fasts in general, after our Saviour's Death, seems to be most natural; very apt, I am sure, it is to the Occasion and Prosecution of that Saying. And if then those general Words were by the first Christians applied, in particular, to that very Time of the Year in which He suffered, and on which they fasted, as by Apostolical Tradition; it is no wonder. For such secondary Applications of Scripture, to Subjects not seeming, at first sight, to have been intended by it, is very usual in the New Testament. And it is the known Manner of the *Jews*, to accommodate the Words of the Bible to such Practices, as they take to be of Divine Authority, though they are hinted only, and alluded to there; not expressed, much less commanded.

Thirdly, *Those Days*, which were to be so fasted, are twice expressly mentioned in the Plural Number. And of *Those* Two are obvious, the *Friday* and the *Saturday*, in which he was Taken, Crucified, and Buried. These, at least, must, I think, be understood by *Tertullian's* Catholicks: neither has he given any where any contrary Intimation. For in the 14th Chapter of his Treatise of *Fasting*, the *Saturday*, said there to be fasted sometimes, is, in all probability, not the Holy *Saturday*, but any other *Saturday* in the Year^b. And in his Book of *Prayer*, *Good-Friday* is mentioned peculiarly, not simply for its being a Common *Fast-Day*; but because it was a *Fast-Day* in which

^a Matth. 9. 15.

^b See Note p. 165. b.

there was the usual Opportunity for the *Holy Kifs*, and in which it was omitted. Whereas, on the *Saturday*, they assembled late, and spent the Evening in Baptizing the *Catechumens*: and that Day, having in its Office no place for that Ceremony, consequently gave not our Author the same occasion to speak of it. And thus much seems evident concerning *Two of Those Days*. But they were reckoned by others, as we have observed before, from *Wednesday*; and by some, from *Monday*, the Fifth day before the *Passover*, the day of the Caption of the *Paschal Lamb*, ordered by *Moses*^a: in conformity to which, they supposed our *Saviour* to have been at that time singled out, as it were, by the *High-Priests*, and determined for Sacrifice. This is certain, That, by many, all those Days were particularly observed; as we shall presently know from an Author but *fifty* Years younger: who is indeed the first that tells us of such a Practice; but, as we often intimate, must not therefore be supposed the first that knew it done.

Fourthly, Of *Those Days* the *Friday* was the most remarkable: for in that He was *taken away* actually; Apprehended, Crucified, and laid in the Grave; and accordingly It was always kept with a singular Devotion by the whole Church: the latter half of the Night (in which the Apostles should heretofore have watched) in Watching, and the Day too in Fasting and Praying. And for this Reason only, we need not have wondered if *Good-Friday* had been particularly mentioned in the 14th Chapter of *Fasting*, as it is in the Treatise of *Prayer*. I confess, from some words of the last, Mr. *Daillé* would infer, That *Good-Friday* was not then observed by all Christians; because the Devotion of that Day is said to be *Common*, and as it were *Publick*, or, as he sometimes understands, *almost Publick*. And his Observation would have been true, had *Tertullian* said as it were, or *almost Common*: but, when it is first termed *Common*, without any Restriction, and after too said to be kept by *All*; that Consideration alone should have led that very Learned Person to the true Meaning of this Phrase, as it were *Publick*. For *Publick*, he knew, does not only signify what belongs to all, but what is exposed, or appears to all: which last Sense, opposed to *Hiding* and *Concealing*, the Scope of the place evidently requires. And, besides, it is plain, why *Tertullian* puts in his as it were: for he had, after his strict manner, urged the Command of not Publishing a Fast so absolutely, that he could not, in the usual Nicety of his Style, call even this *Publick*, without some Limitation.

Fifthly, Of other Days than those, in which our *Saviour* was *taken away*, there is no express mention in *Tertullian*. But, for ought appears thence, other Days there might have been observed; and some Reason from him there is to think they were.

We have seen before, how very probable it is, That the *Montanists* had a Fast before *Easter* of Two Weeks, besides their other two

^a Exod. 12. 3.

Fasts at other times of the Year: and had not the Catholics of that Age observed some such *Lent* too, additionally to the ordinary prescribed Days, *Tertullian* must have been obliged to have accounted for this Innovation also, as well as for the other. Whereas, in the 15th Chapter, he thinks himself bound to defend the other two Weeks only, as the Fasts peculiar to those of his own Sect: and leaves us therefore to infer, That there was little difference between them concerning the *Ante-Paschal* Fast: the Catholics, it seems, having nothing to object to the *Montanists* about the Length of it, but only about the Necessity as by Divine Command: and the *Montanists*, on the other side, not being able to defend their certain fixed Fortnight, by producing any number of Days, though more, which the Catholics kept, because they were kept by them uncertainly, and under no Divine Obligation.

From *Tertullian's* Management of this Dispute, such reason there is to think that the Catholics of his Time had a longer *Lent* than of those Days only. And upon the same Considerations, the violent Presumptions of Mr. *Daille* against it will be found of no force: neither is he to be suffered to conclude, That the Catholics then kept no such *Lent*, because he did not find it formally mentioned amongst *Tertullian's* Objections in the 13th and 14th Chapters. Had indeed their *Lent* been then as *Determined* and *Formal*, as that of the *Latin* and *Greek* Church is now, the Forty Days before *Easter* might probably have been mentioned, as well as the Fifty after: but in that Age there was a great difference between them. For the Feast of the Fifty days was universally kept by all, and very solemnly: conspicuous, if only by the Posture they used, their not kneeling at their Prayers. But neither was Forty, nor any other number of Days fixed then generally for a Fast: and besides, as the Days were at Discretion, and rarely, I suppose, Forty; so the Fast was for the most part Private, and not distinguished by any Publick Action. For the same Reason of Uncertainty, the same Additional Days ought not to have been specified in the 13th Chapter, nor mentioned in any other manner than they there are, under the general Title of *other Days besides those in which the Bridegroom was taken away*. Neither, I suppose, did he in that place think so much of justifying his *Ante-Paschal Lent*, (a thing the Catholics would easily allow in Substance, though not in Form,) as of his other two *Lents*, which were absolute Novelties in the Church of Christ: and, upon that account, he might retort so upon the Catholics in general, concerning the Abstinence they thought fit to use through the Course of the rest of the Year. But if any Adversary will impose upon *Tertullian* the necessity of pleading there only for his *Ante-Paschal Lent*, I may then, I think, with as much reason desire him to understand the Author there (as the word will signify, we know, p. 164. d.) not speaking of *other Days Besides*, but of *other Days Before those in which the Bridegroom*, &c. And then this Passage, instead of being an Objection

Lord's-Days, and Fridays, and the Passover, and Pentecost; we reply, That a perfect man, being always conversant in the words, and works, and thoughts of the true Lord, makes every Day His, and always keeps the Lord's-day. And so, being always in a Preparation of the true Life, and always abstaining from Pleasure, and keeping under the Body, he always keeps the Preparation-Day, [Friday]. In such a manner he keeps the Passover, passing from this Life to God, and hastening to his City. And thus he, who can say with truth, We are risen with Christ, keeps the Pentecost. But one of the common Believers, and not of the better kind, who cannot, or who will not keep every day a Holy-Day, wants such sensible Images for his Remembrancers, that he be not wholly deficient. This Passage is Allegorical, and like that of Clemens, our Author's Master, which we have cited above (in Chap. 4. §. I.): and it is here given, not only for a further Confirmation of the Practice of Observing *Fridays* and *Easter*, &c. but that the Reader may the better judge of a Reflection he may find made by *Socrates*, as if *Origen* had done wisely to turn the *Passover* into *Allegory*, as he has done here, but more largely in that his *Homily* upon *Leviticus*, which we shall next mention. For such Allegorical Speculations, to which the *Platonists* were much inclined, may be admitted to refine and spiritualize, but not to evacuate the Letter. This we find here, where the Observation of the *Lord's-days* is allegorized, as well as of *Fridays*, and of the *Passover*. And we might give another Instance from the same *Clemens of Alexandria*, who refines in the like manner upon the *Ten Commandments*^a; but when he assigns his Spiritual Meaning of *Thou shalt not commit Adultery*, or *Kill*, or *Steal*, must not be therefore supposed to have set aside the Plain and Literal Sense.

Much more to our Design would that other Passage of *Origen* be, which we find in his *Tenth Homily* on *Leviticus*; where, after he has enlarged, in an Allegory, against those who thought the *Propitiation-Day* of the *Jews* was to be kept by *Christians*, he subjoins, ^b *But this we do not say, to let loose the restraints of Christian Abstinence. For we have the Days of the Forty Season consecrated to Fasting, and we have Wednesdays and Fridays in which we solemnly fast.* And here, under that Name of the *Forty Season*, now first met with, we should either understand a *Lent* of *Forty Days*, or some number of Days denominated at least from *Forty*; were we assured of our Authority, and had we the *Text* of the Author, and not the Translation of *Ruffinus*, for it. *Ruffinus*, I know, lies under an ill Name for Translating; and has not the Reputation of any great Exactness: but we have found reason to think that he did not do *Irenæus* wrong; and, it may be, he has been suspected here much more upon Design, by those that are against *Lent*, than he has been asserted by those that

^a Strom. 6. versùs finem.

^b Orig. Hom. 10. in Levit. Hæc tamen non ideo dicimus, ut Abstinentiæ Christianæ fræna laxemus. Habemus enim Quadragesimæ dies jejuniis consecratos: habemus Quartam & Sextam Septimanæ dies quibus solenniter jejunamus.

as to enquire for the very Hour, or Half, or Quarter of an Hour, when to begin the Festival, we answer thus: *We blame those who make too much haste, and give over before Midnight: — And those who hold out longer, and continue till the Fourth Watch, we commend. — But to those, who leave off in the mean time, as their inclination, or ability has served them, we are not severe.* For, (not to be nice about Hours,) the Six Days of Fasting themselves are not kept equally, and alike by all. Some continuing without Food pass over^a the whole Six Days; some Two; some Three; some Four; and some not One. Now to those, who have endured such Passings over without Sustenance, and grow unable to hold out, and are ready to faint, to them leave is to be given for an earlier Refreshment. But if there be any, who have been so far from thus passing over the preceding Four, [Days,] that they have not so much as fasted^b, nay, it may be, have feasted, and then coming to the Two last and only Days, and passing over the Friday and Saturday, think they do a great thing, if they hold on to Day-Break: As to these, I cannot think that they have strove alike, [for the Mastery,] with those, who had been engaged in the Exercise more Days before.

Here is, from great and unquestionable Authority, a very accurate Account of the Manner in which the *Christians of Alexandria*, and that Country, passed the Week before *Easter*. Nor is it to be doubted, but that those generally of other Places observed it with more than ordinary Abstinence, though they might not come up to all this Austerity, and though the *Ægyptian Christians*, as well as *Jews*, (for so I take *Philo's Essenes* to have been,) may have been the greatest Fasters each of their own Religion. Some, we are told, wholly abstained from Food, or passed over all the Six Days; some Four, beginning with *Wednesday*; some Three; and some Two. And these last did the least of those, who pretended to *Pass Over*: for he mentions none, who thought fit to begin on the *Saturday*, and so to pass over but One whole Day. He mentions indeed some who passed over not so much as One: but it is plain, that these were very few in comparison of the rest; and it is besides observable, that those, who did not pass over a day altogether, might however, in the Language of this Author, have Fasted a day till the Evening: and in this manner, it is probable, they that Passed not over one day, did however Fast more than one, and possibly all the Six, in the self-same manner in which we now keep the most solemn of our Fasts.

^a *ὑπερβαίνειν* may properly signify to pass over, put off, postpone; from *ὑπέρ*, ultra, post; [as in *Phot. p. 60. ὑπέρ πέντε ἡμέρας ἀμείνων*, is, post quinque dies]; and so *περὶ πέντε ἡμέρας*, or *περὶ πέντε ἡμέρας*, may be that their Food was put off for a Day, or a Day put off for their Food; as the word *prorogare* will agree in both constructions: and, in the latter, I suppose *Diem cibationi solitæ superponere*, is to be taken in *Solinus* [Cap. 28.]; though *Salmastius* understands it not *de cibo sumendo*, but *de sumpto*, [Exerc. *Plin. in Solin. p. 324. Epist. Simplicii Verini, p. 203.*] as if the Day were put upon the Food. Or, *ὑπέρ* may answer to that other signification of the Latin *pro* in *prorogare*; as in *prolatus, productus, protrahus*: and so *ὑπερβαίνειν ἡμέρας*, may be, to prolong, and protract, or put over the Fast for one, or more Days; in which sense *Jejunii superpositio*, [Conc. *Illiber. Can. 26.*] and *ὑπερβαίνειν τὴν νηστείαν*, [See Note on the Words continued Fast, Chap. 8. §. 1.] may be well understood: And possibly *ὑπερβαίνειν ἡμέρας* [ἡμέρας] may also be much the same with our Author's *διαρρῆναι, ἀγασθῆναι*, and signify *transigere, producere diem, jejunio*; to pass the Day, in Fasting; so, as *Tertullian* might mean by his *Sabbatum continuare*. [See the last Chap. p. 165. a.]

^b Fasting a Day, must be understood here in contradistinction to *ὑπερβαίνειν*, or the passing over a Day: and must therefore be taken for such an *abstinence*, as will allow some Sustenance, at least, at the latter end of the Day.

§. III. SUCH Abstinence was used in the *Passion-Week* at *Alexandria*, and, in all probability, in most other Churches: for the Account of *Dionysius* begins with the mention of *Rome*, and other Places; and does not at all seem to appropriate the Practice to that single City. When therefore St. *Cyprian*, a Cotemporary and Correspondent of *Dionysius*, speaks occasionally of the first Solemnities of the *Passover*, which detained his Brethren, the Bishops, at their own Churches^a; we may very well understand them to be the *Devotions* of the *Holy Week*: and suppose that the Season of Seven Days before *Easter*, and Seven after, which by the Law of *Theodosius* the Great was made a Vacation in the Courts of Justice^b, had been before kept holy by the pious Usage of the elder *Christians*.

And this will seem the less strange, if we reflect upon the Practice of the *Jews* about the same Season. We shall hereafter endeavour to shew, that very much of the *Christian* Usages were derived from them: and it will not be denied by any, That our *Easter* answers in some sort to their *Passover-Day*; and the Seven Holy-days after the one, to the Seven after the other. This is acknowledged: but it is not improbable, that the Days before *Easter* had some such regard too. The *Monday* of that Week, we have seen in the last Chapter, was supposed to be the Day, in which the *High-Priests* resolved on our Saviour's Death; as it was appointed in their Law for the Day, in which they were to single out their *Paschal* Lamb: and this, as we there observed, may have seemed sufficient Reason to the Antient *Christians*, to begin their stricter Devotion then. But it is besides observable, and remarked by *Theophylact*^c, That the *Jews* commonly began to make Entertainments, and commenced their Festivity the Day before, that on which he supposes our Saviour was entertained at *Bethany*, the Sixth Day before the *Passover*: (if they did not earlier). And this, in the general, is the more probable, from the Appellation the *Jews* now give the *Sabbath* before the *Passover*, calling it the *Great Sabbath*: a Greatness, I suppose, in which the rest of the Days of that Week had their share. For as the Scripture tells us^d, That *many came up before the Passover, to purify themselves*, and to offer Sacrifices for their Sins: so too, we may presume, many came to pay the Peace-Offerings they had vowed; and of them, the most solemn, the Eucharistical, were not capable, by reason of their Leavened Bread which accompanied them^e, to be offered on any of

^a Cyprian. Epist. 56. Edit. Oxon. Quoniam scripsistis, ut cum pluribus collegis de hoc ipso plenissimè tractem; — Et nunc omnes ferè, inter prima Paschæ solennia, apud se cum fratribus demorantur; quando solennitati celebrandæ apud suos satisfecerint, Et ad me venire cœperint, tractabo cum singulis plenius.

^b Just. Cod. Lib. 3. Tit. 12. §. 7. Inter dies Feriales recensentur sacri Paschæ dies, qui Septenario numero vel præcedunt, vel sequuntur.

^c Theophyl. in Joan. 12. 1. Τῇ δευτέρῃ τῶ μῶντος λαμβάνουσι τὸ εἶ τῇ τῇ Πάσχᾳ ἱστοῖ τῇ ηἱστέμῳ πῶσῳ (*). Ἐκτε- τε δὲ τῶ πῶσῳ τῶ ἱστοῖ τῇ πῶσῳ ἀρχοῦται. Ἀμὲν καὶ τῇ πῶσῳ ἡμεῶν, ἡ ἱστοῖ τῶ μῶντος, ἀρχοῦται ἱστοῖται, καὶ πῶσῳ τῶ ἱστοῖ τῶ ἡμεῶν τῶ τῶ πῶσῳ. Διὸ καὶ ἱστοῖται σῶσῳ εἰς Βεθάνιαν ἰδῶν.

(*) This Particular may be spoke by our Author out of *Exodus*. For, according to *Maimon*. (De Sacr. Pasch. Tract. 1. Cap. 10. §. XV.) this Circumstance, with some others prescribed at the first Institution, were observed the first *Passover* only, and never after.

^d John 11. 55.

^e Levit. 7. 13.

the latter Seven Days, and made up therefore, as we have reason to think, the Solemnity of the Season before. Now if those Days before the *Passover* were thus distinguished among the *Jews* by their *Festivity*, they might be among *Christians* as much distinguished by their *Abstinence*: according to the Rule of that *Apostolical Constitution*, (produced by the *Audians*, for their keeping the 14th Day, after the manner^a, I suppose, of the *Asiatics*,) which *Epiphanius* thus gives us^b: *When they [the Jews] Feast, do you Fast, and Mourn for them; for in the day of their Feast, they Crucified Christ: and when they Mourn, eating their Unleavened Bread, with Bitter Herbs, do you Feast.* For here the time of *Feasting*, first mentioned, might be extended also to those Days *Before*^c: and not to a Week only, but a Fortnight. For, with the *Jews*, the First Twelve Days of that Month are esteemed Festival^d, as sacred to the Erection of the Tabernacle. And though we are told, that the *Jews* do no Penitential Office this whole Month, yet its Festivalness must be understood of its first half. For, from the Morrow of the *Passover*, the 16th Day, they are like Mourners, and continue under that Sadness; some, above Thirty Days; and some, all save one, to Pentecost^e. And so, though that Constitution specifies the 14th Day only, for the Time of *Jewish Mourning*; because on that only they were bound to eat the Bitter Herbs, and that ^f Unfavoury Bread; yet the Reason of the Ordinance might reach to the 7 Weeks from the 16th, in which the *Jews* forbid themselves all Chearfulness; and which, as we have seen, were still passed by *Christians*, on the other hand, with all demonstrations of Joy.

But, to return to the Instances of this Age, of which we were now speaking. It is plain, from what we chance to know of this Matter, That the *Passion-Week* was strictly observed: And it will be unreasonable to think, as some would persuade us to do, That there was then no Time fasted before that Week, because here is no mention made by *Dionysius* of such a Time. For the Holy Man describes the Fasting of this Week but casually, and upon occasion only; being led, from the different Ending of the *Fast*, to consider its different Beginning. The Beginning therefore of such a Fast only was to be considered by him, which continued without Interposition of Food till *Easter-Day*: and, for that reason, the Fasts of the preceding Weeks, which were discontinued, and separated from the last Week, by the intervening *Saturdays* and *Sundays*, had no place here, and could not properly be mentioned by him on this Argument.

On the contrary, we cannot but presume, That those, who kept this Week so strictly, did not fail to use some sort of Abstinence more

^a See Chap. 1. §. 3.

^b *Epiph.* Har. 70. §. XI. Λίγιστοι Ἀποστόλοι, ὅτι ὅταν οὐκ ἔσονται ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὑμεῖς ἡσυχάζετε ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν πένοντες, ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ἡμεῖς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ Χριστὸν ἐπαυρώμεν καὶ ὅταν αὐτοὶ πένωσι, πάλιν αὐτοὶ ἐπὶ πικρῶν, ὑμεῖς ἐν αὐτοῖς.

^c See Part. 2. Rep. 2. Chap. 1. §. 2. Chap. 3. §. 3.

^d *Buxi. Syn. Jud.* c. 17.

^e *Ibid.* c. 19.

^f *Maimonid.* de Solenn. Pasch. seu de Ferment. & Azym. Cap. 6. §. I. This is observed by *Petavius* upon the place.

than ordinary in the Time before, if any such Season was then any where in use with *Christians*: such a Season as we had some reason to infer from *Irenæus* and *Tertullian*; and shall find in the Beginning of the next Age much celebrated, and observed well nigh universally. To which I may add, That if the Conjecture I offer at on *Socrates*^a be admitted, it will then be probable, That full Three Weeks were formally kept at this Time in *Rome*. For if in the Days of *Socrates*, when the *Catholicks* generally observed so large a *Lent*, the *Roman Novations* observed but Three Weeks, it was, in all likelihood, for this reason, Because the *Novations* of that Place, where the Schism was first founded, adhered more stiffly to the Usages of their first Separation, and would not comply with the Enlargements the *Catholicks* made, as those of the same Sect, in other Cities, might have been induced to do.

C H A P. VI.

§. I. *A Mention of a Forty Days Fast, by Peter of Alexandria, before the Council of Nice.*

§. II. *Very probably they were the Days before Easter.*

§. I. **A**ND so have we seen all along, through the Three first Centuries, as much mention of the *Ante-Paschal Fast*, as could be expected from the scarcity of Authors, and the rarity of the Occasion for such a mention: the Church having been generally employed hitherto either in Apologies for their Religion against the *Heathens*, or the Defence of it against *Heathenish Heresies*, or the Suffering of Persecution for it. But now, in the next Age, when *Christianity* comes to be owned and countenanced by the Government, their Writings will be more frequent, and more copious and express: and, amongst other Observations of our Religion, we shall not fail to find sufficient Information of this, after which we are enquiring.

But before we come to those happy Days; the last fierce Persecution itself, began by *Diocletian* in the *East*, according to *Baronius*, in the Year 302, and there continued by the Cruelty of those who governed that part of the Empire, gave occasion for some sort of mention of *Forty Days*, which it may be to our purpose to observe. Before the Persecution began, and in the Beginning of this Century, the Episcopal Chair of that great Christian City, *Alexandria*, in which the above-named *Dionysius* had sat, was now filled by one *Peter*, a very venerable Person, eminent for his Knowledge and Sanctity, and who at last suffered Martyrdom in the Year 311. And upon the rising of this sharp Persecution, the *Christians* had behaved themselves

^a Chap. 10. § III

very differently: some had endured to the last with admirable Constancy; some yielded and denied their Religion, after the suffering of grievous Torments; some upon the offer of Torture, after they had undergone the Pains of Imprisonment; and some at the first Accusation. Of those too, who had not renounced, some had escaped by Flight; some by buying off the Prosecution; and some by hiring Witnesses to attest to some Idolatrous Act of theirs, which had been never done. Of all these sorts, there were many who desired to be readmitted to the Communion of the Church, and some had now long sought it with much Lamentation: to whose various Circumstances different Rules were therefore to be suited, such as this *Peter*, after deliberation had with his Brethren, delivered in a Discourse now lost; but from which some Excerpts had been made in form of Canons, and by that means preserved to us. The *first* Canon, as *Zonaras* and *Balsamon* give it, is thus^a:

Whereas now the fourth Easter is come upon this Persecution; it may suffice for those, who were accused, and imprisoned, and endured insufferable Tortures, and intolerable Scourgings, and many other grievous Cruelties, but after all were betrayed by the Weakness of the Flesh; [for these, I say;] though they were not admitted into Communion at first, by reason of that their great Apostasy; yet because they strove much, and resisted a long while, (for they fell not upon Choice, but were betrayed by the Weakness of the Flesh,) and because they bear still in their Bodies the Marks of their Lord, and some of them have been mourning these three Years; [for these, I say, it may suffice;] That a Penance of Other Forty Days, to be reckoned from after their Admission, should be additionally inflicted on them, for their Admonition: which Forty Days though our Saviour had fasted after Baptism, yet He was tempted of the Devil; in which they too being exercised superabundantly, and more earnestly sober, may watch unto Prayer, continually meditating on that Answer given by our Lord, when he was urged by the Tempter to fall down and worship him; Get thee behind me, Satan, for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.

This is the *first* Canon: and for the better understanding of it we only add, That the *second* imposes another Year's Penance upon those who had suffered the Pain and Misery of Imprisonment, but did not resist Torture; and that the *third* puts those off to the End of another Year for Trial, and not till then to receive their Sentence, who out of Fear and Cowardliness had yielded presently.

^a *Petr. Alex. Can. I.* Επεὶ τοῖνυν πέταται ἡ δὴ Πάσχα ἐπισητάληφι τὸ δαγμὸν, αὐτάρκως ἢ τῆς ἡ ἀποστασίας καὶ φυλακιστοῦ, βασάνης τε ἀνυπόστατος ἀπομνησκόμενος, καὶ ἀφορέτης μάστιγος, καὶ πολλὰς ἰπτάρας ἀναγκῆς δοῦναι, ὅστις ὁ ἀποδιδόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδυναμίας τῆς σαρκὸς, ἢ καὶ μὴ ἐξ ὀφείας παρεδίδεχθαι ἀλλὰ τὴν παρακλῆσιν αὐτοῦ μὴ ἴστω πτασθῆναι, ὅμως ἀλλὰ τὸ πολλὰ αὐτὸς ἠδολογήσας, καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ ἀντιμαχόμενος, (οὐ γὰρ καὶ ἀποστρέφεται ἐν ταύτῃ ἐκλυμνιστῇ, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀποδομένης ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδυναμίας τῆς σαρκὸς,) ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἐν γένεσιν ὁ Ἰησοῦς ἐνδείκνυται ἐν τοῖς συμμάσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ ἡδὴ πρὶς τούτῳ ἔτος ἐχρῆται καὶ ἀποστρέφοντες, ἀποσιτισμὸν αὐτοῖς δὲ τὸ ἀποστρέφοντες καὶ ἀπομνησκόμενοι ἀλλὰ προσερχόμενοι ἡμῖν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἑσόδῳ οὐ Κύριος ὁ Σωτὴρ ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, μὴ τὸ βαπτισθῆναι, ἐπειραδὴ ὑπὸ τοῦ Διαβόλου, ὡς ἂν ὁ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ πῶς ὁ ἀποστρέφοντες, ἀποστρέφοντες τε καὶ αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἀποστρέφοντες ὡς ἀποστρέφοντες ὁ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸ πῶς ὁ ἀποστρέφοντες, ἀποστρέφοντες αὐτὸν ὡς ἀποστρέφοντες αὐτὸν, Ἰπτάρας ἐπὶ αὐτῷ, Σατανᾶ, γένεσται γὰρ, Κύριος τὸ εἶναι αὐτὸν ἀποστρέφοντες, ὡς αὐτὸς μόνος λατρεύσας.

§. II. *Forty Days* of Fasting, and strict Devotion are here singularly and eminently mentioned: but in what part of the Year they were placed, it is not here certainly determined. If by *the fourth Easter is come*, as I have rendered it, may be understood *is now coming*; and the Bishop's Discourse may be dated before *Easter*: those *Forty Days* would then be in all probability before *Easter* too, and the very *Lent* which we are now looking after. They must undoubtedly have some near Aspect upon *Easter*: For why else is it mentioned, and the Years of Persecution reckoned by it? And no Time was so proper to readmit Penitents solemnly to Christian Communion, as this of the *Passover*, when the Pardon of our Sins was recognized by the solemn Memory of our Saviour's Death on the *Friday*; and the Holy Communion, the Sacrament of his Death, was so solemnly frequented on the *Sunday*: neither was any Season of the Year more fit for the stricter Humiliation of the Penitent, than that on which all good Christians were ready to join in something of the like Devotion. For this Reason, we may justly suppose, St. *Cyprian*^a was consulted before *Easter* about the same Case, the Reconciliation of those who had been Penitents three Years; that, if he had answered favourably, they might have been admitted at the approaching Festival. So have we, under this Supposition, a *Lent* of *Forty Days* for Penitents at least, to be kept throughout by them, and with great Severity: while the rest, beginning as early, and using such Abstinence as their Discretion directed, and the Necessities of their Conscience required, equalled generally the Austerities even of those, at the latter End. And this way if we are allowed to conceive the Canon, the *Other Forty Days*, there mentioned, may then respect the former *Three Lents* that had gone before: except any one would rather understand that one *particular Lent* to be intimated, which had been kept by these *Christians* just before they were Baptized, (which too was done generally at *Easter*;) and which they were now ordered to keep in the same manner again, before they should be again received into the Church.

And thus the *Forty Penitential Days* will be the very *Forty Days* of *Lent*, if we suppose the Synod to be held before *Easter*: as the *Nicene* Council did order afterwards. But if it was not, and they did not concur with such a *Lent*, they will however infer It. Let us then suppose the *Synod* to have been assembled after *Easter*. And very probably it was; for it is not unlikely that the Order of the Council of *Nice*, in this Particular, was a Change of the old Practice; which Order was reversed in a little time by the Council of *Antioch*: and, besides, we see that the Synod of *Ancyra*, a Synod held on occasion of the same Persecution, and much about the same Time, did meet after *Easter*; for they speak of the *Great Day*, the *Day of Easter*; and seem to reckon it to be about a Year, before it would come again.

^a Epist. 56. Edit. Oxon.

Under this Supposition, that Synod of *Ancyra* will help us to understand the other of *Alexandria* more particularly. In its 6th Canon, it decrees, *That those, who had yielded cowardly to bare Threats, and had not professed their Repentance till the time of the Synod, should be only admitted to Hear the Scripture and the Sermons, (as hopeful Unbelievers were permitted to do,) until the Great Day: and that, after the Great Day, they should be of the Class of those who Kneeled, and Prayed, and Supplicated for Pardon, (as the Catechumeni did for Baptism,) and so continue three Years: And then, for two Years more, they should Communicate with the Brethren in Prayer, but not in the Eucharist: And finally, after six Years thus spent, they should be received into full and free Communion.*

We find by this Canon, that the *Penitential Space* of Time, were it longer, or shorter, was generally determined by *Easters*: and see, that *Peter* of *Alexandria* therefore reckoned by them. And further, when he does those miserable Penitents the favour, after some Years Mourning, to enjoin them only the *Penance* of *Forty Days*; we understand his Indulgence to have been so much, as to have remitted that *Yearly* Time, they should otherwise have been kept, at least, from the *Eucharist*, and to have given them their *Lent* immediately. For lastly, when he says, they should *fast other Forty Days*, and says this after *Easter*; we cannot doubt but that he refers to the *Forty Days* lately passed in *Abstinence*, and which concluded the preceding Year; which too, as it seems, were passed in ordinary Course, and not by any particular Injunction of his: for he appears not to have given any Orders in this Matter before. So very probable it is, even from this accidental Testimony, That a *Lent* of *Forty Days* was kept at *Alexandria* before the Council of *Nice*: and that we should so think, we are now going to see what great Reason there is from that Council itself.

C H A P. VII.

§. I. Good-Friday, and Days of solemn Fasting mentioned by Constantine.

§. II. The Forty Season expressly mentioned by the Council of Nice.

§. III. And that Forty Days are to be understood, proved from St. Chrysostom.

§. I. **W**E come now to the First General Council, assembled at *Nice*, under the first *Christian* Emperour, in the Year 325: and, amongst other things taken into their Consideration, an-

a Conc. *Ancy.* Can. VI. Περὶ τῶν ἀπειλῇ μόνον ἐξέκταντο ὑλάσις, — καὶ μίχρα τῷ παρόντι καιρῷ μὴ μετανοήσαντων, μηδὲ ἐπιτρέψαντων, νῦν δὲ παρὰ τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Συνόδου ἀποσπλάντων, καὶ ἐς ἀφύμιον τὴν ἐπιτροπὴν βουδρῶν, ἰδοὺς μίχρα τῆς Μεγάλης ἡμέρας ἐς Ἀκρόασις δεχθῆναι, καὶ μὴ τὴν Μεγάλαν ἡμέραν ὑποπίσειν τοιαύτη, καὶ μετὰ αὐτῆς δύο ἡμερῶν ἡμερῶν χρεὶς ἀποφθεῖν, καὶ ὕτως ἰλθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ πλεον, ὥστε τὴν πᾶσαν ἐξαιτίαν πληρῶσαι.

other *Paschal Difference* was then adjusted. The *Syrians*, it seems^a, and *Cilicians* without *Taurus*, and the *Mesopotamians*, though they kept the *Resurrection-day* on a *Sunday*, according to the Resolution in *Victor's Time*^b; yet agreed so much with the *Jews*, as to follow their wrong Calculation, and begin the Year sooner than they ought; by which means, this *Paschal Season* often happened before the *Æquinox*: whereas the rest of *Christendom* had all used a more Reformed Account of their own, agreeable to the Directions of *Moses*. It was therefore thought fit by the Council, That such a notable Difformity among *Christians*, and such an Agreement with the *Jews*, in the *Principal Christian Solemnity*, things in that Time, as it appears, very scandalous, should no longer continue: which Regulation the Emperour himself considered so much, as to notify and recommend it to the Churches in a Circular Letter, transmitted to after Ages by *Eusebius*. There^c he tells them, That a *Question* having been raised about the most Holy Day of the *Passover*, it was thought fit, by unanimous Consent, to keep it every where on the same Day. — That it was extremely improper to keep that most Holy Feast, from which we have received the Hopes of Immortality, after the Custom of the *Jews*, who embued their hands in that wicked Action. That, setting aside the Jewish Manner, there was a truer Course and Calculation, by which the Solemnity of that Observation, which had been kept from the first *Passion-Day*, might be hereafter perpetuated to all Ages. — That, besides the Absurdity of Erring with their Enemies the *Jews*, there was an Unfitness in their Disagreement among themselves. That our Saviour had delivered to us One Feast, the Day of our Redemption or Freedom, that of his most Holy Passion, and that he had ordained one Catholick Church: and that therefore they might consider, How improper it was for some Parts of that Church to be Fasting, whilst others were Feasting; and some, after the Days of the *Passover* were over, to be in Joy and Festivity, whilst others were at their Solemn Fasts; and both of them for the same common Reason. — That he promised himself their Assent to that, which was already uniformly observed in Rome, and Africk, and all Italy; in *Ægypt*, Spain, France, Britain, Libya,

^a Athan. ad Afros Episc. Oī κτ̃ Συρίαν, καὶ Κιλικίαν, καὶ Μεσσοποταμίαν διαφώνοντες ὡς ἡμεῖς, καὶ τὸ καὶ ἄλλοι, οὐδ' οὐ ποῦσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι, ἰππῖον καὶ αὐτῶν.

^b So Socrates understands. For, after he has given an Account of the Asiatick Custom, against which *Victor* declared, he proceeds to speak of the Usage this Council rectified, in these Words: Τίς μ' ἂν, ὡς ἔφην, καὶ τῶν Μικρῶν Ἀσιῶν, τῶν ποταμιοκαίδινα τῶν παρὲν τῶν τῶν Ἰουδαίων καὶ τῶν Ἀνατολικῶν μίση τὸ Σαββατικὸν μὲν τὸ ἱερὸν ἔτην, διαφώνοντες ὡς τὸ Μῆνα. Socrat. l. 5. c. 22. Besides, it is plain from that Homily of S. *Chrysostom* we shall presently cite, (notwithstanding what is said to the contrary by Mr. *Daille* de Quadrages. p. 422.) that those of *Antioch* in his Time, who did not conform to the Council of *Nice*, did however keep their *Easter* on a *Sunday*. For he tells them, That were the Calculation of the *Jews* never so exact, &c. yet they could not keep the precise Day, because the First of Unleavened Bread and a Friday would not always come together. [Edit. Savil. Tom. 6. p. 383. l. 7.] And it is in that Case, says he, impossible for us, you, or any one else, to hit the very *Sunday*, ἰππῶντος τὸ Κυριακῆς ἡμέρας αὐτῆς. [Ibid. p. 384. l. 33.] He lays the Difference too in the different Reckoning of the Months, (as Socrates does,) when he says, That they should be careful of coming to the Sacrament worthily, and with the wedding Garment; but that they need not be so fearful of keeping their *Easter* after the Christian Account, were it less accurate. For they were to answer, and should be punished, for the other Neglect: οὐ γὰρ τὸ δῶν Μηνὶ καὶ τῷ δῶν ἔτη ἰππῶντος τὸ Πάσχα, οὐδεὶς οὐλομένην ποτὶ, οὐδὲ συνέλαβεν. [Ibid. 382. l. 32.] but no man was ever punished, or so much as found fault with, for keeping *Easter* in this Month, and not in another.

^c Euseb. de Vit. Constantin. l. 3. c. 17, 18, 19. — Εἰς τὸ γὰρ τῷ ἰμαίνον ἴδως ἀποβλήντων, ἀλλοτρίως περὶ, ἢ οὐ παρὰ τῆς Πατρὸς ἡμέρας ἄλλοι ἢ παρὲν τὸ ἰφύλαξαι, ἐπὶ τῆς μίθου αἰῶναι τῶν τὸ ἰππῶντος τῆς συμπαλῆσιν ἐστίνοντες. — Μίαν γὰρ ἑορτὴν, τῶν τὸ ἡμῶντος ἰδούσεως ἡμέραν, ταύτην τῶν ἁγίων Πατρὸς, ὁ καὶ πρὸς παρὲν δυνάμι Σατῆρ.

all Greece; the Dioceses^a of Asia and Pontus, and in Cilicia within Taurus; and not only because there were the greater Number; but because it was the right Course, and the Christians were besides to have no Communication with their and our Saviour's Enemies the Jews.

In this Imperial Letter, we may (1) observe the extraordinary Notice that is taken of *Good-Friday*: That alone of all the *Paschal Season* is specified; and *Easter-Day* itself is unmentioned, as if it were the less principal. And this, it may be, was done in Honour to the Catholick Doctrine, and against the New Heresy of *Arius*, which depressed infinitely the Dignity of our Saviour, and the Merit of his Sufferings; as it was the Day of the *Passion* of God, and not of any Creature. Whereas, on the contrary, the Resurrection of a Creature should have been mentioned before its Passion, as the more extraordinary and remarkable of the two, both for its Cause and Manner, and its Effects and Virtue. But, whatever might be the Reason of this singular Mention of *Good-Friday*, this is certain, That every *Friday*, for the sake of the *Passion*, had by an Edict of this Emperour^b the like Exemption from Civil Business with the *Lord's Day* itself: as, we may remember, *Origen* above gave it an equal Remembrance, if *Tertullian* too did not distinctly specify it before.

(2.) *Solemn* and prescribed *Fastings* are here spoke of, and before *Easter*: But how many they generally were, and how far they reached, we are not told from this, no more than from other Authorities we have heretofore vouched. We should indeed presume that they might have made up the *Holy Week*, from *Dionysius*; or, it may be, a Week or two before, from what we observed on *Tertullian*; and when we concluded from *Peter of Alexandria*, That they were about *Forty*, a Term remembered by *Irenæus* before, we could not have been thought to have stretched too far, and been overfond of that Number. But a Canon of the same Council, accidentally mentioning the *Ante-Paschal Fast*, will sufficiently authorize the Opinion.

§. II. THE 5th Canon^c, after it has decreed, (upon the Occasion, it is supposed, of *Arius*, having been received into Communion by *Eusebius*, notwithstanding his Excommunication,) *That those, who have been Ejected by one Bishop, should not be Admitted by another*: to provide against unjust Excommunications upon Quarrel and Passion, does order, *That for the Examination of such Causes, Two Synods a Year should be held in every Province. And these, says the Canon, shall be held, the one before the Forty Season, that all Quarrel and Animosity*

^a Διοκηνσις Ασιας is in this place to be understood properly, and exclusive of the *Asia Proconsularis*; if the Bishops of *Asia Minor*, strictly so termed, continued to observe the 14th Day, as *Anatolius* affirms for his Time, and *Socrates* seems to assert for the Time of the *Nicene Council*. Though it be hard to think that the Churches of the *Proconsular Asia*, if they had still retained the old *Quartodecimanian* Errour, should not have been included in this mention: and that the Council would have been so silent concerning this Errour, kept up against the Ancient Determination in so near and famous a Country; when we find them so zealous against those who were at a greater distance, and whose Practice was less *Judaical*.

^b *Euseb. de Vit. Constantin.* l. 4. c. 18. ex emendatione *Valesii*. *Sozom.* l. 1. c. 7.

^c *Concil. Nicen.* Can. V. — Αἱ ὁμοῦς συνελεύσεις, μὴ μὲν πρὶν τὴν τεσσαρὰν ἡμέραν, ἢ καὶ πρὶν τοὺς μικροψυχίας ἀναγκασθέντες, τὸ ἄλλοτε καὶ πρὶν τὴν ὁμοῦς συνελεύσειν, καὶ τὴν ὁμοῦς συνελεύσειν, καὶ τὴν ὁμοῦς συνελεύσειν.

being first laid aside, [as our Saviour directs,] a pure and acceptable Gift may be offered unto God, [in the Devotions of that Holy Time,] and the other in Autumn.

Here now is a certain, undisputed Mention of the *Forty Season*, made by this Great Assembly of Confessours: but Mr. *Daillé* is very unwilling to understand them of *Forty Days*. He rather would think, because the word *Forty Season* will be found hereafter sometimes to signify a *Lent* in general, and of uncertain Space, that therefore it arose first from the *Forty Hours* he fancied in *Irenæus*, and afterwards gave its name to that *Fast*, as it increased in Space, and was now at length come to signify the *Passion-Week*; as it will hereafter in some time have so many *Days* added to it, as shall make up the Number *Forty*. And, he says, *Forty Days* must not be understood here: for, in so large a Time, new Quarrels might be raised; and the Synods too must be held in *February*, an inconvenient Season for the Bishops to travel.

But this Original of the *Forty Season* from so many *Hours* is a mere Singularity, and grounded upon a very doubtful Construction of *Irenæus* his Phrase, which rather requires to be understood of *Forty Days*, as has already appeared. Neither is it reasonable to imagine, That a Word, which signifies *Forty*, should be put to signify *Six Days of Fasting*, now when we know from the Church of *Alexandria*, that *Forty Days* have been before observed for a Solemn Space of Penitential Devotion: and much less reasonable, when we shall know, that so many *Days* in this self same Age hereafter will always be aimed at, and, as near as may be, approached to, in the Computation of *Lent*, as we shall presently see.

§. III. THERE is therefore little need that I should go further for the fixing the Signification of that Word in this Canon: but it may be further cleared from St. *Chrysostom*. He was in *Antioch*, the chief Place of the *East*, where that *Jewish* Account of the *Passover* was kept, which the Council of *Nice* had ordered to be reformed: and the People were so addicted to it, (as they were too to other Customs of the *Jews*,) that though the Observation of it was again forbid by a Council at *Antioch* in the Year 341, yet some of them continued superstitiously to adhere to it, and obliged this eloquent Priest to interrupt the Order of his Discourses, and to bestow one whole Sermon upon the Correction of their Schismatical Dissent. They imagined that *Easter* was necessarily to be kept at the Time of *Unleavened Bread*, and pretended that this had been their Antient Use. St. *Chrysostom* therefore acquaints them, That the *Alteration* was made by the *Wisdom and Piety of the Great Council of Nice*, those illustrious Confessours of the *Christian Faith*: that they thought it unfit for them any longer to follow the *Jews* in their erroneous Calculation, and that the whole World agreed to the Ordinance. He tells them, That the *Jewish Passover* is abolished; that *Christ* is the *Passover* of the *Christians*; and

and that it is celebrated by them every Communion. To which he adds, *Why then, say you, do we fast these Forty Days? Because antiently many were used to come to these Mysteries without due Preparation, and particularly at this Time in which our Saviour instituted the Sacrament. The Fathers knowing well the Mischief of such a Negligence, being come together, appointed Forty Days of Fasting, Praying, Hearing, and Assembling; that we being all carefully purified in these Days both by Prayer, and by Alms, and by Fasting, and by Watching, and by Tears, and by Confession, and by all other Duties, may so draw near, as far as is possible for us, with a pure Conscience. And how great the Success of this Ordinance was, in bringing us to a Custom of Fasting, is very evident hence. For if we all the Year long cry up and preach the Duty of Fasting never so much, there is no body that hearkens to what is said: but when the Season of the Forty Days is once come, though none exhort or advise them; yet every one, even the most negligent, sets himself to it, by the Advice and Exhortation of the Season.*

Now I take it to be very plain, That the Fathers, here spoke of for *Lent*, are the same with those mentioned but just before for *Easter*. For had they been of any other Council, or Synod, they would have been named with some distinction. And if any one would be so unreasonable, as to suppose some other Council meant, yet he must remember, that it must be such a one as might be stiled *Antient* about the Year 390; and therefore rather before that of 325, than after: and then he must withall reflect, that he gives me an Earlier Authority, than that for which I now contend. But unquestionably, as I think, *St. Chrysostom* must be understood of the *Nicene* Fathers: and if we take his Judgment, we see evidently that they, by their *Forty Season*, could intend nothing else but their *Forty Days*. It is true indeed, that there is no particular *Canon* to be found, that enjoins this *Lent* of *Forty Days*: but neither is the Ordinance about *Easter* found in the *Canons*, though it was such a disputed Point. And it may too very well be, that the Observation of *Forty Days* was rather interlocutorily agreed upon, than formally determined; and not therefore enjoined in any other *Canon*, but implied in this of which we now speak; and that the Churches of differing Customs voluntarily came in to this Uniformity of *Lent*, upon the general Direction they received to Conform in the Celebration of *Easter*.

So has it appeared, That Mr. *Daillé's* Refusal to understand *Forty Days* by the *Forty Season* was not only ungrounded and arbitrary, neither derived from the Practice just before the Time of the *Canon*,

α Τίνος ἢ ἐνεκεν νηστεύμεν, φησι. τοὺς ποσάροντες ταύτας ἡμέρας; Πολλοὶ τὸ παλαιὸν τοῖς μυστηρίοις προσήσαν ἀπλῶς ἢ ὡς ἔτυχεν, ἢ μάλιστα καὶ τὸ καμὸν τῷ περὶ, καὶ ὃν ὁ Χριστὸς αὐτὸ παρέδωκεν. Συνειδότες ὅτι οἱ Πατέρες τῶν βλασφημῶν τὴν γενεὰν ὅτι τὸ ἡμελημὸν προσέθεν, συνελθόντες ἐτόπισαν ἡμέρας ποσάροντες νηστείας, εὐχῶν, ἀκροάσεως, συνοδῶν, ἢ οὐ τὰς ἡμέρας ταύτας καθ' ἑαυτὰς μετ' ἀκροάσεως ἀπάντες, ἢ δι' εὐχῶν, ἢ δι' ἐλεημοσιῶν, καὶ ἀλμῶν νηστείας, ἢ ἀλμῶν συνοδῶν, καὶ ἀλμῶν ἀκροάσεων, καὶ δι' ἐξομολογήσεως, καὶ δια τῶν ἄλλων ἀπάντων, ἢ τῇ δακρυμῇ τῶν ἡμετέρων μετ' ἡμετέρας συνειδότες προσήσαν. Καὶ ὅτι μίαν καθ' ἑαυτὰς ἀλμῶν τὴν συνειδήσεως ταύτης ἡς συνεδέσαν ἡμεῖς νηστείας κατὰ τὴν ταύτην, ἔλεγον ἐκείνην. Ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀν' ἀλμῶν ταύτης ὅτι αὐτὴν μόνον βεβάντες καὶ κενύοντες νηστείας, ἔδοξεν προσέχειν τοῖς λειτουργοῖς αἱ δὲ ἑτέροις μόνον ὁ τὸ ποσάροντες καμὸν, ἢ μόνον ποσάροντες μὲν συνεδέσαντες, ἢ ὁ σφοδρὸς κατὰ τὴν ταύτην ἀκροάσεως, τὴν συνοδῶν καὶ καμῶν λαμβάνοντες συνεδέσαντες καὶ ποσάροντες. Tomo Sexto Savil. Eis τὴν πρὸς τὴν Παρὰ νηστείας, pag. 381.

nor agreeable to that after; but withall directly contrary to the express Affirmation of St. *Chrysostom*. For as to the Objections he has brought, if they are worth mentioning: the Inconvenience he fancies, that in so long a Time as *Forty Days* they might quarrel again, after their Synodical Reconciliation; seems to be said with more Favour to his own *Hypothesis*, than Respect to those Venerable Persons: and the other of a *February* Journey, though of Elder Men, to the *Metropolis* of a Province, where other Business too might call them, is not very great; it was not, at least, so considerable to the *Nicene* Fathers, as that of their continuing at Difference one with another in the *Holy Season*. But, not to be difficult in small things, we will grant that this Inconvenience might be one of the Reasons why the above-named Council of *Antioch*, by the 24th Canon, restored it to its former Place after *Easter*, and settled it in the 4th Week: and it seems indeed by the special Affignation of a Reason for the Time of a Synod before *Lent*, that it was first fixed there by this Council of *Nice*. However, after all, the *Forty Season* there must stand for *Forty Days*: and we cannot but observe, That it is not set down as any newly raised Word, but as one already well known, and of as common a Signification as *Spring*, or *Autumn*. From whence what we have before suggested, plainly now appears, That such a Number of Days had been in much Use before in many Places, at least in the last Age, though no mention of them happened to occur in the few *Writings* that remain.

C H A P. VIII.

§. I. *This Forty Season particularly observed by the Candidates for Baptism.*

§. II. *And by Penitents.*

§. I. **F**OR the Time that follows, we shall have little Dispute about the Practice of *Forty Days*. That there was such a Solemn Time before *Easter*, some way or other observed in all the Churches, none will deny. This is evident and absolutely unquestionable, from St. *Cyril* of *Jerusalem*, St. *Ambrose* of *Milan*, St. *Chrysostom*, St. *Jerom*, and St. *Augustin*, who expressly mention *Forty Days*; as the Council of *Laodicea*, and *Athanasius* speak of more Weeks than one of the *Forty Season*. I shall not therefore trouble the Reader with the unnecessary Allegation of all those Testimonies; but only with such who inform us, That this *Lent* was still most particularly observed by those two kinds of Men we heretofore intimated^a, the *Candidates* for *Baptism*, and the *Penitents*.

^a Chap. 2. §. II.

Of a *Fast* before *Baptism* I gave there a very early Testimony from *Justin Martyr*: and what was then further intimated might have been confirmed from *Tertullian*, That for *Baptism* the *Paschal Season* afforded a solemn Day. And now in this Age, we cannot but think, That the *Lent* of Forty Days, which is acknowledged to have been kept commonly by all the Faithful, was more particularly observed by those who were to be baptized at the conclusion of it. On this Subject therefore, it will be enough to produce the single Evidence of *St. Cyril of Jerusalem*.

He is judged to have been made Bishop there in the Year 350: and was *Presbyter Catechist* before; whose Duty it was to instruct and prepare those Candidates, and whose Catechetical Lectures are still preserved. In the *Prologue*, he forewarns them to take care and provide the *Wedding-Garment*. I admonish you, says he, ^a now before the *Bridegroom* of our Souls comes, and sees your *Dress*. There is a large Time given you. You have the *Penance* before you of Forty Days: sufficient Space and Opportunity to put off the old Garments, and to wash off their Filth, and to put on the new ones, and to come in. Likewise the first *Sermon* to them he thus begins: ^b You *Disciples* of the *New Covenant*, and *Partners* of the *Mysteries* of *Christ*, by *Call* and *Invitation* now, and within a little while by actual Gift and Grace; make to yourselves a new Heart and a new Spirit. Then he tells them, That they shall have a new Name; and he, that was called a *Catechumen* before, shall now be stiled Faithful. — But though this Grace is freely given, they must not therefore be negligent: the present Season is a Season of Confession. — All worldly Cares are to be laid aside: for you strive, says he, for your Souls. Adding, And you, that have been busy about the things of the World, troubled in vain so many Years, will ye not bestow Forty Days in Prayer, for the Salvation of your Souls? And when the *Catechumens* had in this manner spent the Forty Days, abstaining from *Flesh* and *Wine*^c; and had passed over the *Friday* and the *Saturday* of the *Passion Week*, in *Vigils* and a continued *Fast*^d; they were then in the Evening before *Easter* baptized.

This was unquestionably the Practice of the Fourth Century: and now I shall leave the Reader to observe how much of this *Tertullian*,

^a Cyr. Hieros. Prologus. Εγω παραγγέλλω, πρὶν ἢ νυμφίος τῷ ψυχῷ ἀποστείλῃ Ἰησοῦς, καὶ ἰδῇ τὰ χήματα. Πολλὰ σὺ εἰς ὁδοποιεῖς. Τισσὶν ἀποκαταστήσει ἡμεῶν μετάνοιαν ἔχεις ἔχεις πολλὰν εὐκαιρίαν, καὶ σκεδυσσάσθαι, ἔστιν ἀπαιτούμενον, καὶ ἐκτελεῖν.

^b Catech. 1. Καὶ νῦν διαθήκης μετέσται, καὶ Χριστὸς νυμφεῖον κηρύσσει, οὗ μὲν τῇ κλήσει, μετ' ὀλίγου δὲ καὶ τῇ χάριτι. — Καὶ νῦν ὁμολογήσεις ὁ πατὴρ. — Τούτους κύκλῳ ἑαυτῶν διδάσκει, πρὶν τὸν χρόνον μετέλθαι ἀρχομένης, καὶ προσκαταστήσει ἡμεῖς ἡμεῖς τῇ ἀποδοχῇ, ἀλλὰ πῶς σωτὴ ψυχῆς;

^c Catech. 4. Περὶ βραβείων. Νηστεύομεν, οἷοντι καὶ κερὶν ἀπαιτούμενοι.

^d Catech. 18. In his Discourse on the *Saturday*, he tells them, he spares them, in consideration of the fatigue they had undergone, from their continuing on the *Fast* begun on *Friday*, and from their *Watching*. Τὸν χρόνον τῷ ἀποκαταστήσει ὑμῖν, ἕκτι τῷ ἀποκαταστήσει τῷ νηστεύειν τῷ παρακαλεῖν, καὶ τῷ ἀρεσκῆναι. And this both *Watching* and *Fasting* is expressed by *St. Hilary* to have been commensurate to the Time of our Lord's *Passion*: and is therefore reckoned to have continued Three Days. *Hilar.* in *Can.* 15. *Matth.* *Venturi ad Baptismum, prius continentur credere se in Dei Filio, & in Passione ac Resurrectione ejus: & huic professionis sacramento fides redditur. Atque ut hanc verborum sponsonem quædam rerum ipsarum veritas consequatur, toto in jejuniis Passionis Dominicæ tempore demorantes, quædam Domino Compassionis societate junguntur. Igitur sive ex sponsonis sacramento, sive jejuniis, omne illud Passionis Dominicæ cum Domino agunt tempus. Et hujus spei atque comitatus Dominus misertus, ait, Tri-duo Secum esse.*

in his Book of *Baptism*, describes as done in his Time. After he had said what we now cited, That *there was in the Paschal Season a more solemn Day for Baptism*, he adds in the next Chapter, *Those, who are going to be baptized, ought to pray with frequent Prayers, with Fastings, and Kneelings, and Watchings, and with the Confession of all their former Sins. — For by this Affliction of the Flesh and the Spirit, we at the same time make some Satisfaction for what is past, and fortify ourselves against Temptations for the future. Watch and pray, says he, that ye enter not into temptation. And I presume they [the Disciples] were therefore so far tempted, because they slept. — Our Lord himself was surrounded with Temptations presently after his Baptism, when he had performed [his] Fasts Forty Days. And therefore, may some one say, we too should rather fast after Baptism. — Now in this place, I confess, it is not evident, that the Paschal Vigils, and the Forty Days Fast before Easter are particularly meant; and therefore heretofore I did not bring this Passage for a Proof: but neither is it improbable that they are intended; for the time of the Apostles Sleeping agrees to the time of those Vigils; and the Forty Days Abstinence of our Saviour, being not mentioned with any intimation of the one continued extraordinary Fast, but as so many Fastings, may also well refer to those of the Catechumen.*

§. II. It has appeared already from the Synod of *Alexandria*, That Forty Days had been in Use for a Penitential Fast before this Time; and that in all likelihood those Days were just before *Easter*. I shall therefore be content to add only two Authorities: the one concerning the Number of those Days, and the other concerning their Place.

And as for the Fast of *Penitents*, how proper Forty Days are for that Office, I shall give the Authority of St. *Jerom* in his *Commentary* on *Jonas*; exscribing the whole Passage, the rather because it will be of further Service hereafter. The old Translation of the 3d Chapter of *Jonas* at the 4th Verse was thus, *Yet three days and Nineveh shall be destroyed*: upon which he says, *The Number Three, which is put by the Septuagint, is not proper for Penitents. And I cannot but wonder how it came to be so translated; seeing in the Hebrew there is no Agreement either in the Letters, or Syllables, or Accents, or Words. — Besides, the Prophet sent from Judæa, on so long a journey, was to require a Penitence worthy of his Preaching; that such old and putrid*

a Tert. de Bapt. c. 20. Ingressuros Baptismum, orationibus crebris, jejuniis, & geniculationibus, & pervigiiliis orare oportet, & cum confessione omnium retro delictorum. — Simul enim & de pristinis satisfacimus confusione carnis & spiritus, & subsecuturis tentationibus munimenta præstruimus. Vigilate & orate, inquit, ne incidatis in tentationem. Et ideo, credo, tentati sunt, quoniam obdormierunt. — Ipsum Dominum post lavacrum statim tentationes circumstiterunt, quadraginta diebus jejuniis functum. Ergo & nos, dicet aliquis, à lavacro potius jejunare oportet. Et quis enim prohibet, nisi necessitas gaudii, & gratulatio salutis?

b Hieron. in Jon. c. 3. Trinus numerus, qui ponitur à Septuaginta, non convenit Pœnitentiæ: & satis miror cur ita translatus sit; cum in Hebræo nec literarum, nec syllabarum, nec accentuum, nec verbi sit ulla communitas. — Alioquin & de Judæa tanto itinere missus Propheta in Assyrios, dignam suæ Prædicationis Pœnitentiam flagitabat; ut antiqua & putrida vulnera diu apposto curarentur emplastro. Porro Quadragenarius numerus convenit peccatoribus, & jejuniis, & orationi, & sacco, & lachrymis, & perseverantiæ deprecandi: ob quod & Moyses quadraginta diebus jejunavit in Monte Sina: & Helias fugiens Jezebel, & Dei desuper irâ pendente, quadraginta dies jejunasse describitur. Ipse quoque Dominus, verus Jona, missus ad prædicationem mundi, jejunavit quadraginta dies: & hæreditatem nobis jejuniis relinquens, ad ejus Corporis sui sub hoc numero nostras animas præparat.

Ulcers might be cured with a Plaister that should lie some longer time upon them. Now Forty is a Number that is proper for Penitents, and Fasting, and Prayer, and Sackcloth, and Tears, and Perseverance in deprecating God's Anger. For which reason, Moses also fasted Forty Days in Mount Sinai: and Elias, flying from Jezebel, and the Wrath of God impending upon Israel, is described to have fasted Forty Days. Our Lord likewise himself, the true Jonas, who was sent to preach [Repentance] to the World, fasted Forty Days: and, leaving to us the Inheritance of his Fasting, still prepares our Souls for the Eating of his Body by the same Number.

Here we have the Fitnes of Forty Days for Penance, in the Judgment of St. Jerom, and we suppose of the Church of his Time; the only Remark thence we make as yet.

The Fitnes of *Easter-day* for the Readmission of those Penitents into the Bosom of the Church we shall find from *Gregory Nyssen*, in the Preface of that excellent Letter, which he wrote to *Letoius* Bishop of *Metilene* about Canonical Penances, and sent him probably for an *Easter* Present. It thus begins: *'This too is one of those things which appertain to the Holy Festival, the consideration of the Rightful and Canonical Dispensation which is to be exercised upon Offenders; that every Spiritual Malady, which has been contracted by any Sin, may have its proper Cure. For seeing this Catholick Festival, the Festival of the Creation, kept throughout the World every Year, in the stated Period of the Annual Circle, is celebrated for the Resurrection of him that fell: (and Sin is a Fall, and Rising up from the Fall of Sin is a Resurrection:)* it must be very proper on this Day, not only to bring to God, by the Grace of the Font, such as are transformed by Regeneration; but those too, who by Penitence and turning to God are come back from dead Works into the way of Life; to lead these as it were by the hand to that saving Hope, from which they have been estranged by Sin.

The Meaning of this Preface is plain, That a Penitential Discourse was as proper a Subject before *Easter*, as a Catechetical. And this he might think fit to premise; because in those Times there might seem to be more occasion for the Catechetical; then, when by the Grace of God the number of those who needed solemn Penance was very inconsiderable, in respect of the multitude of adult Converts to Christianity. And for the same reason, I presume, Penance appears more formally in the *Lents* of some Ages hereafter, than it did before; because few grown Persons were then to be baptized, to whom Catechetical Discourses belonged; and occasion for the other, the

a *Greg. Nyss. Epist. Canon. ad Letoium.* Εν καὶ τῷτο ᾧ ἐς τὴν ἁγίαν Ἐορτὴν συντελούντων ἐστὶν, τὸ κατανοῆσαι ἡμᾶς τὴν ἔννοιαν τῆς καὶ κοινῶς ἐπὶ τῇ πεπληρωμένης οἰκονομίας ὅπως ἀν' ἑκατοστόν τινος ἀρραστήρας ὑμῶν, τὸ διὰ πλεονεξίας ἐπιγινώσκοντες. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἡ καθελικὴ, καὶ αὐτὴ τ' ἐπίσης Ἐορτή, καὶ τὴν πεπληρωμένην σφαιρὰν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ κυκλεῖ καὶ ἐκτείνει ἵνα οὐ πικρὰ πληρωμένη τὸ κρῖμα, ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀναστάσει τῇ Πενήκοντος ἐπιπλήσεται· (ὥστε δὲ ἐστὶν ἡ ἀμάρτια ἀνάστασις δὲ ἡ οὐ τοῦ πλάγματος τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀνάστασις) καλῶς ἀν' ἡμῶν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ταύτην, ἡ μόνον τὰς οὐκ ἀλλοτρίως μεταπεισινώμεναι, διὰ τ' ἡμετέρας χαράτος τὸ Θεῷ ἀποστέλλειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διὰ τ' μετανοίας τε καὶ ἐπιστροφῆς ἀπὸ τ' ἡμερῶν ἐρχομένων εἰς τὴν ζωὴν οὐδὲν πάλιν ἐκπαινοῦντες, καὶ τὰς χειρομαχοῦντας τὴν σωζομένην ἐλπίδα, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἀμαρτίας ἀπὸ τῆς ζωῆς.

Penitential Exhortations, there was then too much: not but that the solemn Preparation of Penitents by *Lent* might have been as antient well nigh, as that of the Candidates for Baptism. The Reason certainly for their Admission at *Easter* was the same: as our Author has suggested, and we have before observed.

C H A P. IX.

- §. I. *A Lent always, and every where observed, though not of Forty Days.*
 §. II. *Mr. Daillé's Objections against it from Cassian.*
 §. III. *From St. Jerom.*
 §. IV. *From St. Chrysostom.*

§. I. **T**HE Reader may perceive, by the liberty we have taken of this Digression, concerning *Baptism* and *Penance*, that we are now at leisure, and free of all Difficulties concerning the Actual Observation of the *Forty Season*. And indeed about the Fact of it Mr. *Daillé* henceforth gives us no trouble; but against the Apostolical Right he is still looking out for Evidence. But, in that Point, the Reader may have already understood how little we are concerned: who do not pretend to prove, That a *Lent* of so many certain Days was observed in the latter end of the Apostolical Age; but that some *Lent* there then was generally kept by all, and probably of Forty Days by some in the Second Century; a thing that will not, I presume, appear so strange, when we come to the Second Part of this Discourse. Though therefore I am inclinable to believe, that there was very antiently some regard had to the Number *Forty*; and that this in process of time increased very much, so as to have been the Solemn Number of *Lent* in many Churches by the End of the Third Century: yet I am willing to allow, from what we have seen of St. *Chrysostom*, That this Observation grew so universal from the Recommendation of the *Nicene* Fathers. Those Forty Days too, though regarded and observed, yet I do not say, that they were all of them fasted, and every where equally: but am ready to allow what St. *Chrysostom* intimates^a, that in his Time at *Antioch*, some fasted Two, some Three, and some all the Weeks of them, at their own Discretion; and what *Socrates* will hereafter tell us of the same kind.

§. II. THAT also which *Cassian*, a Disciple of St. *Chrysostom*'s says, and is used to be produced upon this Argument, as an unanswerable Objection against the Antiquity of *Lent*, I have no need to dissemble.

^a ΑΙΔΕΑΙΝΤΑΙ ΙΣ'.

It is to be known, says he, ^a that this Observation of Forty Days [as it is now strictly enjoined] had no being as long as the Perfection of the Primitive Church continued. For those, who enlarged the Fast throughout the whole Year, were not confined by the necessity of this Ordinance, nor within such narrow bounds of Fasting, as if under a Legal Restraint. But when the Multitude of Believers, daily falling off from that Apostolical Devotion, began to grow worldly: — then it was thought fit by the Bishops of the Universal Church, that men, immersed in the Cares of the world, and wholly ignorant, if I may so say, of any such thing as Abstinence and Repentance, should be reduced to the Holy Duty by this Canonical Injunction of Fasts, and compelled to it, as it were, by the Imposition of a Legal Tenth^b: an Injunction advantageous to the weak, and which cannot be prejudicial to the perfect, those who, being under the Grace of the Gospel, by their voluntary Devotion [already] exceed the prescribed Law.

I shall not now observe, what some might venture to say, That *Cassian* speaks all this upon Mistake, supposing with *Eusebius* here, what he evidently does in another place^c, that the *Ægyptian Essenes*, described by *Philo*, were Disciples of St. Mark, and that the Primitive Christians lived all at first in that Austerity. I shall only remark, that *Cassian* speaks here of the Forty Days, and not of a Lent in general; and of their being fasted by Injunction, and not at Discretion. And therefore those Perfect Men of his, who fasted the whole Year, might however have fasted some peculiar time before *Easter*, with a more peculiar Devotion: (for that they fasted all the Days cannot be meant by him, much less with an equal Abstinence:) and they might too, some of them, have so particularly fasted Forty Days, though not by Legal Direction, yet by their own Choice, notwithstanding any thing said in this place. If too we understand the Time, when these Forty Days were first imposed by common Consent, to have been that of the *Nicene Council*; this is no more than we before had from his Master St. *Chrysostom*. But if he means some elder Times, and he may the very first Age; (for they began to be lukewarm very early, as we learn from some parts of the New Testament;) we have then a Testimony from *Cassian* of a much higher Antiquity, for this *Quadragesimal Institution*. However, that which he adds, con-

^a *Cassian*. Collat. 21. Cap. 30. Sciendum sanè hanc observantiam Quadragesimæ, quamdiu Ecclesiæ illius primitivæ perfectio permansit, penitus non fuisse. Non enim præcepti hujus necessitate, nec quasi legali sanctione constructi, arctissimis jejuniorum terminis clauderentur, qui totum anni spatium æquali jejunio concludebant. Verùm cum ab illâ Apostolicâ devotione descendens quotidie credentium multitudo suis opibus incubaret; — id tunc universis sacerdotibus placuit, ut homines curis secularibus illigatos, & penè, ut ita dixerim, continentie & compunctionis ignaros, ad opus sanctum canonicâ jejuniorum indictione revocarent, & velut legalium decimarum necessitate compellerent; quæ utique infirmis prodesse possit, & perfectis præjudicare non possit, qui sub gratiâ Evangelii constituti voluntariâ legem devotione transcendunt.

^b This Tenth of the Days of the Year is 36, the Number of Fast Days in a Lent of 6 Weeks, such as the *Alexandrines* kept, as well as the *Latins*. And this Number is the Integral Tenth of the Days of a Solar Year: but exactly so of the *Ægyptian Year*, which reckoned but 360 days, and accounted the other as supernumerary. For this Notion of Tithing of the Year looks like a Subtlety of their Calculation.

^c *Cassian*. de Cœnob. Instit. Lib. 2. Cap. 5. In primordiis Fidei pauci quidem, sed probatissimi, sicut à Marco normam suscepere vivendi, non solum illa magnifica retinebant, quæ primitus credentium turbas legimus celebrasse; verùm his multò sublimiora cumulaverant. — Eâ igitur tempestate, cum Ecclesiæ illius primitivæ perfectio penes successores suos adhuc recentis memoriâ inviolata duraret, fervensque paucorum fides necdum in multitudinem dispersa tepuisset.

cerning the Imposition of Forty Days, whenever it began, that it was no hinderance to the Perfect; is very observable, and to be considered by all Pretenders to Perfection. For the Injunction he intimates, though not made for the Perfect, would however be kept by them: and they would shew they were under Grace, by Exceeding, and not by Transgressing the Ecclesiastical Law. In as much as he that fasts Every day, will not fail to fast Forty: and he that is ready to offer his Whole Time, will not hold back the Tenth.

§. III. WE see how far *Cassian's* Expressions are from any Reflection upon the Institution of *Lent*: and those of *St. Jerom*, alledged usually for the same Purpose, apparently require the same Construction, and need only to be seen, if the Reader will bear the length of the Passage. ^a *Some may say, If it be not lawful to observe Days and Months, &c. we then are under the like Guilt, who observe Wednesday, and Friday, and the Lord's Day, and the Fast of the Forty Season, and the Holy Days of the Passover, and the Joy of the Pentecost, and the several Days that are kept in several Countries in Honour of Martyrs. To this he that will give the plain Answer, will reply; That the Days the Jews observe; are not the same with ours. For we do not celebrate the Passover of Unleavened Bread, but of the Resurrection, and the Cross: neither do we in Pentecost reckon the Seven Weeks with the Jews, but in Veneration of the Coming of the Holy Ghost. And, least the want of orderly Assembling should be a Cause of Decay of Religion, therefore Days, in which we should come together, have been appointed: not that the Day, in which we meet, is of itself more solemn; but that, in what day soever it be we meet, there may arise a festival Joy from our mutual sight one of another. This is the plain Answer. But he that would endeavour to give a more acute and refined one, will say; That all Days are equal, and that Friday is not the only day of the Crucifixion, nor the Lord's Day of the Resurrection: but that there is always a Resurrection-Day to Him, and that he always feeds on our Lord's Body: but that such Days of Fasting and Assembling have been prescribed by Wise Men, for the sake of those who are employed more about the World than God, and cannot, or rather will not, assemble together every day of their Life.*

The Plain Answer, for ought appears, is not judged by *St. Jerom* to be the worst. And the other, the more subtil one, relishes, we

^a *Hieron. in Cap. 4. Epist. ad Galat. Dicat aliquis: Si dies observare non licet, & menses, & tempora, & annos: nos quoque simile crimen incurramus, Quartam sabbati observantes, & Parasceven, & Diem Dominicam, & jejunium Quadragesimæ, & Paschæ festivitatem, & Pentecostes lætitiā, & pro varietate regionum diversa in bonorem Martyrum tempora constituta. Ad quod qui simpliciter respondebit, dicet, non eosdem Judaicæ observationis dies esse, quos nostros. Nos enim non Azymorum Pascha celebramus, sed Resurrectionis & Crucis: nec septem, juxta morem Israel, numeramus hebdomadas in Pentecoste; sed Spiritus Sancti veneramus Adventum. Et ne inordinata congregatio populi fidem minueret in Christo, propterea dies aliqui constituti sunt, ut in unum omnes pariter veniremus: non quo celebrior sit dies illa, quā convenimus; sed quo, quācumque die conveniendum sit, ex conspectu mutuo lætitiā major oriatur. Qui verò oppositæ quæstioni acutius respondere conatur, illud affirmat; omnes dies æquales esse; nec per Parasceven tantum Christum crucifigi, & Die Dominicā resurgere, sed semper sanctam Resurrectionis esse Diem, & semper eum Carne vesci Dominicā. Jejuniorum autem & Congregationum interea dies, propter eos à viris prudentibus constitutos, qui magis seculo vacant, quā Deo; nec possunt, immò nolunt, toto in Ecclesiā vitæ suæ tempore congregari. Quotus enim quisque est, qui saltem hæc pauca, quæ statuta sunt, vel orandi tempora, vel jejunandi, semper exerceat?*

know,

know, of the Refinement and Allegory of *Origen* and *Clemens Alexandrinus*, from whom, I suppose, it was taken: and what we before observed, is now to be remembered, That the *Lord's Day* itself is here put in the same Case with the Days of *Lent*, &c. and that the reason for their Institution is common, and that they are said alike all of them to have had Prudent Men for their Authors. Now those Prudent Men, if they were the Authors of the *Observation* of the *Lord's Day* must have been the Apostles themselves, as we presume the Authors of the *Observation* of a *Lent* were at least Apostolical: but if they are to be understood the Authors of the *Injunction* of such an *Observation*; in that sense possibly the Authors for the *Lord's Day* might have been Apostolical; and those for an *Additional Lent* beyond *Good-Friday* or *Saturday*, yet later. He too, that makes this last answer, and seems to slight the Ordinance of Times and Days, does it in virtue of his great Perfection, such of which *Cassian* now spake: One who is above the Ordinance, because he never wanted it; as a charitable Christian is above the Law against *Stealing*: and does not plead for the Abridgement of the Fast, but for the Extending it throughout the Year; therefore accounting no Single Day Holy, because All are so to him.

§. IV. THESE are the Objections against the devout *Institution* of *Lent*, brought out of *St. Jerom* and *Cassian*: others there are from *St. Chrysostom*, but of the like nature, and not worth the answering. As when he says, in the Passage above produced, That *every Communion is a Passover*, he speaks it partly in the sense now mentioned; and, besides, in opposition to the *Jewish* Superstition of those *Syrians*, who took the *Levitical* Designation of the *Passover* to be still in force. And when he elsewhere prefers the *Abstinence from Vice*, as from *Swearing*, before that *from Meats*, it is plain he speaks not against the *Observation* of that *Abstinence*, as a thing not to be practised; but as a thing absurd and unprofitable, without a suitable Conversation, a necessary concomitant, and always to be presumed.

As therefore we have *Mr. Daillé's* Confession for the Universal *Observation* of these *Forty Days* at the latter end of this Age, and that *Lent* hereafter increased rather than diminished: so we hope the equal Reader will confess, That the Prejudices that very Learned Person would have raised against it, from some Authors about that Time, are very unjustly grounded. I have therefore now no more to do in this *first Part* of my Task; and am to shut up my Evidence, and conclude here with a brief Recapitulation: But in that I shall be assisted by two Cotemporary Authors about the Middle of the Fifth Age, *Sozomen* and *Socrates*, whom the Reader will be pleased to hear.

C H A P. X.

- §. I. *Sozomen's Account of the Keeping of Lent in his Time, about Ann. Chr. 440.*
 §. II. *What Additions have been made since.*
 §. III. *Socrates his Account of the Practice of the same Age, I suppose, by the Novatians.*
 §. IV. *His Wonder, That Lents of differing Lengths should all of them be called the Forty Season.*
 §. V. *The Conclusion.*

§. I. **T**HE *Novatians*, who held it unlawful to readmit any into the Church, who had either renounced the Faith in time of Persecution, or had committed some other grievous Crimes; and who had on this account themselves renounced the Communion of the Church in *St. Cyprian's* Time, about the Middle of the Third Century; were now greatly divided among themselves, in this Age, about the Observation of *Easter*: the same Dispute, which the Authority of the *Nicene* Council had composed among the *Catholicks*, now breaking out among those *Schismatics*, and making a new and very angry Schism between them. This Quarrel of theirs *Sozomen* relates; and, upon occasion of it, he mentions the peaceable Behaviour of *Anicetus* and *Polycarp*, remembered on the same Subject by *Irenæus*: and, in Imitation of the same Author, and to shew that it is not fit to break Communion about such Traditional Differences, he represents at large the great Variety of Usages in the Churches of his Time professing the same Faith^a: That *among the Scythians there is but one Bishop over all their Cities: whereas in Arabia, &c. there are Bishops in Villages: That in Rome there are no more than seven Deacons; and they sing Halleluiah there but once in the Year, on Easter Sunday: that there either^b the Bishop preaches, or some one else; but in Alexandria the Bishop only, &c.* And (he adds) *the Forty Season, as it is called, before Easter, in which the People use to fast, some reckon by six Weeks, as those of Illyricum do, and all Europe, westward, and those of Africk, and Ægypt, and Palestine: some by seven, as in Constantinople, and the Countries about it, as far eastward as the Phœnicians. And some fast three of the six or seven Weeks disconti-*

^a *Sozom. l. 7. c. 19.* — Οὐτε δὲ ὁ Ἐπίσκοπος, ἢ ἄλλος τις ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας διδάσκει· πλεονὲς δὲ Ἀλεξανδρίῳσι μόνος ὁ τῶν πόλεως Ἐπίσκοπος. — Καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν πρώτην ἡμερὰν Τρισκαταστήν, ἐν ᾗ νηστεύει τὸ πλῆθος, οἱ μὲν ἐκ ἰσοδυστάδους ἡμερῶν λογίζονται, ὡς Ἰβύραλοι, καὶ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὖτοι, Λιούη τε πάντα καὶ ἡ Αἰγυπτός σὺν τοῖς Παλαιστοῖς. Οἱ δὲ ἰπτα, ὡς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει, καὶ τοὺς περὶ Ἰνδοί, μέχρι Φοινίκων. Ἄλλοι δὲ πρὸς ἀποσπᾶν ἐν ταῖς ἐκ τῆς νηστεύουσιν. Οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πρὸς τὴν ἑορτὴν συνάπτεσιν· οἱ δὲ δύο, ὡς οἱ τῶν Μοτανῶν φρονῶντες.

^b In this place, that our Witness may be the more credible hereafter in our Cause, I have offered at a small Correction of the Text, to reconcile it to the Truth of the Fact. For it has been abundantly proved, and particularly by *Quetnel*, in his Edition of *Leo*, That the Bishop of *Rome* preached there very often in *Sozomen's* Time: who is therefore commonly delivered up here to a Charge of Ignorance and Negligence: whereas a very slight Change of ἢ for ἢπ, (a thing in which Criticks are not used to be difficult in favour of any Author,) would have saved his Credit, and rectified the whole Matter.

nued:

nued: and some the three before Easter together: and some two, as the Followers of Montanus.

That the Followers of *Montanus* kept their *Lent* the Fortnight before *Easter*, we find here, and have observed in its proper place.

§. II. WHAT the Author says concerning the different Reckoning of the *Forty Season* in the *West*, and in the *East*, is not only observable for the History of his Time, but for the understanding of Modern Practice. The *Western Empire*, with *Ægypt* and *Palestine*, accounted the *Forty two Days* of *six Weeks* to be their *Forty Season*, as the *LXXII Interpreters* are commonly called the *LXX*: but of these they fasted only *Thirty six*, all the *Sundays* being exempted. The *Eastern Empire* (*Palestine* and *Ægypt* then excepted) called *seven Weeks*, that is, *Forty nine Days*, their *Forty Season*: for they were still under the Number *Fifty*. But then, because they did not think it fit to fast on the *Sabbath*, no more than on the *Sunday*, unless only on the *Saturday* of *Passion-Week*, they likewise deducting their *seven Sundays*, and *six Saturdays*, fasted effectually no more than *Thirty six Days*. Since that time, the *Greek Church*, that they may in some sort be nearer to the Number *Forty*, have added an *Eighth Week* of previous Abstinence; beginning on those five days to fast from *Flesh*, though they allow themselves the use of *Eggs*, and *Milk*, and *Cheese*, and *Butter*, things from which in the seven following Weeks they strictly forbear. And they besides, for an Introduction to this whole Fast, set apart another *Ninth Week*, wherein they specially prepare for it, by Confession of their own Sins, and Forgiveness of the Sins of others against themselves. This is the additional Practice of the *Greeks*. And the *Latins* likewise have enlarged their *Lent*: and, whereas before they rather adjusted the *Space of Time* within which they kept their Fast, than the *Number of Days* they did actually fast, to the Number *Forty*; (*Forty two* being nearer to *Forty*, than *Thirty six*;) they have since thought it better to make up the Number *Forty* precisely of such *fasting Days*; and have therefore added *Four* to the former, beginning on the *Wednesday* of the seventh Week, as is well known.

§. III. WHAT we have from *Sozomen* is express, and without dispute: what follows from *Socrates* is more confused and ambiguous; but may serve however to give us some light. He, writing at the same time with *Sozomen*, and taking the same occasion, from the *Novatian* difference, to enter upon the like Discourse, says, among other things, *Those of the same Faith differ in their Usages.* — The

a Socrat. Hist. Eccles. 5. 22. Αὐτοὶ μὲν πρὸς τὸ Πάσχα νηστείας ἄλλως πρὸς ἄλλοις φυλακισμένους ἐπὶ τὸ εὐρεῖν. Οἱ μὲν δὲ ἐν Ρώμῃ πρὸς τὸ Πάσχα ἑβδομήκοντα, πάλιν ἀποστρέφονται ἐκ κυριακῆς, συνημερῶν νηστεύουσι. Οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ καὶ ὅλη τῇ Ἑλλάδι, καὶ οἱ ἐν Αἰγυπτῷ, πρὸς ἑβδομήκοντα ἔξ τε καὶ δύο καὶ δύο Πάσχα νηστεύουσι νηστεύουσι, Τροπαιοκρατῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομαζέοντες. Ἄλλοι πρὸς ἑπτά τ' ἑορτῆς ἑβδομήκοντα τ' νηστείας δεκάμενοι, καὶ πρὸς μόνους πενήντας οὐκ ἀφελήμεντων νηστεύοντες, ὡς οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς Τροπαιοκρατῶν τ' ἔχοντες τὴν ἑξήκοντα. Καὶ θαυμάσιον μοι ἔσται, πῶς οὗτοι καὶ τ' οὐκ ἔχοντες τ' ἑξήκοντα ἀφελήμεντων, Τροπαιοκρατῶν αὐτῶν ὀνομαζέοντες. Καὶ ἄλλος ἄλλος λόγος τ' ὀνομασίας εὐρεσιλογούντες ἀποδίδουσι.

Fast, for example, before Easter is differently observed in different Places. For those in Rome fast Three continued Weeks before Easter, except Saturdays and Sundays: But the Illyrians, and Grecians of Europe, and Alexandrians keep a Fast of Six Weeks before Easter, calling it the Forty Season. And, besides these, there are others, who beginning seven Weeks before, and fasting by Intervals only Three Weeks of Five Days apiece, call that Space of Time nevertheless the Forty Season. And I cannot but wonder how those, who differ so in the Number of the Days, should agree to give them that common Name, of which Denomination several inquisitive Men have given several Accounts. Neither is there a difference only about the Number of Days, but about the Abstinence of their Diet. Some abstain from all that has Life: some eat of no Animal but Fish; some of Birds too: some abstain from Fruits and Eggs: some take only dry Bread; and some admit not that: but others eating not till Three in the Afternoon, after that, use their liberty. And infinite are the differences about these things; concerning which we have no written Precept: and thence it is plain that they are left by the Apostles to every one's own Judgment and Choice; that every one may voluntarily do what is Good, not for Fear, or out of Necessity.

This Account of *Socrates* has been much questioned in what relates to *Rome*: it being apparent from *Sozomen*, and otherwise, That in that Time not *Three Weeks*, but *Six* were observed in that City. He himself too afterwards says, that they fasted there all *Saturdays*, (as they are known to have done in that Age from other hands,) excepting that before *Easter* only. The Author for this has met with a very hard censure from some: others have endeavoured to salve the matter with new Readings: and *Valesius* stands so much on his side, as to take up the Paradox, and justify every tittle, he is supposed to say, against all Opponents. But, it may be, the fairer way would be, not to understand him of the Practice of the Catholics, of which *Sozomen* and others speak: but of the *Novatians*, of whose Affairs all own that he had a particular Knowledge, if he was not inclined to their Sect. From their Dispute it was he entered upon this Discourse; and from some Memorials of theirs he may have drawn up something of this Account; which otherwise might easily have been as plain and full as that of *Sozomen*, had it not been wrote in a different View. And so, if we suppose the Regard to Forty Days to have first prevailed universally from the Council of *Nice*, we may suppose that the *Novatians*, having had no share in that Council, continued at least at *Rome* in their old Custom, and kept on their *Three Weeks*. If this Conjecture pass for the *Three Weeks*, I should then either think that the *Romans* had not begun to fast on *Saturday*, till after the *Novatians* had left them: Or that a Word, or rather a Numeral Letter^a should be supplied in the Original, and *Thursday* be understood:

^a The Guess I intimate is, that *παρα*, or *ε* should be inserted before *σάββατον*, and the Exception run thus, *πλὴν ἡ σάββατον καὶ κυριακή.*

a Day, as St. *Augustin* tells us^a, not commonly fasted in his Time, and possibly not in *Lent* by the *Romans* in the Time of *Novatian*.

§. IV. BUT on this I lay no stress; and shall only take notice of the Remark which *Socrates* makes with some Wonder, That Numbers of Days so different should all have the same Denomination, and be called from the Number *Forty*. It is plain, that neither the *Western* nor *Eastern* Church of his Time did measure adequately either the Days they fasted, or the Term of Days within which they fasted, by the Number of *Forty*: but, however, a regard they had to it, and a *Forty Season* they all pretended to keep. We have withall seen how that Denomination obtained so much, that all Spaces of Fasting, and in all Seasons of the Year, were called by it. For so St. *Jerom* termed the Two Fasts instituted by *Montanus*^b, though they were but of a Week each of them, and in other Times of the Year.

What Reasons were then assigned for this Common Name, *Socrates* tells us not, and I wish we knew. It should seem, at first sight, That the Christians aspired, in a Fast of so great Devotion, to the Imitation of the most Solemn Fasts recorded in Scripture, those of *Moses* and *Elias*, and that particularly of their Blessed Master. And then, when the Church had once fixed upon that Number of Days for their Example in general, the Fasts of lesser duration might well go under the same Name by an easy *Metonymy*. But all this will be yet more natural, if those Fasts so recorded were rather miraculous in the Manner, than singular in the Extent of Days; and the Number *Forty* had been always with the *Jews* the proper Number for an extraordinary Humiliation: a Conjecture we are to offer hereafter, in the Other Part of this Discourse.

§. V. AND thus have we viewed the Practice of *Lent* through the first 400 Years. We have seen in the last of those Centuries, when *Christianity* came to be more openly professed under the *Christian Emperours*, and abounded in Writers, many express and undeniable Testimonies of the general Observation, though in a different manner, of the *Forty Season*, then commonly so called from Forty Days. In the next Age above it, the *Third*, and as high too as the Middle of it, a Time that affords us not many Authors, and when there was little occasion to speak of this Matter; we have, however, a very punctual Account of their strict Manner of Keeping the *Passion-Week*, from one of the greatest Men of the Church, who happened to be consulted about a Nicety of Ending this *Lent*. And that their great Strictness in the *Holy Week*, equal to any that was used after, may well induce us to imagine, That these Men had not left the Devo-

^a *August.* ad *Casulan.* Videant ergo Romani quid agant, quia etiam ipsi nimium contumeliosè hujus Disputatione tractantur; apud quos omnibus istis sex diebus, præter paucissimos clericos aut monachos, quotusquisque invenitur, qui frequentet quotidiana Jejunia? maxime quia ibi jejunandum quintâ Sabbati non videtur? Hoc de omni Septimana dictum, ut è præmissis patet.

^b Chap. 4. Pag. 163. Note b.

tion of all the preceding Weeks to be added by the very next Generation: especially when we find the *Forty Season* expressly mentioned in *Origen*, a Master of this *Dionysius*, as consecrated to Fasting. For that place of *Origen*, though we have it only from the Version of *Ruffinus*, and he none of the most exact Translators; yet certainly, if he was not the worst that ever was, is much more likely to be truly rendered, than wrong: there being no reason to fasten the Falsity on this Word, more than on any other of the Sentence; nor any wonder to find that spoke of now, which not long after was celebrated so much. But, to proceed: we have seen further from *Tertulian*, an Author to be reckoned to the Second Century, as well as to the Third, that the Days in which our Lord was taken away, *Good-Friday* and the *Holy Saturday* at least, if not the whole Week, were, in the Opinion of the Church of his Time, to be fasted by all from Apostolical Authority; and that no other Days were to be fasted necessarily, and as by Divine Precept, but at Discretion only, and as Christians should think fit in Godly Prudence. Upon the account of which Discretionary Uncertainty, the Argument he was engaged in made it not proper for him to say any more concerning them, nor to tell us the several Customs of several Churches about that Arbitrary part of *Lent*: though it may otherwise be collected, even from him, that there was then such an Additional Time observed. But, to go yet higher, and nearer to the Apostolical Age: about the Year 190, and not 90 from the Death of St. *John*, *Irenæus*, a venerable, and now a very old Bishop, who had conversed familiarly with the great *Polycarp*, as *Polycarp* had with St. *John* and other Apostles, has happened to let us know, though incidentally only, the various Observation of his Time; that some thought they ought to fast *One*, some *Two*, and some *More* Days, and some *Forty*: as we have learned too, in the general, both from him and the Bishops of almost the whole Church concurrently with him, that some such *Ante-Paschal Fast* had been all along observed in all Places, up to the Time of the Apostles themselves.

PART II.

AN
ESSAY
CONCERNING THE
ORIGINAL
OF
LENT,

Subdivided into Two *Repartitions*:

The *First* Shewing preparatorily, That most of the Antient *Christian*
Ordinances were *Derived* from the *Jews*:

The *Second Conjecturing*, That *Lent* is of the same *Original*.

The P R E F A C E.

HAVING viewed the Antient Observation of *Lent*, we now proceed to enquire into its Original: and concerning That, the Conjectures are various. Some ascribe its Rise to Apostolical Constitution; some to casual Practice, imitated and enlarged by others: the one supposing *Forty* Days to be the prescribed Number, and that those who fasted fewer were deficient; others imagining, That *One* Day only, the Day of the *Passion*, was first kept by the Grief, rather than Devotion, of some good Christians; and that this afterwards grew to that large Number of Days by the Piety, if not Superstition, of following Ages: all agreeing in this, That it was a novel Institution at the earliest, being wholly Christian, and having no Precedent from any former Usage. Now, to these Conjectures, not seeming to be very satisfactory, I have adventured to add another, drawn from the Custom of the *Jews*, concerning their *Great Fast*, and their *Penitential Preparation* before it: hoping, if it appears reasonably well grounded, that it may help to give a clearer light, as well as a better colour, to a Season so much and so long observed in the Church of Christ.

And here I intended, at first, to have entered immediately upon the View of the *Expiation-Day* of the *Jews*, and their *Preparatory Season*, comparing them with our *Expiation*, the *Passion-Day*, and its previous *Lent*: and the Parallel, if I mistake not, is so exactly correspondent, as to make one apt to believe, at the first sight, that one of those Lines was drawn by the other. But, because I am sensible that some Objections may be raised both against the Design itself, and the Authorities I am to use, I shall endeavour first to remove them: and possibly, by the Answers I am to give, I may not only smooth the Way, but make such Advances, as may bring us, at the same time, nearer to the Admittance of what I have proposed.

There are *Three* *Prejudices*, I foresee, which may encounter this Undertaking.

1. The *first* may be, That it is not probable the *Primitive Christians* would imitate the *Jews*, or fit they should:
2. The *other*, That the Traditional Writings they have, are not sufficient Authority for the Knowledge of their Antient Customs:
3. And the *last* may be this: That such a Derivation of *Lent* must be false, because it is new.

These *Three Prejudices* have occasioned the Addition of the first Member of this Part; and the Reader, if he pleases, may pass it over. But of Those the Two last will be easily satisfied by the Consideration of the First; and upon that Subject I shall enlarge the more freely, because it may be as delightful and instructive to observe the Original of many other *Christian Institutions*, as of *Lent*.

P A R T

P A R T II.

A N
E S S A Y
CONCERNING THE
O R I G I N A L O F L E N T.

R E P A R T I T. I.

That most of the Antient Christian Ordinances were derived from the Jews.

C H A P. I.

- §. I. *Not dishonourable for Christian Ordinances to be borrowed from the Jews: and they generally were. First, Such considered as are mentioned in Scripture, as,*
 §. II. *Baptism. It was a Rite by which, as well as by others, Profelytes were admitted into Judaism.*
 §. III. *Christian Baptism, as expressed in the New Testament, an Imitation of it.*

§. I. **A**MONG the Antient Hereticks, some, it is known, received our Saviour and his Gospel, but rejected the *Mosaical* Law, and blasphemed its God. And there may be many now, (though more innocent,) who, at this distance from the Rise of Christianity, may either have lost the Remembrance of its Original, and forget that the Last Covenant has any Dependence on the First: or else, in Pride of our greater Privileges, may scornfully overlook the Dispensation of *Moses*, as a beggarly Element; and, in the Vanity of a Neighbour-Nation, may think it a Disparagement to the Christian Religion to be thought of *Jewish* Extraction. And there may seem to have been more cause given for this Conceit, from some learned Books of late, which have treated concerning the *Jewish* and the *Ægyptian* Antiquities; and which have been misun-

derstood so far by some, to the Prejudice of the Old Testament, that those, who have not considered the Matter well, may look upon it as very dishonourable to Christianity to borrow any thing from that Nation, which is suspected to have borrowed so much of all its Neighbours, and to have robbed even the Religion of the *Ægyptians*. But they need not fear; for Truth can never suffer from Truth: and if it shall indeed appear, that the *Mosaick* Religion was conformable to the Worship of their *Eastern* Neighbours; it may, notwithstanding, no less maintain its Divine Authority. Knowledge, we know, as well as Empire, began in that Part of the World; and there the many Traditions concerning God, descended from *Noah* and others of his inspired Sons, were lodged and preserved: blended, we may think, and much corrupted with many Falsities and Superstitions; variously too by its various Depositories, the *Chaldeans*, *Ægyptians*, *Phœnicians*, *Arabians*, &c. Now all These had something of the same Religion, as they had of the same Language, but in a different Dialect and Manner: and what if God was pleased, by the Ministry of *Moses*, to reform it from the many Additions, impious or immoral, with which it had been severally adulterated; retaining some indifferent Customs innocently introduced; instituting others in opposition to the more dangerous Errours; and directing some eminent Parts of the whole to a further Prospect of another and more perfect Revelation yet to come; and all these Laws, for the Use of a Peculiar People, to reduce into *one Code*, and authorize by a new Sanction?

Such a Reformed Religion we may suppose that of the *Jews* to have been; and need not therefore be afraid, if our Religion be said to be a further Reformation of that *Judaism*: a Title Mr. *Selden* frequently gives it, but to be understood, not as if it were a Repurgation of the Old from any Errour, but as it is the Completion and Perfection of it according to the Original Design. And as certainly as our Blessed Saviour and his Apostles were of *Hebrew* Lineage, so certain it is, that our Religion is grafted on the *Jewish*. Neither do the Expressions only and Allusions of the Gospel relate to the Customs of the Law, not well otherwise to be understood: but some of its chief Institutions are known to be derived thence. For as before, many of the *Mosaick* Rites were unquestionably designed to prefigure our Saviour; so some of them were afterwards taken into his Service, always to minister unto him: not admitted only for the present, out of condescension to the Native or Profelyte *Jews*, of whom then the greatest Number of Converts consisted; but some formally adopted, and others laudably continued, for Perpetuity. This has in part been already copiously demonstrated by many very learned Writers: and if any thing shall chance to be added by me, I offer it with all submission. And indeed it would not be pertinent to my Business, to pretend in this Matter to any new Discoveries; who am rather now, by such Observations as are well Agreed and Received, to try to favour another Guess, I am by and by to advance.

But

But besides, to be honest to the Reader, and withall to put him out of any fear; I am here to profess, That I pretend not to the Depths of the *Talmudical* Learning, nor intend to engage him in it: having never dug in the dark Mine myself, but only seen something of that which has been brought above ground by others, and exposed to common Use, either in the Translations of the *Mishnah*, or of *Maimonides*, (for of him I have not read much more than is in *Latin*,) or in the Works of modern Authors.

The Reader therefore will be pleased to go on, and see how much of the *Christian* Appointments appears to have been copied from the *Jewish*. And here he will presently find it agreed by all, That the *Two Sacraments* were taken thence; That the *Weekly Observation* of the *Lord's Day* was in Imitation of their *Sabbath*; That the *Discipline* of the *Christian Church* came from the *Jewish*; And that the *Apostles*, *Presbyters*, and *Deacons* were *Officers* after their Model. But, besides these *Principal Ordinances*, which are expressed in the *New Testament*, he will find too, That many *Circumstances*, which in the Second Age attended those *Ordinances*, were likewise *Jewish*; as well as many other *Unscriptural Customs*, which are known to have been in Use in those Days.

I shall first consider the *Scriptural Usages*: and afterwards those which are remembered in the *next* Age. And the *Scriptural* I take by themselves, both because of the Authority for their Practice, and of the Consent for their Derivation: though, in the expounding of the *Jewish Customs* for the *first*, I may happen to join what belongs to the *latter* sort, to avoid hereafter unnecessary Repetition.

§. II. AND to begin with *Baptism*: This was with the *Jews* a *Sacramental Rite*, whereby those, who were converted from *Heathenism*, were initiated into their Religion. A *Rite* little practised among them now: for they have had a long while but very few Converts; and such People, as they tell us^a, were always suspected by them, as apt to Apostatize, and draw away others; as it happened, in their Opinion, in the Matter of the *Golden Calf*, and at *Kibroth-Hattaavah*. For these Reasons, it may be, the *Jewish Traditionaries* have not been very particular on this Subject; neither hath *Maimonides* treated of it by itself, and expressly, but occasionally only, in a Treatise of *Prohibited Marriages*.

There he tells us^b, That the Admission of a Convert was made by these *Three Steps*: *First*, If he was a Male, by *Circumcision*; *Then*, by *Baptism*; And, *Last of all*, by *Sacrifice*.

First, He that offered to become a *Jew* was examined by them concerning the Cause of his *Conversion*, whether it was Religious; and had some Part of the Law especially proposed to him, that of

^a *Maimon. Ussure Biab*, Cap. 13. §. 14, 18. ex Edit. Dom. *Prideaux*, Oxon. 1679.

^b *Ibid.* Cap. eod. §. 1.

the *Unity of God*, and of the *Crime of Idolatry*: and, if he professed himself willing to adhere to it, they *circumcised* him^a. Then, after some convenient time, they proceeded to *baptize* him. This was to be done in the Presence, and by the Authority, of *Three*, at least, as *Commissioners* for the Action. They stood over him, when he was in the Water, and again interrogated him, proposing some of the *harder*, and some of the *easier Precepts* of the Law; and, if he persisted in his former Resolution of taking upon him its *Obedience*, they *baptized* him^b. Thus were *Grown Persons* *baptized* upon their own Engagements: and *Children* too were admitted to the same Favour, by the permission of the Consistory, their Fathers, or Three others, instead of a Father, undertaking from them^c.

And now, by virtue of this his *Baptism*, he is taken out of the number of the *Gentiles*^d, and ceases to have any Kindred upon the account of his natural Birth; so much that, as they say, if his Mother should turn *Jew* also, he may marry her by the Letter of *Moses* his Law, though by the Decretals of the *Canon Law* he was bound to observe the prohibited Degrees on the Mother's side^e. So was the Profelyte held to be as an Infant then new born^f, and to have become an *Israelite*; to be in a state of *Sanctity*^g, and under the *Wings of the Divine Majesty*^h.

So absolutely are they understood to be rendered *Israelites* now by this *Baptism* only; but heretofore, when their Temple was up, the Profelytes were not reckoned to be fully Holy, nor to have lodged themselves perfectly under the Wings of God's Majesty, until they were further admitted to his Worship by *Sacrifice*. This *Sacrifice* is said to have been a Burnt-Offering, either out of the Fold, or else of two Turtles, or two young Pigeons, for an Atonementⁱ. For he was (it seems) in the condition of those *Israelites*, who, when they were free from their Uncleaness, and had washed, wanted still an Atonement for their complete Purification, that they might be able to partake of the Sacrifices^k: Only, in this he differed, that he wanted no Sin-Offering, as they did, because the Sins of his former State were already entirely remitted by his *Baptismal* Regeneration. And to this, I suppose, I may add, under the favour of the Instance which follows, and upon which they ground the Profelyting method; that the Profelyte was (like a Leper washed, and wanting the Atonement) himself Sprinkled and Purified by the Blood of his Offering. And lastly, according to the same Pattern I am just going to mention, there was commonly, after the Burnt-Offering, a Peace-Offering^l presented; that, when he was in the Morning by the one made capable of partaking of the Sacrifices, he might exercise that capacity in the Afternoon; and, by the actual partaking of the other, be rendered

^a *Iffure Biab*, Cap. 14. §. 5.

^b *Ibid.* Cap. eod. §. 6.

^c *Ibid.* Cap. 13. §. 7. *Lightfoot*, Vol. 2. p. 118.

^d *Iffure Biab*, Cap. 13. §. 17.

^e *Ibid.* Cap. 14. §. 12, 13.

^f *Ibid.* Cap. eod. §. 11.

^g *Ibid.* Cap. eod. §. 14.

^h *Ibid.* Cap. 13. §. 4.

ⁱ *Ibid.* Cap. eod. §. 5.

^k *Maimon.* de Sacrif. Tract. 5. Cap. 1. §. 1, 2. ex Interpr. *Lud. de Veil.*

^l *Idem* *ibid.* Item de Cultu Divino, Tract. 5. Cap. 1. §. 6. Interpr. eodem.

in all Points of Privilege a perfect *Israelite*, being admitted up to the Altar, and entirely taken in under the Holy Wings.

The Pattern I now spoke of, upon which they found this Proceeding, is the Course that was taken with the Children of *Israel* before Mount *Sinai*, upon their Receiving of the Law^a. They are supposed to have been all already Circumcised, the House of *Levi* all along in *Egypt*, and the Rest before the First Passover; and now being come to the *Mount*, they were Interrogated by *Moses* concerning their Obedience to the Covenant offered them^b; to which when they had agreed, they were then directed to *Sanctify themselves, and to wash their Clothes*^c; [their whole Bodies;] upon which the Decalogue, and some other Precepts were delivered them. And then, after another Stipulation made by the People, both Burnt-Offerings and Peace-Offerings were Sacrificed^d, with the Blood of which themselves, and the Book of the Covenant were sprinkled. And lastly, afterwards the Elders, in their Name, were admitted to come nearer to the sight of God; and when they returned, they eat of the Peace-Offerings^e given them, as it were, from the Table of God.

§. III. THIS was the Manner of Initiation into the *Jews* Religion. And when our Blessed Saviour was pleased to Ordain a New Covenant, though he set aside *Circumcision*, as belonging to one Sex, and not agreeable to his general Design, with whom there was to be *neither Male nor Female*, no more than *Jew or Greek*: Yet he retained *Baptism* for the same use, and commanded the Apostles to admit the Converts to his Religion by that Ceremony, *Go teach*, says he, [or make Disciples of,] *all Nations, baptizing them*^f. And accordingly the Baptized Christian was esteemed thenceforth to be *born again* by that *Water*^g; (for so *Nicodemus*, who was a *Master in Israel*, ought to have understood our Master;) and Baptism is also stiled the *Washing of Regeneration*^h. And with such a regard *St. Paul* might say, *thenceforth he knew no man after the flesh*, whatever Kindred he might have had with him as a *Hebrew of the Hebrews*; no, not if he had so known *Christ* himself, as some might then pretend to do. For *he that is in Christ, is a new Creature, and old things are past away*. And as the *new Man*, and *new born Babes* are spoke, in the Phrase of the *Jews*, of the Baptized; so in respect to the Interrogatory, used in that Office, after their Example, the *Answer of a good Conscience towards God* is mentioned, we find, together with the *washing by Water*, or *the putting away of the filth of the flesh*^k. And lastly, the *Christian* Profelytes, by being baptized, were likewise rendered capable of *receiving the Holy Ghost*; or, as the *Jews* would speak, of being overshadowed by the Wings of the Divine Majesty; and from that also they were in a State of *Holiness*, and to be called the *Saints of God*.

a Maimon. *Issur. Bith*, Cap. 13. §. 2, 3.

b Exod. 19. 5.

c Verf. 10.

d Exod. 24. 3, 4, &c.

e *Aben Ezra* in locum.

f Matth. 28. 19.

g Joh. 3.

h Tit. 3. 5.

i 2 Cor. 5. 16.

k 1 Pet. 3. 21.

So plainly does what the Scripture speaks concerning the Sacrament of *Baptism* discover to us, that our Saviour was pleased to take it up from the *Jewish* Church, to use it to the like purpose, and to assign to it the same effect, not varying so much as the Phrase. This Accommodation in the general is manifest, I say, from the Scripture, where *Baptism* is simply mentioned, and without such Circumstances as might have attended it, though not expressed. But in the next Age we shall find it accompanied with such Rituals, as may answer those other Particulars of that *Jewish* Sacrament, which we have set down above, and are to remember in their proper place^a.

CHAP. II.

§. I. *The Nature of the Paschal Sacrifice, and the Description the Jewish Traditions give of that Supper;*

§. II. *Agreeable to the History in the Gospels of our Lord's Supper, and to the Nature of it.*

I Come next to the other *Sacrament* of our *Lord's Supper*, which He was pleased to institute at a *Paschal Supper*; and to borrow thence its Provision, the Bread and Wine.

§. I. THE *Paschal Lamb* was a Sacrifice of a peculiar compounded Nature^b. As it was to be *roasted with Fire*, it had something of a Burnt-Offering, and might seem to be Expiatory; as it was then, when the Blood of it was sprinkled upon their Doors at the first Institution. By the same Blood it was Federal also, the Children of *Israel* entering by it into a *New Covenant*. And as it was to be *eaten all that night*, or *burnt with fire*, and *none left to the morning*; so it seemed to be as an *Offering for Thanksgiving*^c. Now answerable to the kind of the Sacrifice was the *Supper* for which it was prepared. It was a Festival Entertainment for Joy of the great Deliverance: but it was to be eaten with *unleavened Bread*, and *with bitter Herbs*^d, as Memorials of their former Afflictions. And the Manner of this *Supper* was thus, as *Maimonides* pretends to tell^e.

In the first place, They mingled a Cup of Wine to every one of the Company; and the Master of the Family, praising God the Creator of the Fruit of the Vine, [in the ordinary Form which they use at other Meals,] He and they all drank: beginning so, and consecrating the *Paschal* Action, which they were going now to celebrate. [For so too they used to consecrate, and separate other sacred Actions from the common Actions of Life: the Solemnity of the *Sabbath*, for example; beginning it with a Cup of Wine, at the Supper of the

^a Chap. V.

^b Exod. 12.

^c Lev. 7. 15.

^d Exod. 12. 8.

^e Tract. de Solemnitat. Pasch. Cap. 8. *Lud. de Veil. Interprete.*

first Evening, and concluding it with another, at the close of the next Day.] And now, after they had washed, with a *Common Prayer* used at other Washings, the Table was set, furnished with bitter and sweet Herbs, unleavened Bread, a Sauce red like Brick, and the *Body of the Lamb*, [for that is their manner of Expression,] together with the Flesh of the solemn Peace-Offering, [which was to be offered on some day of the Feast^a, and was commonly sacrificed on this Day in the Morning^b, to help out the *Supper*.] When the Table was so set, the Master, blessing God for having created the Fruits of the Earth, [in the ordinary Form, and as at other times they use to do,] took of the bitter Herbs about the Quantity of an Olive, and dipping them in the red Sauce eat of them, and distributed as much to each of the rest. After this, the Table was to be removed a little way from him, to give Occasion and Space for the Questions supposed in *Exodus*^c, about the Particularities of this *Supper*. And, in Answer to them, the Master tells the Story of the Miseries of their Forefathers; using also the Words in *Deuteronomy*, *A Syrian ready to perish was my Father*, &c. Upon this, the Table was brought again; and he taking the Paschal Lamb in his hands, and elevating it, proposed to himself the Question, Why it was offered? and gave the Reason. And so he elevated severally both the bitter Herbs, and the unleavened Bread; and, after all the several Reasons given, he subjoined a Hymn, *Let us therefore celebrate, praise, extol — him, who has done so many and so great, and such stupendous Wonders. — To him let us sing Hallelujah, Praise the LORD, ye Servants of the LORD: — concluding so, Thanks be to thee, O GOD, King of the World, who didst redeem us and our Ancestors, and hast brought us to this Night.*

Here they all drank again, in the same manner as at first, and washed again likewise; [here again beginning their *Supper*.] For then he took two unleavened Cakes, and dividing one, he put one half of it over the other Cake; [the half Cake being, as they say, to remember them of their former Poverty;] and so said over the Bread a Blessing. After, he dipped a piece of the Cake, with some of the bitter Herbs, in the Sauce, and eat; having blessed God with a proper Prayer; [and distributing to the rest to eat likewise.] So with a proper Prayer they tasted of the Peace-Offering; and with another, of the Lamb: and after, they fed freely of what was before them. Only each was bound, at the close of the *Supper*, to end with some of the Lamb; eating the Quantity of an Olive at least: [as they now do with a piece of one of the half Cakes, which they substitute in the place of the Lamb.]

When they had done eating, they washed their hands: and each having a third Cup distributed to them, the Master having said over it the Grace after Meat, [and it is termed thence the *Cup of Blessing*,]

a Deut. 16. 2.

d Deut. 26. 5.

b Maimon. de Sacrif. Pasch. Cap. 10. § 12. 13

c Exod. 12. 26.

they drank it off. And then there was another, the fourth Cup, put into their hands; and the Hymn being recontinued, with its proper Conclusion, they again thanking God for the Fruit of the Vine, drank that also; and, after that, no more that night: [it being now towards midnight, and they being, after this, to meditate yet on their *Paschal* Deliverance.]

Thus, according to the Tradition of the *Jews*, the *Paschal Supper* was celebrated, while the Temple stood: and ever since, it has been kept much after the same manner, though the *Paschal Lamb* has been wanting. And possibly (if I might be allowed to interpose a Guess in this matter) this *Supper* might have been observed, as now it is, without the Sacrifice, even when the Temple was in being, by such as, after the first Dispersions by the *Assyrian* and *Babylonian* Kings, continued afterwards in remote Parts; and not being able to keep the Feast at *Jerusalem*, by reason of their Distance, were however willing to keep up the solemn Memorial of that great Deliverance, in the best manner they could, and as it is now done.

§. II. Now to this Account the History of our Saviour's *Paschal Supper* agrees. The *Cup* mentioned by St. *Luke*^a, which he took before the *Bread*, and, giving thanks, divided it amongst his *Disciples*, seems to have been their first Cup; and might be however their second. And the *Bread*, which, after he had given thanks, he brake, and gave to them, was the same they now so bless, and distribute after the second Cup. And lastly, the *Cup after Supper*, the *Cup of Blessing*, as it is called by St. *Paul* in express Terms^b, what should it be, but what the *Jews* call by that name, and with which they thank for the Meal, the third Cup? Neither, because our Saviour says in St. *Matthew*^c, after the Cup, that he would not henceforth drink any more of the fruit of the vine, will it therefore follow, that he did not drink the fourth Cup. For the same Saying is put in St. *Luke*^d, before the first Cup; and can there signify no otherwise than in general, and that, after that Solemnity was wholly over, he would not drink of it: except we will suppose, that what he gave to the *Disciples*, he took not himself. But, however this may be, the Gospel hath yet one farther Particular, agreeable to the Description of the *Jews*: That when they had supped, they sung a Hymn, and went out into the Mount of Olives^e [to meditate.] And it has besides been observed, that our Saviour, when he spoke the *Bread* to be his *Body*, might have had a peculiar respect to that Phrase of the *Body of the Lamb*: and could it be admitted that in those days, as now, an unleavened Cake was by any substituted for the *Body of the Lamb*, it might then have been the easier understood to represent our *Lord's Body*. These are the particular Correspondencies between the *Paschal* and the *Lord's Supper*: and there was too another general one in

a Luke 22. 17, 19, 20.
d Luke 22. 18.

b 1 Cor. 10. 16.
e Matth. 26. 30.

c 26. 29.

their Nature; as they were both of them to be Memorials of a former bloody Atonement; Feasts of present Joy and Thanks, but not without some afflictive Remembrance for the Past.

Here therefore it appears, and from the Relation of the Scripture, that our Lord thought fit to raise his other *Sacrament* likewise out of a Festival Commemoration, the *Jews* were commanded to keep for their old Deliverance. And hereafter it will appear further, by the Construction the Primitive Church made, that our Saviour, in the Institution of his Feast, did not consider only that single Annual Solemnity of theirs, but their other more frequent Sacrificial Entertainments of Praise and Thanksgiving^a.

C H A P. III.

- §. I. *The Church of Christ succeeds to the Church of the Jews.*
- §. II. *The Officers of the One, raised from the Officers of the Other.*
The Apostles of each.
- §. III. *And the Bishops.*
- §. IV. *The Presbyters or Elders of the Jews.*
- §. V. *The Christian Presbyters, and their Power.*
- §. VI. *The Ministerial Officers of the Jews;*
- §. VII. *Answered by our Deacons.*

THE *Two Sacraments*, we see, as they are described in the Scripture, appear to have been transferred from the Old Testament to the New; and by the one of them we are Admitted into the Christian Covenant, and by the other we Recognize it. Now those, who were admitted into the *Mosaical Covenant*, were admitted into a *Body* or *Society*; and this *Body* had its *Governours* and *Officers*: and whether the *Christian Church* were not a like *Body*, and with like *Officers*, we shall next enquire, and from Scriptural Authority.

§. I. And first, It is plain that the *Church of Christ* comes into the place of the *Congregation of Israel*. For it is known that the Word in the New Testament, which we translate *Church*, is the same with that which stands in the *Greek* of the Old for the *Congregation* or *Body* of that People: and as they had *Moses* for their Leader and Law-giver under God, their King, and also Chief-Priest; (for he consecrated *Aaron* and his Sons;) so are we a *Society* or *Body* united in One Head, or Lord *Jesus*, who under the Father is our King, and High-Priest. And accordingly we succeed to the Stile and Title of the Children of *Israel*^b; and their Dignity and Privileges are devolved upon us. For so are we become a *peculiar People*, which Christ

^a See Chap. VI. of this *Repartit.*

^b Exod. 19. 5, 6. Deut. 7. 6.

has purified to himself^a. We are made by him Kings and Priests unto God the Father^b. We are a chosen Generation, a royal Priesthood, a holy Nation^c.

§. II. THIS his People Our Prince and High-Priest himself still Governs; but by such subordinate Officers below, as are denominated from the *Jews*; and also with the same Discipline, as far as was consistent with his Empire, which was to be neither Local nor Temporal, not dependent upon any one Place, nor regarding Worldly Interests.

The Officers of the Christian Church, mentioned in the Scripture, are *Apostles*, *Bishops*, *Elders* and *Deacons*: and what signification such Titles did bear in the Church of *Israel*, we are now to see. Only I am to premise, That as we shall find all those Titles in several significations, so we are to observe the same of the Words *Church* and *Synagogue*, to whom those Titles belong. For each of these, as is well known, signifies either the *People* united under the same Covenant, a *Society*; or a *Local Assembly* of those of that *Society*; or the *Place* where they are to Assemble.

The highest Office of the New Testament is that of the *Apostles*: and it is a term of large signification both in *Greek*, and *Hebrew* or *Chaldee*. It is in both Languages the same as *Sent*,^d and so may stand for a common Messenger, Deputy, or Mandatary, or for an Envoy from some great Person, for an Embassadour Ordinary, or Extraordinary, or any Plenipotentiary-Commissioner. With the *Jews* therefore, the Minister of the *Synagogue*, who takes care of the Business of it under the Superior Governours, and reads the Prayers, and who is called now more commonly *Chazan*^e, is also known by this Name, as being the *Deputy* of the Congregation. It is said too^f that he goes by that Name with them, who was sent by the Priests to collect their Dues, the First-Fruits and Tenth; and so they are termed in the Imperial Law. Neither do I find that the *Talmud* speaks of any higher Authority under that Stile; nor, I suppose, will the *Rabbins* themselves pretend that they have a compleat Information of all their former Government. But however, it is certain from *Epiphanius*, that it was the Name of such Plenipotentiary-Commissioners, as were sent by the Chief of the *Jews*, the High-Priest, or Patriarch, not only to gather Money, but to visit and reform a Province, and to confirm and displace its Officers: For so he says^g of one *Josephus*, who was sent with that Power from their Patriarch, then residing in Palestine, into Cilicia; that he brought back to him the Tenth and First-Fruits of the Province; and, besides, had displaced there many of their Rulers

^a Tit. 2. 14.

^b Rev. 1. 6.

^c 1 Pet. 2. 9.

^d מְשֻׁלָּח or מְשֻׁלָּח.

^e See §. VI.

^f Græc. in Matth. 10. 2.

^g Epiphanius. Hæres. xxx. §. 11. Μὴ ἐπιστὰς ἀποσταλὴς εἰς τὴν Καλίκων γῆν. Ὁς ἀνελθὼν ἐκείσε δὲ ἐκείνης πόλεως καὶ ἐπιστάτης καὶ τὰς ἀπορίας παρὰ τὴν ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ Ἰουδαίων εἰσέπραξι. — πολλὰς τὴν κακίαν καταστάντων Ἀγριοναζῶν, καὶ ἱερῶν, καὶ Πρεσβυτέρων, ἃ Ἀζανίται, (τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς Διόκλητον ἐρωδουσιανὸν ἢ Τηγετίαν,) καὶ αἰσῶν τι καὶ μέγα κινῶν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ὑπὸ πολλῶν ἐνέκριντο.

of the Synagogues, and of their Priests, and of their Elders, and of their Azanites, which are their Deacons or Ministers. And, before, * *Apostles* are described to be Men of great Authority, who are Assessors to the Patriarch.

Answerable, in some manner, to this different Acception of the Word with the Jews, is the Use of it in the Christian Church. For it is observed that *Epaphroditus* is called by St. Paul^b an *Apostle* of the *Philippians*, in an inferior Sense, for the Office he discharged of conveying their Contribution to him, their great *Apostle*, and as it were Patriarch. And such, it is justly supposed, those *Brethren* were, who are spoke of to the *Corinthians*, (in a Discourse concerning Contributions,) and are termed 'the *Apostles of the Churches; the Glory of Christ*. But this Name imported a higher Dignity, and greater Power, when it was attributed to the Twelve, or to St. Paul. They were as *Assessors* to Christ, our Priest, and our King: hereafter, in the places of the Princes of the Tribes, to sit on Twelve Thrones, and judge the Twelve Tribes of Israel^d; and, in the mean time, endued with Power from above to Act and Speak in his Name, and to Govern his Church, appointing Officers, and prescribing Orders. Of this sort was Saint Paul; and such an *Apostle* he professes himself^e not worthy to be called. And further, as They all were in this manner *Apostles* of Christ, so is Christ himself said^f to be our *Apostle*, (as well as *High-Priest*;) being^g SENT by the Father, as they were sent by Him.

§. III. NEXT to the *Apostles* are *Bishops*: And this too is a Word that signifies at large, both in the Hebrew and Greek^h of the Old Testament. In the Greek of the *Septuagint*, it is said of the Officers of an Army, both Captains over thousands, and Captains over hundredsⁱ; of the Provost or Alderman of a Ward^k; of Overseers of Works and Payments^l. And so the Office is an *Overfight* or Charge; as *Eleazar* had the *Overfight* and Charge of all the *Tabernacle*^m; and, his Office or Charge let another takeⁿ. The word answering to this in the Hebrew denotes a Steward over a Household^o, a Superintendent over a City^p; and in the Temple it stands for the Head and Director of any Office. And the Overseer or Officer of the *High-Priest*^q is said, by Rabbi Salomon on the place, to be the *High-Priest's Vicegerent*, usually called the *Sagan*^r; as also the chief Governour in the House of the Lord^s is understood to be by Jonathan the Targumist^t, whom Kimchi^u therefore styles the *High Overseer* under the

a Αξιωματικοὶ ἄνδρες, Ἀπόστολοι καὶ ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ τῆς Πατριάρχης. Eriphan. Hæref. xxx. §. IV.

b Philip. 2. 25.

c 2 Cor. 8. 23.

d Matth. 19. 28.

e 1 Cor. 15. 9.

f Heb. 3. 1.

g John 20. 21.

h פקיד, אפקד, Visitavit, Præfecit. Cui respondet Arabicum وقيف, (Conjugat. Octav.) Inquisivit, Inspectit.

Επισκοπος.

i Numb. 31. 14.

2 Kings 11. 15.

k Nehem. 11. 9.

l 2 Chron. 34. 12, 17.

m Num. 4. 16.

n Psal. 109. 8.

o Gen. 39. 5.

p 41. 34.

q 2 Chron. 24. 11.

r משרתו הממונה תחת כהן הראש והוא סגן כהונה פקיד כהן הראש exponitur per

s Jerem. 20. 1.

t The Chaldee of the Targum is much the same with the Hebrew of Rabbi Salomon.

u הפקיד הגדול

High-Priest. Thus is this Word found to signify in the Old Testament: but the *Talmudists*, as far as I can see, take no notice of its Office, and leave us to be informed of this, as well as of the *Apostleship*, from other hands.

The same Word in the *Greek* of the New Testament is taken in some Latitude too. First of all, our Blessed Lord himself is called *the Bishop and Shepherd of our Souls*^a, as having the chief Oversight and Care of the Flock. In a lower degree, the Office of *Bishoprick*, mentioned in the 109th *Psalms*, is applied to the *Apostleship*, which *Judas* lost, and *Matthias* took^b. And yet lower, those also, who are called *Presbyters*, are at the same time named *Bishops*; as those *Presbyters* or *Elders*, which St. Paul sent for from *Ephesus*, were admonished to *take care of the Flock, over which the Holy Ghost had made them Bishops*^c. And the *Presbyter*, of whose Ordination St. Paul speaks to *Titus*, is in the next Verse save one stiled *Bishop*^d.

We see, therefore, that the New Testament has not only taken the Name from the Old, but the Largeness of its Signification too; which is all at present I am concerned to observe: though I presume this Word, as well as *Apostle*, had now a peculiar Office, of which it was properly spoke, and to which, in the next Age, it is known to have been always determined^e.

§. IV. THE next that follows, (for so I take leave to place in the Christian Church, what some would set in equal rank,) is the *Presbyter* or *Elder*. This Word, in the *Greek* of the *Septuagint*, is known (answerably to the *Hebrew*) to signify not only a Man of *Years*, but *Authority*; as Words of the like import have always done in Antient and Modern Languages^f. So the Steward of *Abraham's House*, (stiled by our Translators *the eldest Servant of his House*), who ruled over all that he had^g, is supposed to be called by those Interpreters *the Presbyter* or *Elder of his House*^h. In that sense, we have the *Elders of Pharaoh's House, and of the Land of Ægypt*ⁱ. And when it is said, *Hezekiah took Counsel with his Princes and his mighty Men*^k, in the *Septuagint* it is, *with his Presbyters and mighty Men*. And, in like manner, by the *Presbyters* or *Elders* of the People of *Israel*, *Princes* and *great ones* of them are understood at large^l, of which the greatest and chief were the Twelve Heads or Princes of the Tribes.

Of such *Elders* or Governours there were *Seventy*, we know, appointed by *Moses*, at the Command of God^m, to bear part of the Burden of the Magistracy with him, and to be a Council unto him; endowed therefore with a Communication of the *Spirit*. Of this great standing Council, known afterwards by the Name of the *San-*

a 1 Pet. 2. 25.

b Acts 1. 20.

c Acts 20. 28.

d Tit. 1. 5, 7.

e See Chap. VII.

f *Figura, Senatus, Seigneur, Alderman*. Vid. Selden. de Synedr. Lib. 1. Cap. 14.

g Gen. 24. 2.

h Καὶ ἦν Ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν πρεσβυτέρων αὐτῶν τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν αὐτῶν.

i Gen. 50. 7.

k 2 Chron. 32. 3.

l Num. 11. 16, 17.

m Ibid.

bedrim,

bedrim, the *Jewish* Tradition speaks very copiously; and though the Scripture says nothing of any Superiority amongst those *Seventy*, yet they tell us expressly, what otherwise we must have presumed, That one of them was *President* of this Council, and *Vicegerent* to *Moses* the *Prince*. Such a *Council* as this, they say, sat at *Jerusalem* in after Ages, and governed the whole People; consisting of a *Chief* and *Prince*, (for that is the signification of *Nasi*,) in the place of *Moses*; and of *Seventy* more, one of whom was the *Vicegerent* of that *Chief* or *Prince*, called by them the *Father of the Council*.

Besides this Sovereign Court sitting in the Temple, there were also Inferior Provincial Consistories, according to the Appointment of God in these words, *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in all the Gates which the Lord thy God giveth thee*^a. And, whereas the Number of these *Judges* or *Elders* is here left undetermined, *Josephus*, repeating the same Injunction, directs them to be *Seven*^b; supposing, I presume, that they were so many in the Times near to *Moses*. But the Traditionary *Jews* will have them in every great City to have been *Twenty Three*; they too, as I also presume, speaking from the Practice of some later Times. Of these *Twenty Three*, they tell us, One was stiled also the *Nasi*, or *Prince*; (the *Chief* of that Tribe or Place;) and another likewise was his *Vicegerent*, called also the *Father* of that Consistory. And the like Distinction we may suppose to have been between *Josephus* his *Seven*; and that *Two* of them were, a *Chief*, and a *Deputy*; and the other *Five*, Ordinary *Elders*.

These were the Consistories of great Cities; but in lesser Districts there was, as the *Rabbins* tell us, a Magistracy or *Presbytery* of *Three*, which Judged in lesser Matters. And further, it seems^c, there are those who sometimes go by the Name of *Elders*, but whose chief business is to take care of the Goods of the Community, and whose Authority extends only to Causes of voluntary Jurisdiction: and these are called the *Seven good Men of the Place*; retaining the Number, though not the Power, of *Josephus* his Magistrates.

The *Talmudists*, who have been silent concerning *Apostles* and *Bishops*, are very particular, as we may perceive, concerning *Presbyters*; and pretend to give us a punctual account of their Creation and Office, as we may see at large in Mr. *Selden*^d. And an Abstract of what is further necessary here follows, out of that very Learned Gentleman's copious Collections on this Subject.

These *Presbyters* then were of Two Sorts, the One had a Full, and the Other a Limited Authority^e.

An *Elder* of the *First Kind* was capable of being called up to the Courts of great Cities and Provinces, having Authority not only to

^a Deut. 16. 18.

^b Archaeol. Lib. 4. Cap. 8.

^c שבעה טובי העיר. De quibus consuli poterit *Rhenferdus*, Dissertat. Philolog. I. De Decem Otiosis Synagog. §. 109, &c.

^d De Synedr. Lib. 2. Cap. 4, 5, 6.

^e Ibid. Lib. eod. Cap. 7.

expound the Law, and to resolve Cases of Conscience, but to Judge in all Causes both Criminal and Civil: And these were called *Rabbi*.

The *Other*, the *Limited Elders*, were either such as had Power to be of one of the inferior Consistories of *Three* in lesser Districts, and to Judge only of Pecuniary Causes; or such who were not capable of Jurisdiction, and could only expound the Law; or else, who were not qualified to direct in the whole Law, but were confined to particular Cases.

To this Office of *Eldership* they were Ordained by Imposition of Hands, with Words signifying the Authority committed; or else, by Letter-Patent, or Missive. And Every *Presbyter* of the First Sort was, they say, permitted to Ordain at first; but, afterwards, it was not to be done but by Three, and not without the Leave of the Prince or Chief, or by the Chief and his Vicegerent together.

Now there are *Three Things* concerning these *Presbyters*, which Mr. *Selden* particularly remarks; and which we will not therefore forget, but remember as occasion shall offer. The *First* is, That no *Presbyter* with full Power, could be Ordained by any out of the *Holy Land*; for from that Place only Authority in Criminal Causes could proceed; and thence only a Faculty could be given, that would be good thorough the whole World. Whereas those, whom the Head of the Captivity himself Ordained out of that Country, had Jurisdiction in none but Pecuniary Causes, and were called only *Mar* or *Rab*; and those, who were Ordained by others, had Jurisdiction only in the District where they were Ordained^a.

Accordingly, as *Buxtorf* observes^b, The *Jews* of *Spain* and the *Levant* do not honour themselves with the Stile of *Mar* or *Rab*, being content to be called the Disciples of the Learned; though in *Germany* they make bold with those Titles, and promote with the old Formality: where too they have an Order of *Rabbins* above the ordinary *Rabbins*, who preside over them, and are as the *Princes* or *Fathers* of the Consistory heretofore.

Secondly, As the *Talmudists* tell us, their *Presbyters* were indifferently of any Tribe; neither was it necessary that they should be of the Tribe of *Levi*, who composed the great Consistory of *Jerusalem*^c; though that Consistory, in their Opinion, governed even in the Temple, and over all that Officiated there^d.

And the Truth is, according to the Modern Traditions^e, those of the Tribe of *Levi* were not so absolute in the Temple, nor of that consideration out of the Temple, as they seem to have been by the Scripture, and by *Josephus*. And now at this Time, though the Priests receive sometimes some little Due for the Redemption of the First-Born, and are called, before others, to Read the Law, and are preferred to give the Solemn Blessing in the Synagogues, and to say

^a *Selden*. de Synedr. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. §. 5.

^b *Buxtorf*. Synag. Jud. Cap. 46.

^c *Selden*. de Synedr. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. §. 5.

^d *Ibid*. Lib. eod. Cap. 8.

^e *Ibid*. Lib. eod. Cap. 15. §. 12, &c.

Grace at Meals; yet, for the rest, they are as common *Israelites*, and under the Jurisdiction of the *Rabbins*. For these *Rabbins* have ordered the matter so, that they are reputed to Represent the Priests, and to succeed into their Sacerdotal Right; claiming therefore to be free from Taxes, and from Watch and Ward; to have the Prevention or Preemption in the Market, and to have their Causes first dispatched in Courts of Justice^a. And this possibly came to pass, not only from the superseding of the main part of the Priestly Function by the Destruction of the Temple, and from the ceasing of their Tithes and other Dues by the Banishment of the People from their own Country; but also, from the great Destruction that must have been suffered by the Tribe of *Levi*, in those cruel Devastations made by *Titus* and *Adrian* of the *Holy Land* and *City*, in which Places the *Levites* had their Residence and Employment, and which they would be sure to defend most zealously: Whereas many other *Jews* lived, at the same Time, dispersed in remote Provinces, escaping the War and its fury. For then, when very few Priests remained, and those, of all *Jews*, durst least own themselves; and when they were debarred from the Execution of that Office, by which they had been so honourably distinguished; no wonder if the other Tribes took the advantage, and, as it happens amongst Rival Offices, encroached and usurped upon them: And if any of the Rest were to deliver down the Law, which the Priest's Lips had been used to preserve, as *Rabbi Judah* took upon him the Office; He, as Holy as he was, might comply so far with Modern Usurpation, as to record it with the Traditions from *Mount Sinai*.

And, *Lastly*, We are all along bid to observe, that these *Presbyters* and Rulers were Civil Magistrates, who had the Government of the Common-Wealth, and by that Title controuled the High-Priests themselves^b: an Observation we need not dissemble, if we are, at the same time, allowed to remember, that God Himself was the Supreme Governour of that Common-Wealth; that even its Civil Laws were enacted by Him; and therefore that the Judges of that Law were Sacred Officers, and of a Policy that was Divine.

Hitherto these *Elders* have been chiefly considered as Administrators of their *Civil Policy*. They had too the direct Administration of all their *Worship*, that was *not Sacrificial*, directing its Services, and appointing its Officers. Whereas therefore in a great City, the *Nasi*, or his Vicegerent, and even the *Presbyters* in a larger Sense, were the [*Archisynagogi*] Rulers or Heads of the Synagogue, as it meant the Body or Community of the City: so they were also Rulers of the Synagogue, or Synagogues of that City, as they were Congregations for Worship. And where there were many Synagogues, (as there were in those Cities,) the same were Rulers over all of them; though

^a *Leo de Moden. Cerem. des Juifs*, Part. 1. Chap. 12. §. 3. *Buxtorf. Synag. Jud.* Cap. 46. *Maimon. Talm. Tor.* Cap. 6. §. 10.

^b *Selden. de Synedr.* Lib. 3. Cap. 8. §. 2.

by their Appointment, and in their Name, to particular Synagogues particular *Presbyters*, and sometimes possibly of Limited Power, might be especially deputed to take care of them.

§. V. SUCH were the *Elders* of the *Jewish* Common-wealth and Church: and correspondent, in some manner, to these are the *Christian Presbyters* in the New Testament.

And first, those properly called *Apostles* are stiled *Elders*, as representing the Twelve Princes of the Tribes, who were the first and great *Elders* of *Israel*. So St. *Peter* stiles himself a *Fellow-Elder*^a; and so the Appellation of *Elders* seems in one place of the *Acts*^b to comprehend the *Apostles* also.

Next, there are *Elders* distinct from the *Apostles*, those mentioned often in the *Acts* just after them, *The Apostles and Elders*^c. And these, because there is no mention made before of their Creation, as there is of the *Deacons*, may be presumed to be the *Seventy*, whom our Saviour had Ordained, according to the Number of the Consistory erected by *Moses*, and then continued at *Jerusalem*.

And if these were *Seventy Elders*, then St. *James*, the Bishop of *Jerusalem*, may be supposed to have been the *President* of them; and if not the *Prince*, (for that honour they might leave to our Saviour, always reputed as present with them,) yet the *Vicegerent* of the *Prince*, and *Father of the Council* of the *Seventy*; to which the other *Apostles* had joined themselves, in the manner of Assistants Extraordinary, and as the High-Priests and Princes of the Tribes had, I suppose, used to have an Extraordinary Place in the Consistory of their *Sanhedrim*.

We find too, that in all the considerable Cities, where the *Apostles* founded Churches, they Ordained *Elders*; as *Barnabas* and *Paul* are recorded^d to have done in *Derbe*, *Lystra*, *Iconium*, and *Antioch*. What was the Number of these we are not told, nor what Superiority there might be amongst them: and in these Circumstances also they answer to their Predecessors, the *Presbyters* or *Judges* of *Israel*; of whom (as we have seen) the Scripture has only said, *Judges and Officers shalt thou make thee in all thy Gates*, not expressing the Number of those *Provincial Judges*, nor distinguishing between the *Prince*, or his *Vicegerent*, and the rest of them. The Number, I presume, of our *Christian Elders* was various in various Places. Where there were many, one of them was appointed to be their *Chief*, and *Father of the Consistory*; if we will be guided in our Opinion by the very early uniform Practice of the next Age^e: and where there was but one, he too in all probability was a *Presbyter* of that Rank, and had Authority to assume to himself Colleagues, as the Occasions of the Church should require. And in this Supposition, these *Fathers Presbyters* are those who are properly to be called *Bishops*, in the determined sense

^a 1 Pet. 5. 1.
^e Chap. VII.

^b Acts 11. 30.

^c Acts 15. 2, 4, 6.

^d Acts 14. 23.

of the Word; as all *Presbyters* might be, in the larger acception of it.

These *Christian Elders* have, by Mr. *Selden's* Concession, the Power of the *Limited Elders* of the *Jews*^a: and so, in his Opinion, they were only to Instruct and Direct, by Expounding and Exhorting; and to Bind and Loose, by Decision of Cases of Conscience, and pronouncing Lawful and Unlawful, as in the First Council at *Jerusalem*. And this Limitation he thinks proper, because the *Presbyters* of the *Jews*, we have seen, had no Power in Criminal Causes, if Ordained out of *Judea*; and, in his Opinion, even their other Authority, out of their own Country and Dominion, was only from the Agreement of their People, and the Connivence of Princes under whom they lived.

It were enough for my present Intent, if the *Christian Elders* answered the *Jewish* but thus far. But, that they had a greater Authority given them, the very Expressions of the Scripture seem to speak: As, *Obey them that have the Rule over you, and submit yourselves*^b: Those that *are over you*^c, preside over you; such who are over the Church, so as to *Rule* it^d, as the Master of a Family is over his own Children, and *Rules his House*^e: which Expressions, though they may be strained by narrow Construction to signify Teaching and Exhortation only; yet they most naturally imply something of Coercion besides; and That they were used always to connote in the Old Testament. But the Comparison St. *Paul* makes, in the last place, between a Family and a Church, will hardly bear the restrained Interpretation, unless the *Paternal* Power was abridged, as well as the *Presbyteral*, and was left to Instruct and Exhort only.

Now, as the Words are ready to signify a greater Power, so such a one there was remaining to be signified; that of Admitting into the *Christian* Communion, Suspending from it, and Ejecting out of it; a Power which the *Jewish Presbyters* had, and the *Christian* Society did not want, as we shall presently find^f.

Neither did even Capital or Civil Power cease to belong to *Christian Presbyters*, for the reason given by Mr. *Selden*: not, because they were created out of *Judea*; for Christ's Kingdom was no longer confined to one Country, and every Land was holy: nor, because no sort of Civil Power could be exercised in another Kingdom; for such a Power might have demanded Obedience in Conscience, though it could not have obliged it by armed Force: But rather, because the Kingdom, in which they were Officers, was not of this World; was not to judge, or divide Inheritances; nor to entertain Legions for the Peace of its Government, and Execution of its Sentences; they being to conduct the Church to another Life, and Authorized to Rule over it and controul it by that Respect.

^a *Selden*. de Synedr. Lib. 2. Cap. 7. §. 9.

^b Heb. 13. 17.

^f Chap. IV. and VIII.

^c 1 Thes. 5. 12.

^d 1 Tim. 5. 17.

^e Ibid. 3. 4.

Though therefore the *Christian Elder* be not ordained to Temporal Power, yet he succeeds the *Jewish Presbyter* in his fullest Right; not wanting that Power, because he wants any thing of Proper Authority; but because he is commissioned to act in another Sphere, and above these lower Concerns: as our Blessed Saviour's Authority, abstracted from his Omnipotence, was not less than that of the former Law-giver, *Moses*; though he was pleased to wave the Power of Life and Death.

And thus far we have considered the *Christian Elders* resembling the *Jewish*, in respect of the Church, as a Society. In like manner they presided over it, as an Assembly, Appointing, Directing, and Governing their Meetings, by Doctrine and by Censure; as is well known, and will appear further hereafter.

§. VI. FROM this Agreement of the *Jewish* and *Christian Church*, in the Superior Offices, we have reason to look for the same in the Lower which remains, that of a *Deacon*.

In the Appointment before cited from *Deuteronomy*, we are to remember, That *Officers* are mentioned, as well as *Judges*; and these, though acknowledged to be Rulers and Men of Authority^a, were yet of an inferior Rank, and subservient to the *Elders*. And accordingly, *Josephus* styles them *Ministers*, or Under-Officers; and speaks as if to every Court of *Seven Elders* there were (in the earlier Days) Two of these *Officers* appointed, and out of the Tribe of *Levi*^b.

This *Ministerial* Office seems to have consisted of several Employments, and of different Degrees; whatever belongs to Sheriffs, Protonotaries, and Clerks of Courts, to Marshals and Cryers, Bailiffs and Executioners: The Business of it was to write the Orders of the Senate, and to Proclaim and Execute them, to send out Process, to Summon, Arrest, and Punish. And it is observable, that the *Rabbins*^c allot to every Consistory of *Twenty Three*, Two Scribes Attendant^d, and also Two Under-Sheriffs, or Executioners, whom they

^a Upon those Words of the Text, שפטים ושטרים, *R. Salomon* expounds the last by הרורים; and *Aben Ezra*, by דמושלים. And upon this occasion, I would only offer, whether the *Κουρετης* of *St. Paul*, [1 Cor. 12. 28.] may not be understood of this Office, as it was supplied by the *Deacons* of the New Testament, according to what is proposed in the next Section. And this the rather, because the *Αρχαῖς*, mentioned just before these *Κουρετης*, may well be taken for *Presbyters*: the Word in the Old Testament, by which their Duty is expressed, and which we translate, *Bear the Burden with*, [Exod. 18. 22. Numb. 11. 17.] being in both places rendered in the *Septuagint* by συναντλησας. These Offices, I would suppose, had, in the Beginning of the Gospel, the Spiritual Gifts of proper Abilities: as the first *Seventy Elders* were endued with a Portion of *Moses* his Spirit; which is judged too by the *Jews* not to have rested upon them long, much less, to have continued to the Order. For, as to the Higher Degrees, with which the Apostle there begins, of, first, *Apostles*; secondarily, *Prophets*; (to which *Evangelists* are subjoined in the Enumeration made *Ephes. 4. 11.*) and, thirdly, *Doctors*; these also may well be taken to bear Proportion to the different Distributions of the Holy Spirit, which the *Masters* of the *Jews* observe to have been made to the Authors of the Old Testament, and according to which they are known to divide its Volumes: The First consisting of the *Five Books of Moses*, their great *Apostle*; the Next, of the *Prophets*, whom they distinguish by the First, (as *Joshua*, *Judges*, &c.) and by the Latter, (as *Isaiah*, *Jeremiah*, &c.) who may be reckoned for *Evangelists*; and the Last, being made up of the *Holy Writings*, (as they call them,) which are chiefly *Doctrinal*. — *Grotius* on 1 Cor. 12. 28. would have the *Αρχαῖς* to be *Bishops*, because of their *Προστασια*, and the *Κουρετης* to be *Priests*.

^b *Joseph. Archæol. Lib. 4. Cap. 8.* Αρχαῖς δὲ καὶ ἐκείνους πάλιν Ἀρχαῖς ἑπ' ἑκάστην τὴν ἐκκλησίαν δύο Ἀρχαῖς ὑποτάκτου διδασκάλου καὶ τῶν Ἀδελφῶν Φυλῆς: where ὑποτάκτου is known to stand for *Minister Publicus*, qui Magistratui apparet.

^c *Selden. de Synedr. Lib. 2. Cap. 5. §. 4. Maimon. Tract. Sanbedr. Cap. 1. §. 10.*

^d שטר, the Word of the Text, has, in the *Hebrew* and *Chaldee* of the Scripture, the general Signification of Government and Command. And in the *Arabick* Dialect سبطر signifies, *Præfuit ut Inspector*, as سبطر is *Præfatus, Inspector*: but this last Word is, besides, the same as *Commentariensis*, Is qui annotat quæcumque ad

call by the same Name they give to the *Reader of their Prayers*, as we shall presently see; a Name common heretofore to all Under-Officers, in the head of whom were the Two Scribes, mentioned therefore by *Josephus* more particularly.

Besides these Officers of *Judicature*, there were others, who had the Charge of their *Charity*.

Now the *Jews* take themselves to be very strictly obliged to provide for the Necessitous of their Religion, and to support them in some measure answerably to their Quality^a. For this purpose, there are Collectors in every City deputed; some who go about every Day to gather Bread and Meat, Collectors of the Basket; others, commonly two, and to whom a third is to be joined in the Distribution, who go about every Week to gather the Alms, and, if need be, the Tax for the Poor^b. These were called Collectors, from their Gathering, and *Parnasim*^c, or Pastors, from their Supporting and Maintaining; a Word that signifies not only this Office, but Government in general, and might be said of *Elders*, or any other Rulers.

Answerable to these *Collectors* of Cities, there were in the Temple^d *Collectors* too, called *Gizbarim*: and it may be observable, that these were under *Seven* others named *Immarcalim*, who had the Custody and Keys of the Sacred Treasury. We have seen also^e, that *Seven good Men* of a City are particularly remembered; and though their Employment be not well ascertained, yet it is plain, that the Goods of the Community were under their Ordering.

The *Officers* now spoken of belong to their *Civil Society*: For their *Religious Assemblies* there are others.

The ordinary Synagogue-Officer is known by the name of *Chazan*; (the same, as I have said, which they give to their Executioner.) This Name *Epiphanius*, one not unacquainted with the Affairs of the *Jews*, expressly renders by *Minister*^f: the very same word, which *Josephus* had used to signify those Officers in *Deuteronomy*, attendant upon the *Judges*.

This is their *Præcentor*, who under the Higher Rulers, the *Elders*, (now the *Rabbins*,) takes care of the Service of the Synagogue; says Prayers, shews the Lessons, calls and directs those who are to Read;

rem curandam aut gerendam spectant, as *Golius* renders it; and so carries the Signification of its Original *ساطر*, *Delineavit*, *Scriptit*; and likewise expresses the *Γεγραμμενισαρχαγός*, or *Γεγραμμενός* of the *Septuagint*, and the Scribes attending upon the *Rabbinical Sanhedrim*.

a *Maimon. de Donis Pauperum*, Cap. 7. 3.

b *Ibid.* Cap. 9.

c *פרנס* signifies *Gubernare*, *Regere*; and also *Pascere*, *Cibare*: and so the *Arabick* *فرداس* is *Summus Pauperum Præfectus*; and *فردسة*, *Mulier OEconomica*, quæ *rem Domesticam egregiè administrat*.

d *Lightfoot's Temple Service*, Chap. V. §. 3, 4.

e §. IV.

f *Azanitæ* are rendered by *Epiphanius*, (as above, §. II. g.) *Υπηρέται & Διάκονοι*: and *זקן* with the *Jews* signifies not only the *Minister of the Synagogue*, as a Place of Worship, but any other *Minister* of a Society; and is the Name of those that have the Night-Watch of a City, and of those who wait upon their Judicial Consistories, and serve their Writs, and keep their Prison, and execute their Sentences even to Corporal Punishment. It is used to be derived from *זוהר*, *Vidit*; and so has been supposed by some to answer to *Επισκοπος*: as if from this Employment the *Episcopal* Office was to be derived likewise. But this Etymology begins to be disliked; and it is rather to be fetched from the *Arabick*, where it seems to be answered in part by *حصن*, *Custodivit*, and by *خازن*, *Theaurarius*, *Condus*: though, if a *Radical Mem* may be admitted to be changed into a *Nun*, (as the *Sereile*, it is known, usually is in the *Chaldee Dialect*.) I would then chuse to bring it from *خدم*, whose simple Signification is, *Inseruit*, *Ministravit*, and directly answers to the Greek *Διακονία* and *Υπηρέτης*.

such a one, as that *Minister* is supposed to be, to whom our Saviour, when he had closed the Book, gave it again. And this Minister has commonly under him another Servant of the Synagogue, a *Sacristan*, who looks to it, and keeps all Things safe and clean.

§. VII. To these Civil, and Religious Officers of the *Jewish* Synagogue, *Deacons*, I suppose, are answerable: *Bishops* and *Deacons*, or *Presbyters* and *Deacons*, being joined together in the New Testament, as *Judges and Officers* were in the Old.

Now in the Christian Use, the Word *Deacon* or *Minister* is very differently applied, according as the Services are different, in which he is employed. Our Saviour is the *Minister of Circumcision*^a; a *King*, the *Minister of God*^b; and the *Apostles*, *Ministers of Christ*^c. But a *Minister* or *Deacon*, absolutely so called in the New Testament, is an Officer under the *Bishop* or *Presbyter*: and the first appointed were the *Seven*^d, Ordained by the Apostles with Imposition of hands.

These were *Men of honest Report*, who were to ease the *Apostles* of the Administration of the Charitable Revenue of the Church; not to be *Gatherers* of the Basket, I suppose, or *Servers* of Tables; for that the *Apostles*, sure, did not do before: but to be Treasurers and Superintendents; such as were the *Seven* of the Temple, or the *Good Men*, above-mentioned, of a City.

For though the *Greek* Word for *Ministring* does sometimes signify to wait and serve at a Table; yet, as we just now noted, it is by no means restrained to that low sense; but is said as well of the Office of our Blessed Lord, and of his Apostles, and also of Kings; that is, of any the Noblest Administrations; and may therefore answer the word *Parnas*, in its highest meaning.

Neither is it at all necessary, that the Office of a *Deacon* should be wholly *Oeconomical*, because it was first erected in the Christian Church on that Occasion. While the whole Church was yet but as one Family, under the immediate Government of the Apostles, and they had not yet created any other Officers; the first Officers were indeed instituted upon the first emergent Want, and were ordered then especially to take care of that, and to manage the publick Expence: but they were also to be, as we may well suppose, subservient to the Apostles in other *Administrations*, and to Publish and Execute all their Orders. For the Qualification of them was, to be full of the *Holy Ghost and Wisdom*: and certainly a *Wisdom*, beyond that of common Managery; and a *Spirit*, more than *Oeconomical*, was then understood. Though, therefore, those *Deacons* were not to give themselves up to Prayer and the Word only; yet they might have had their part even in those Functions: as St. Stephen, we find, had; whose Preaching the Scripture records, more than his Good Husbandry; and who speaking by that *Wisdom and Spirit*, for which he was

^a Rom. 15. 8.
^d Acts 6.

^b Rom. 13. 4.

^c 1 Cor. 4. 1.

but

but now chosen into his Office, became the first *Martyr*, as well as first *Deacon*, of the Gospel.

These *Deacons*, it should seem, were Extraordinary; attending Ministerially upon the *Apostles*, as upon the *Twelve Princes of Israel*: having been created before the Appointment of any Bishops, or Subaltern Presbyters. But afterwards, in every City, where Bishops or Presbyters were placed, the Officers of this Order were constantly subjoined. So the Epistle to the *Philippians* is addressed to *the Saints there, with the Bishops and Deacons*: and so, in the First Epistle to *Timothy*, after Directions given concerning Bishops, there follow others immediately concerning *Deacons*: *Likewise must the Deacons, &c.*^a And there, we may observe, the Qualifications of the Lower Office are near the same with those of the Higher, and as much almost required in the *Deacon*: enough to induce us to think, that some Spiritual Duty was also to be discharged by Him.

So much Reason there is from Scripture to conclude, that *Christian Deacons* did not only *Keep and Dispense* the Publick Contributions, as the *Jewish Parnasim*; but that they Served under their Superiors even in the *Ministry of the Word and Prayer*: as we shall certainly find them hereafter^b, to be Attendant upon their Bishops, upon all other Business: and particularly employed in Assemblies, in the Office of a *Jewish Chazan*.

C H A P. IV.

- §. I. *The Excommunicates of the Jews, and their Condition.*
- §. II. *The Condition of Mourners among the Jews, compared with that of the Excommunicate.*
- §. III. *Their Excommunicates restrained from the Liberty not only of Civil Conversation, but of Religious Communion.*
- §. IV. *Excommunication mentioned in the New Testament, as practised by the Jews, and by Christians.*

AFTER this Parallel of the *Officers* of either Church, I proceed to the *Discipline* they are remembered in Scripture to use, That of *Excommunication*: A Subject upon which Mr. *Selden* hath much enlarged. And an *Abstract* of it from him I here give you.

§. I. *EXCOMMUNICATION*, or the Debarring a Man by Command from the Liberty of *Conversation* with his Brethren, was a Method used by the *Jews* long before our Saviour's Time, as well as the other Corporal Restraints by *Imprisonment* or *Banishment*; and

^a 1 Tim. 3. 8.^b Chap. VII.

the Shame and Inconvenience even of the Lighter kind of it was almost equal to that of *Stripes*, and intended to prevent them.

Indeed, there was with the *Jews* a kind of Censure, called by them a *Rebuke*^a, which, from the Mouth of a Grave Person pronounced for an Offence committed before him, had that Force, as to shame the *Delinquent*, and oblige him to his good Behaviour, and a particular Modesty, for the space of *Seven Days*. But this was a *Reproof*, rather than a *Sentence*; and seems to have obliged in *good Manners* only: neither did it restrain the Party from ordinary *Converse*: or needed any Satisfaction to be given; but expired at the end of the Week.

But the *Excommunication*, of which we speak, was a *formal Sentence*, pronounced for some Misdemeanour or Crime, either by the Consistory, or by a Qualified, or even by a Private, Person.

The *First* and Lighter Degree of *Excommunication*^b was that, by which the Person was obliged to keep from all other *Israelites*, (and they likewise, in most Cases, from him,) the Distance of *Four Cubits*, a Distance the *Jews* are bound to put between themselves and some sorts of impure things, whenever they are about their Prayers or their Law; as he was also obliged to suffer some other Inconveniences, which shall be presently mentioned.

This *Sentence* was inflicted either by a Private Man, for some Offences done in his Presence, whereof there are *Twenty four Cases* expressed^c; or further, by a Graduate in their Law, for the Contempt of his Person; or by the Magistrate, as they should see Cause: and in Pecuniary Causes brought before the Consistory, it is particularly noted, that they proceeded not to *Excommunication*, until *three Admonitions* had been made to the *Defendant*, three Court-days before; and that then the *Excommunication* passed, not in Consideration of the *Plaintiff's Wrong*, but for the *Contempt of the Court*.

This *Excommunication*, of course, was to continue upon him *Thirty Days*; and, within that Time, he was to endeavour for *Abolution*, making Satisfaction, as the Case should require. And this Satisfaction possibly was to be offered in Judicial Cases to the Injured Party, by the same Method we find directed on another Occasion^d: as when an Offender, endeavouring on the *Expiation-Eve* to be reconciled to his Brother, is first ordered to go to him, and beg Pardon; and if he obtains it not, then to take with him *three Witnesses*, and twice more to make the like Application; and until then he is not supposed to have discharged his Duty.

But if this *Sentence*, though passed by a Private Man, was suffered by the *Excommunicate* to remain upon him those *Thirty Days*, he was

^a They call it נִיפּוּחַ. See *Morinus de Pœnit. Lib. 4. Cap. 28. §. 4.*

^b This is known by the Name of נִדְּוִי, *Niddui*, a Word that signifies *Separatio, Elongatio*; as נִדָּה is *Separatio, Amotio propter Immunditiam*. And to this the Arabick ذنأ, *Abegit*, and ذنأ, *Averfatus est, Abhorruit*, agree.

^c *Maimon. Jad. Chaz. Lib. 1. Tract. 3. [dict. Talmud Ter.] Cap. 6. sub finem.*

^d *Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 25*

then

then to be Excommunicated by the Consistory for that his Contumacy, and so remain for *another Thirty Days*, if not restored before by their Decree.

This, all the while, is that *Lighter Kind* of *Excommunication*; and, in all those Cases, the Restraint of the Distance of *Four Cubits* did certainly obtain. There are also other Inconveniences and Penalties, that belong to this sort of Sentence as certainly; (for whether they lay the first *Thirty Days* in the Case of one suffering under a Private *Excommunication*, I need not determine;) and they are these, according to *Maimonides*^a. It was not lawful for him, all the Days of his Excommunication, to trim his Hair, or cut his Nails; to wash Himself, or his Clothes, or to put on New: no more than it was for a *Mourner*. He was not to be one of those with whom Grace was said at a Meal, where there were Three or more; neither was he to be reckoned one of the *Ten*, who were to make up the full Number of a just Assembly: although he might Teach the Unwritten Law, or be Taught; and might Hire, or be Hired. But if he died *Excommunicate*, they sent and laid a Stone upon his Coffin, declaring thereby, That they *stoned* him, for his *Separation* from the Congregation.

There was *Another*, a *Heavier* and more Terrible Kind of *Excommunication*^b, which the Consistory might upon some weighty Cause pronounce at the first Instance, but which was inflicted generally upon those who persisted *Excommunicate* those above-mentioned *Sixty Days*. And then the former Penalties were aggravated with others: and the Party was Disabled to Teach, or to be Taught; to Hire another, or be Hired himself; to Give, or to Receive: neither was there to be any Communication with him, but for Sustenance only^c.

This was a Horrible Sentence, full of Curses and Execrations upon the Party; and to the Observation of it the Congregation was obliged, as by a Vow confirmed with an Oath. It was therefore, and is^d, pronounced with great Solemnity; by Sound of Horns, and Black Torches burning.

The Penalties, I have specified above, belonging to both these Degrees of *Excommunication*, (for the Third commonly added^e seems now not to be well grounded,) are from *Maimonides*, where he speaks succinctly and occasionally only of *Excommunication*. But of the *Second Sort* of *Excommunicates* I am to add, That in some Cases they were not only kept at the ordinary Distance, but were absolutely secluded from promiscuous Conversation, as *Lepers*; (for with them

^a *Maimon. Jad. Chaz. Lib. 1. Tract. 3. Cap. 7. §. 3, &c.*

^b Called *Cherem*, from חָרַם, *Excludere, Anathematizare, Devovere, Disperdere*: The Hebrew Word, as is usual, containing in it the Signification of two Arabick Words of similar Initial Letters; the One, حَرَم, *Firmiter Ligavit, Repulit, Prohibuit, Vetuit*; and the Other, خَرِم, *Refecuit, Excidit, Perdidit, Extirpavit*.

^c *Maimon. Jad. Chaz. Lib. 1. Tract. 3. Cap. 7.*

^d *Leo de Moden. Part. 2. Chap. 3. §. 4.*

^e The supposed *Third Degree* was stiled שְׁמַטָּה, *Shammatha*, and taken to be derived from שָׁמַטָּה, *It est mors*; or from אֵתָּה, *Deus venit*, as if it were the same with *Maranatha*. But the Word שְׁמַטָּה, instead of such a peculiar Notion, is known to signify, at large, *Separare, Excludere à Societate hominum*; and to be put frequently for נִדָּה: and so it may be the same with the Arabick طَمَش, which is of the like Signification, connoting the same *Immundities*.

they are ranked^a;) and shut up in some remote Cell: and that their Estates were sometimes forfeited to Sacred Uses, and they themselves reputed as wholly separated, and cut off from the Congregation of the Children of *Israel*; as the Decree in *Ezra*^b imports.

I am likewise to add further, what belongs certainly to this *Second Kind*, if it does not to the *First*, as *Morinus* supposes; that it was much questioned by the Antient Masters, whether an Excommunicated Person were not bound to Rent his Clothes, to Cover his Head, and to Turn his Bed; (the lower Part, I suppose, upwards;) and whether he were not forbid (as to wash, so) to anoint; to come near his Wife; to make, or return Salutations; and to wear the *Tephillin* or Praying Ornaments^c: as it was commonly agreed by them, that he was not to wear Shoes in a City, though abroad and in the Country he might; and that he was not to exercise his Trade by day; nor to wash, except Face and Hands and Feet, and in cold Water.

§. II. AND these Particulars, though very minute, I have the rather mentioned, that the Correspondence, which is generally supposed, between the *Excommunicate* and the *Mourners*, may better appear.

For a *Jew*, that has lost a near Relation, is obliged to *mourn* for him *Thirty Days*; (for a Father or Mother, *Eleven Months*;) and, besides that, the next of Kin to the Dead is bound to tear his Garment, upon the first News of his Death, and at his Burial; (as all are bound to do who are present at his Death;) all *Mourners* on the *First* day, for their deep Sorrow, are supposed to Groan; the *Three First*, they are presumed to Weep; the *Seven First*, to Lament; and, on *all* the *Thirty*, to express their Sadness by some Neglects of themselves^d.

On all the *Thirty*, those, who mourn for any of their Near Kindred, forbear to cut their Hair or Nails; to wear any Garment that is White, and Pressed, and New; to Marry; to be present at any Feast of Mirth; and to go Merchandising from their own Town to another^e: neither was it proper for others to ask after their Health by way of Salutation^f.

On the *First Seven*, it was further forbid the *Mourner* to wash his Clothes; or to wash Himself, except his Feet and Hands only, and that in cold Water; to anoint; to come near his Wife; to have Sandals on in the City; to do any Work, either hired himself, or hiring others; or to open his Shop, or give and receive in Merchandise; to read the Written Law of *Moses*, &c. or to learn to explain the Oral: to have any Bed in his House standing, and not to lie

^a *Morin.* de Pœnit. Lib. 4. Cap. 25. §. 7.

^b *Ezra* 10. 7, 8. *Selden.* de Synedr. Lib. 1. Cap. 7.

^c *Morin.* de Pœnit. Lib. 4. Cap. 23. §. 4.

^d *Maimon.* Lib. 14. Tractat. 4. seu de *Lugente*, Cap. 13. §. 11.

^e *Ibid.* Cap. 6.

^f *Ibid.* Cap. 5. §. 20.

himself

himself upon one turned; to have his Head and Upper part of his Face uncovered; or, lastly, to salute or ask after another's Health, except saluted first^a. Further, on the *Three First Days*, He was not to resalute, though he were saluted^b; nor to do any Work, not in Private, and though he were fed by Alms^c.

And *lastly*, on the *First Day*, it was unlawful for him to eat or drink of his own Meat or Drink; (though even Flesh sent by others he might eat; and drink, for Digestion, of their Wine;) neither was he to wear his *Tephillim*; and he was bound to sit upon his Bedstead turned^d.

But if his Dead was yet in his house, (and their Dead they think it their Duty to bury as soon as they can,) he was not to eat in his own House, if any Friend's were near: however, (except on a Sabbath,) he was not to eat sitting; nor to eat Flesh, or drink Wine; nor to say a Solemn Blessing or Grace himself; neither was any other of his Company to do it before him; and he was excused from all Offices of Worship and Prayer^e.

This is an Abstract of the Usage of *Mourners* among the *Jews*, and may help us to understand the better what shall follow, as well as what has been premised, concerning Persons *Excommunicate*; the same Restraints, as we see, lying upon Both. And, it may be, as *Thirty Days* were a common Number both to *Excommunicates* and *Mourners*, so the *Excommunicates* of the First *Thirty Days* were first reckoned as *Mourners* at large; of the Latter *Thirty*, as the *Mourners* of the *Seven Days*; and the *Excommunicates* of the *Other Degree*, the *Cherem*, might be ranked with the *Mourners* of the *Three Days*, or rather of the *First*, if not with those that had not buried their Dead; while some of them, the *Cut off*, were esteemed even in a worse Condition than the Dead themselves.

§. III. AND thus I have given you a brief Account of the *Jewish Excommunication*, and not disagreeable to what Mr. *Selden* has discoursed at large in his Book de *Synedriis*: though, in what I am next to mention, I shall be obliged to differ from him.

He, indeed, has given himself some pains to prove, That this *Excommunication* was not directed by *Moses*, nor is observed any where in Scripture before the *Babylonish Captivity*: neither am I much concerned in that Point; it being sufficient for our purpose, that it had been in Practice four or five Hundred Years before our Saviour, and was in his time the Received Law, and Canonical Discipline of their Church.

But of their *Church* I desire to be understood, and in the fullest Sense; notwithstanding Mr. *Selden's* Express Dissent: which I am bound therefore, with the *Reader's* Leave, a little to consider.

a Maimon. Lib. 14. Tract. de Lugente, Cap. 5.

b Ibid. Cap. eodem, §. 20.

c Ibid. Cap. eodem, §. 3.

d Ibid. Cap. 4. §. 9.

e Ibid. Cap. eodem, §. 6.

This eminently Learned Gentleman, as he observes that *Excommunication* with the *Jews* was a Civil Punishment, inflicted in Civil Cafes, and by Civil Officers; so he very frequently, and very positively affirms, That it did not take place in their Synagogues or Temple, and had no Influence at all upon their Religious Worship^a.

But how far this first Observation is true, we have seen already^b in the Cafe of *Presbyters*, by whom the Sentence was juridically pronounced. For, as they were Civil Officers, but at the same time Sacred, as being Officers in God's Commonwealth, and for the Execution of his Laws; so this *Excommunication*, however Civil, was in the same manner Sacred, being the Punishment used in that Nation, which was the Church of GOD.

And as for his other Assertion, That *Excommunication* did not operate in the Synagogue or the Temple; it is both very strange, and, I believe, not well founded.

Strange it is, at the first sight, that those who were separated from their Brethren, as *unclean*, in all Civil Conversation, should freely mingle in Religious; and should be allowed to tread on their Heels in the Synagogues, from whom they were to keep such a Distance in the Streets. And very strange it is, that those who were esteemed as *Lepers*, much more those who were *Cut off* from the People of *Israel*, should be admitted into the Temple, and promiscuously allowed to worship in that Holy Place in the Company of the Holy People: Though all this might not seem so strange, when Mr. *Selden* wrote; then, when People were privileged in the Houses of God from such Mannerly Ceremony, as they observed in their own Houses, and in the Streets.

But this peremptory Assertion is not only Suspicious, but Erroneous. And, as to the Synagogue, I have the express Affirmation of *Leo de Modena* (an Author in Esteem with Mr. *Selden*) directly to the contrary^c. I shall not therefore urge any more Authority, than what may be useful on another Occasion; and that is of the Practice of the *Jews*, the Day before their *Expiation-Fast*. In that Evening, before the Prayers for the following Day begin, from the Desk of the Synagogue they suspend the *Excommunications* of all Transgressors whatsoever, without their Desire; and give them Leave to come in, and pray with the Congregation, which in that Day reputes itself as a Company of Sinners. And, that such a Relaxation may appear to be more necessary, it is very formally pronounced by the *Præcentor*, assisted with two of the Chiefest *Rabbins* on either side; and is conceived in this Authoritative Manner: *By the Power of the Consistory above, and of the Consistory below; by the Authority of GOD, and by the Authority of the Church; we grant Leave and Licence to pray with the Wicked*^d.

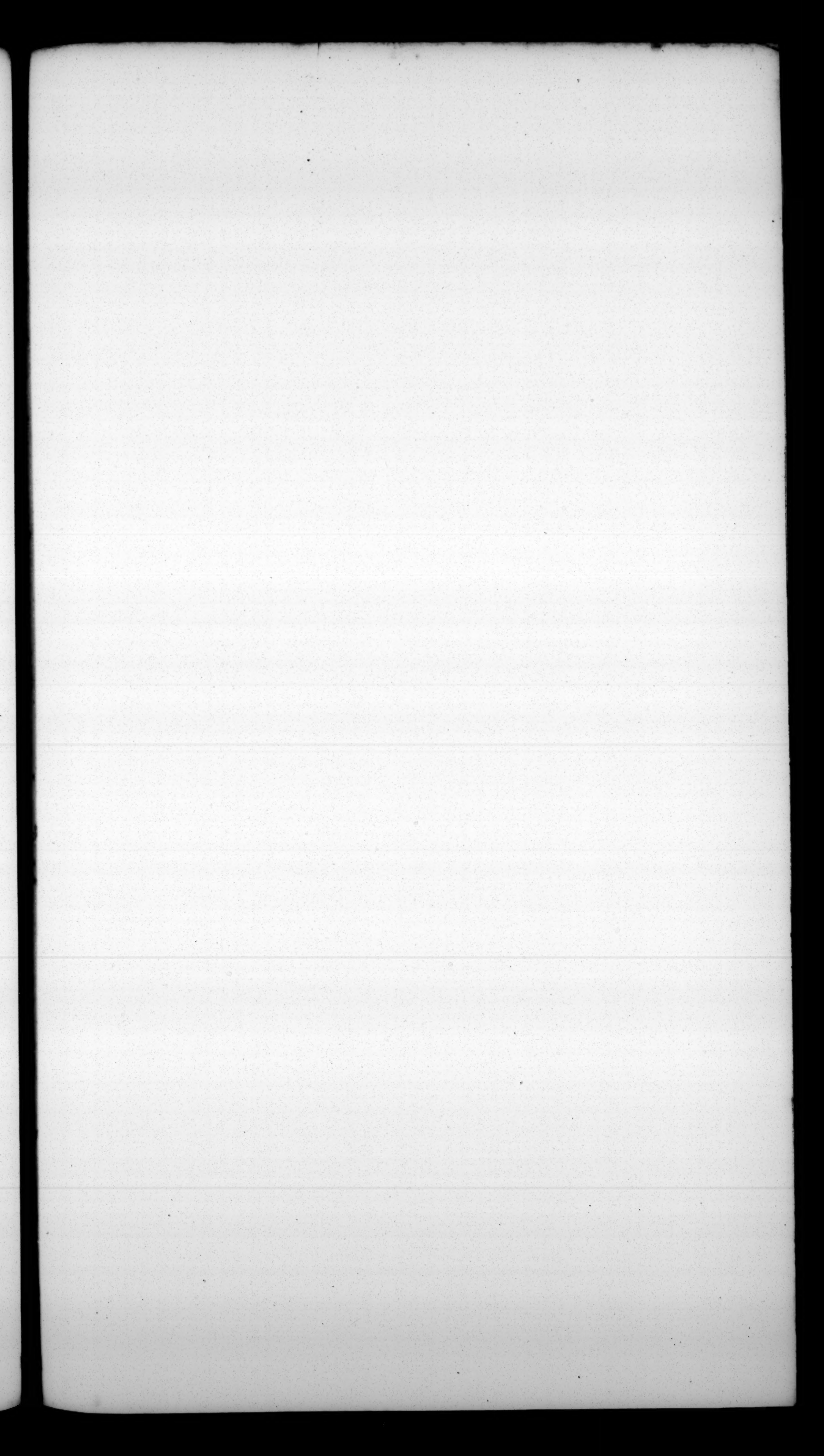
^a De Jure Nat. & Gen. juxta Heb. Lib. 4. Cap. 9. De Anno Civil. Veterum Judæor. Cap. 18. De Synedr. Lib. 1. Cap. 7.

^b Chap. III. §. 4.

^c Cerem. des Juifs, Part. 2. Chap. 3. §. 3.

^d Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 26.

Now,



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Fig. I.

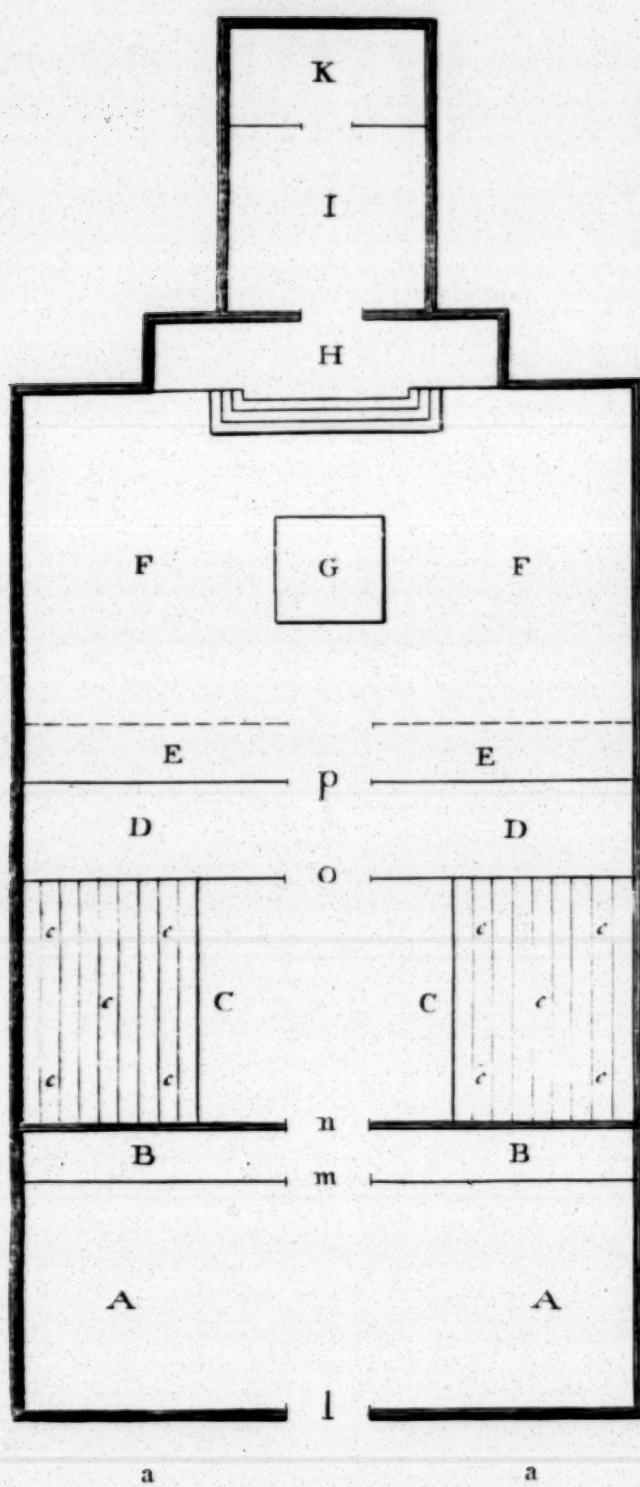


Fig. II.

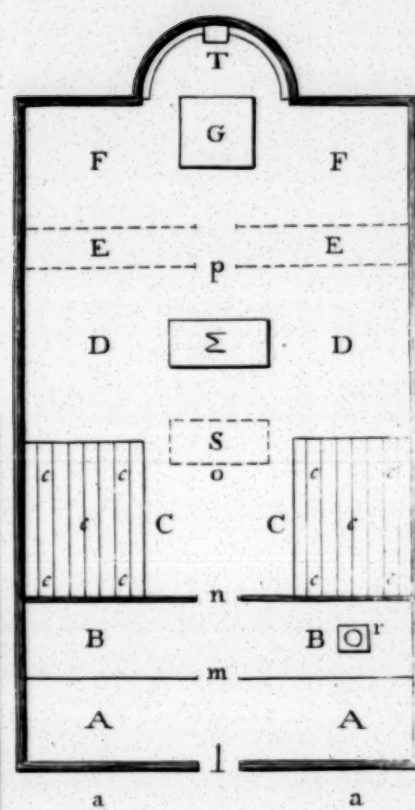


Fig. III.

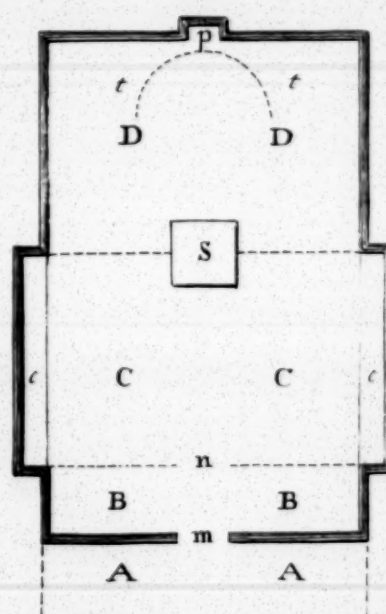


FIG. I.

The Temple of Jerusalem.

- aa The Space *without* the Precinct of the Temple.
- AA The 1st Court, or Court of the Gentiles.
- BB The 2^d Court, or Alley.
- CC The 3^d Court, of the Women.
- $\left. \begin{array}{l} c \\ c \\ c \end{array} \right\}$ Their Galleries in that Court.
- DD The 4th Court, of the Israelites.
- EE The 5th of the Priests.
- FF The 6th of the Altar.
- G The Altar.
- H The Porch.
- I The Holy Place.
- K The Holy of Holies.
- $\left. \begin{array}{l} I \\ K \end{array} \right\}$ of the House.
- l m n o p The several Gates, or Entrances.

FIG. II.

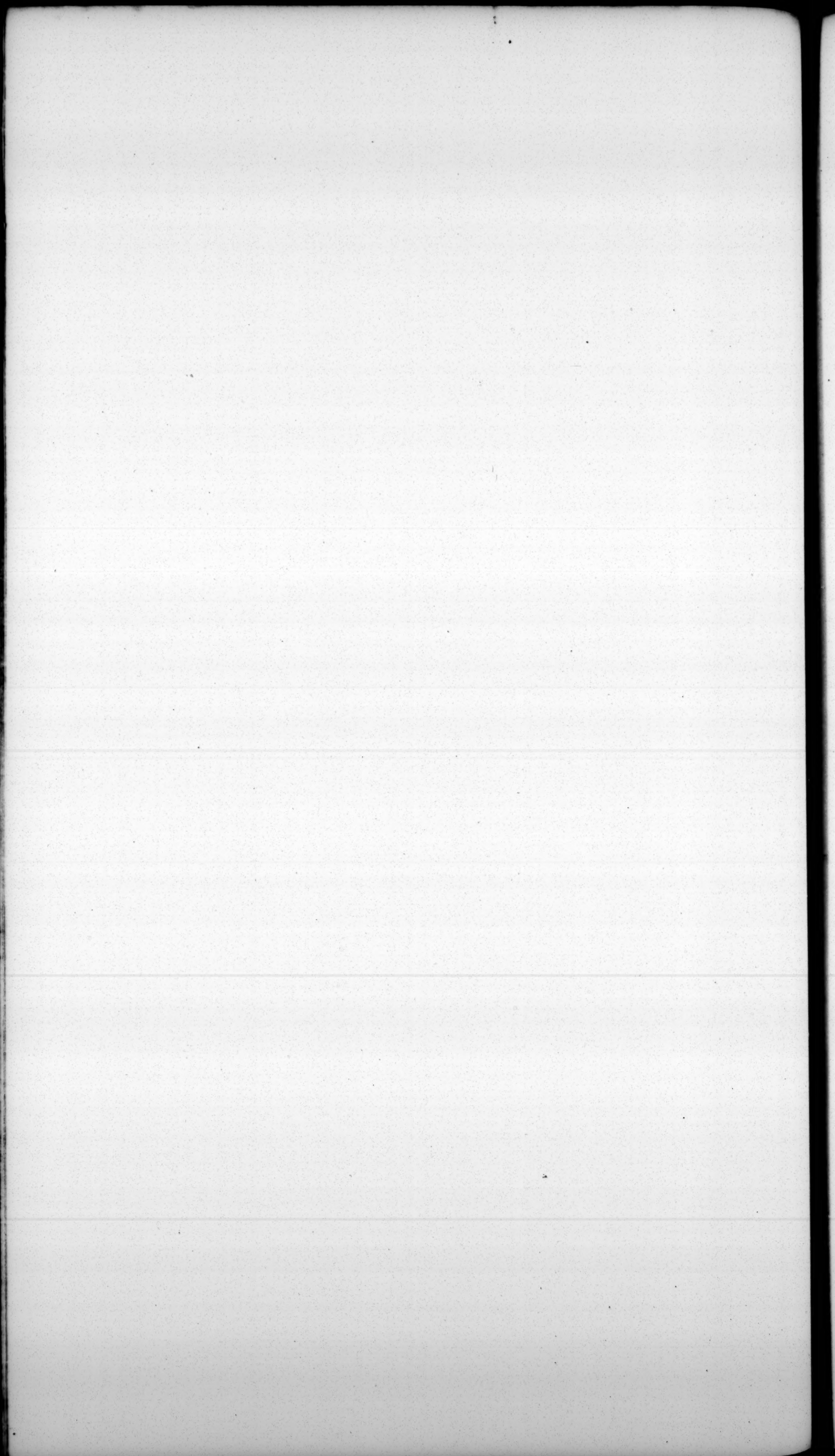
A Christian [Greek] Church.

- aa The Area before it, commonly Cloystered about.
- AA The First Porch, or Nartex.
- BB The Inner Nartex: in it, r The Font.
- CC The Body of the Church: in it, $\left. \begin{array}{l} c \\ c \\ c \end{array} \right\}$ Galleries for Women.
- S The old place of the Ambo; the Pulpit, or Desk.
- DD The Quire.
- Σ The Ambo now: if not supplied by Analogia, or Reading Desk, on either side.
- EE The Presbyterium, or Solea.
- FF The Space of the Altar.
- G The Altar, or Holy Table.
- T The Bishop's Throne; with the adjoining Seats, for Bishops, or Presbyters.
- l m n o p The Entrances.

FIG. III.

A Synagogue.

- AA A, supposed, Outer Porch.
- BB A, supposed, Inner Partition.
- CC The Body of the Synagogue; with
- cc Apartments for Women, on either hand.
- S The Bema, or Pulpit.
- DD The Space between the Pulpit, or Desk; and
- p The Repository of the Law.
- tt The [Antient] Semicircle for the Presbyters.
- m The Entrance.



Now, if *Excommunication* excludes from the Synagogue, we may presume it does from the Temple. But Mr. Selden offers to prove for the Temple, what he supposed only of the Synagogue: and his Proof is from a Passage in the *Mishnah*^a, which Maimonides has also exscribed^b, and which with him runs thus: *All, who entered into the Temple, went in on the Right Hand, and came out on the Left. But if any one lay under any Misfortune, he went on upon the Left Hand: And then they asked him, Why goest thou to the Left? and, if he answered, Because I am in Mourning, they replied, He comfort you who dwells in this House: but, if he said, Because I am Excommunicate, they replied, He who dwells in this House give thee Grace to hearken to thy Brethren, that they may restore thee.*

And here, indeed, we find one *Excommunicate* within the Precinct of the Temple; but it is neither considered how far he was suffered to go, nor under what *Excommunication* he lay; things Mr. Selden would have examined with great Accuracy, if they would have made for his Design.

For if we do but read what follows of the very same Chapter, we shall see (what is to be remarked also for other Purposes) that the Ground belonging to the Temple was very large, and several Courts to be passed, before one came to the House or Temple properly so called. Six are reckoned from the *First Gate*, and in this Order: Into the *First* and *Outmost Court* [A]^{*} the *Gentiles*, and the *Defiled by the Dead*, and even the *Dead Bodies* themselves, were admitted: though not only *Lepers* were excluded, for they might not come within *Jerusalem*; but *others*, who were under some *certain* kinds of *Uncleanness*. Into the *Second* [B] neither *Gentiles*, nor the *Defiled with Dead*, could enter: but those might, who were *washed* for *Lesser Defilements* which *polluted* but for a *Day*, and waited only for *Sun-Set* to be *perfectly clean*. The *Third* [C] was what was called the *Court of the Women*, and into it the *last mentioned* could not come: but *they* who were otherwise *Purified*, and only wanted to be *Expiated* by *Sacrifice*, might. The *Fourth* [D] was the *Court of the Israelites*, for those who were *Clean* and *Perfect*. Beyond this there was a *Fifth* [E], for the *Sons of Levi*: and then, lastly, a *Sixth* [F], where the *Altar* [G] stood, and the *Sacrifices* were *made*, just before the *Porch* [H] of the *House* [IK].

* See
Fig. I.

And now, what sort of Argument is this, that the *Excommunicated Israelite* was not debarred the Liberty of Worshipping in the Temple, because he was admitted into the *Outmost Court*, and where a *Gentile* might come as well? Whereas, for ought appears, he might be suffered to go no further, and might be kept off at the Distance of *Three Courts* from the Place of the *Israelites* Devotion. But how much less will this avail for an Argument, if the *Excommunicated Person* there spoken of was not one of the *more guilty* sort, or not of

^a Midd. Cap. 2. §. 2.

^b Maimon. de Edif. Templi, Cap. 7. §. 3.

that kind which are compared with the *Leper*, much less of those who are wholly *Cut off* from the People of GOD?

Notwithstanding therefore this Argument of Mr. *Selden's*, the Presumption from the Practice of the Synagogue would hold good for the *Temple*; and on that I might rest: But there are other very probable Arguments that will concur to exclude the *Excommunicate*, at least, from any near Approach in the Temple.

For though *Excommunicates* are not at all reckoned by *Maimonides* in this place, and those only are mentioned here whom the Law pronounces *unclean*; yet we may suppose that these were named only for Example sake, and that other States of Men lay under the same Restriction.

For, *First*, It appears from the same Author^a, that none was to come into the *Court of the Israelites* in an *uncomely Dress*, with *torn Clothes*, or *long neglected Hair*. By which it is plain, That *Mourners* were not permitted to enter there during the whole *Thirty Days*; and consequently that *all Excommunicates* were likewise debarred thence.

And, *Further*, Of the *Mourners* of the *First Seven Days* he elsewhere^b tell us, That they *sent no Offerings to the Altar*, not so much as *Wine*, or *Wood*, or *Frankincense*: [not for their *Sins*, and less of *Peace*, and much less of *Thanks*.] By this *Prohibition* of *Sending* it is implied, They could not *Come*: and, seeing it is the same *Prohibition* which lay upon the *Defiled with the Dead*, we may conclude, That these *Mourners* likewise were obliged to stop with them in the *Outer Court*, and could not pass beyond.

Now, that there were *Excommunicates* who answered these *Mourners*, we have seen^c; and that they kept them company there in the *Court of the Gentiles*, we might well presume. But the *Excommunicates* happen, in this case, to be mentioned by our Author: and in a manner that, though it may seem to weaken the Inference, will be found to confirm it. It is said there of the *Excommunicates*, That it was doubted whether they might send; and also that, if they did send, the *Oblation* would be^d good. And if this Place would have concluded

^a *Maimon. Lib. 8. seu De Cult. Divin. Tract. 3. Cap. 1. §. 17. ex Interpret. Ludov. de Veil. Porro cuius Interdictum erat Sacerdoti, juxta atque Israelitæ, ne vino usus, vel quâcunque ratione temulentus, neu incultè atque horridè capillatus, aut pannis obfusus, omninò in Templum veniret; ne intra primum quidem illud Atrium Israelitarum. Id enim lege sancitum non erat: verùm gloria & reverentia hujus magnificæ ac sanctæ domus non patiebatur in eam quemquam intrare sordidatum [מנוול].*

^b *Ibidem, Cap. 2. §. 11. Lugens igitur hebdomadâ totâ munus ad Altare mittebat nullum, nec vinum quidem, neque ligna, neque thus. Similiter homo Leprosus nihil quicquam muneris ad Altare mittebat. Nam quamdiu hominem intra Castra venire non licebat, nec licebat eum Sacrificia facere. De homine autem ab Ecclesiæ communione sejuncto [המנוול] dubium est, Is utrùm munus ad Altare mittere posset, necne. Quare Sacrificium ejus, si factum esset, bene fuisset [אם הקריבו עליו נרצה]. §. 12. Nam per Serpentem animantem, aut rem consimilem inquinatus homo, item & Incircumcissus, si Sacrificia ad Altare misisset, sanè pro illo fierent. — Verùm enim pro homine Funere polluto nullum fiebat Sacrificium, interea dum purificabatur.*

^c §. 11.

^d נרצה signifies in many places not an Acceptation with Favour, but with Pardon; a Connivance and Sufferance. For so it is used often; as (to give but one Instance) when it is said, [Lib. eodem, Tract. 7. Cap. 11. §. 20.] That a *Handful of Frankincense*, taken out of an *Offering* afterwards *Polluted*, was itself not to be burnt on the Altar: but if it were burnt, it was accepted [ואם הקטיר הורצה]. And so, though in another Phrase, where the Discourse is concerning the Intention with which the Sacrifice was to be offered, [Ibid. Cap. 14. §. 1.] it is also said, That the *Wrong Intention* of the *Priest* made the *Abomination*: but if That was *Right*, though the *Owner* of the *Sacrifice* were heard to speak what would cause *Abomination*, yet the *Sacrifice* was *Good* [הרי זה נשר].

any thing for their Freedom of Access, or for their Advantage from those Sacrifices, it would not have been omitted by Mr. *Selden*: whereas he rather seems to have passed it by, because he foresaw it would make against him. For he knew well that the *Offering* being good, signified no more than that (though it were regularly to be forborn, yet) the Reception of it by the *Priests* was no Prophanation: and he could not but discern, That this Unlawfulness of *Sending* implied the Unlawfulness of their *Coming*; for otherwise no such Doubt could have been made concerning them.

And, *Lastly*, As for those *Excommunicates*, who were ranked with *Lepers*, or who were absolutely *Cut off*; it cannot but seem probable, That these were denied *Entrance* not into the *Temple* only, but even into the *Holy City*.

The contrary therefore to what Mr. *Selden* so often asserts is very evident, That no *Excommunicate Person* could go into the *Court of the Israelites*, and that many of them could go no further than the *Outmost Court*: and it appears to be very likely, That those, who lay under the more grievous Sentence, were utterly excluded even from the Privileges of a *pious Heathen*. This Distance They themselves were obliged in Conscience to keep: and if any of them were suffered by the *Priests* to come nearer, it must have been from the Want either of Authority in the *Judge* that did *Excommunicate*, or of a *Certificate* of the *Excommunication*.

§. IV. AND now we come to the *New Testament*; and there possibly we may have an Instance of the above-mentioned *Rebuke*, in that *Reproof* given by our Saviour to St. *Peter*^a, *Get thee behind me, &c.* but of their *Excommunication* the Mentions are confessed. And, in that Case, when any one is said there to be *put out of the Synagogue*^b, as Mr. *Selden* is ready to understand him separated and secluded from the Communication of the People of *Israel* in Civil Affairs; so we are to have leave to suppose him ejected likewise out of the *Synagogue Place*, and deprived of the Liberty of the *Temple*.

And, further, when our Saviour directs^c an *Offended Brother* to *admonish* the *Offender* first in *Private*, afterwards *before Two or Three Witnesses*, and then to bring him *before the Church* or Consistory, and if he does not then amend, but continues obstinate, to esteem him *as a Heathen and a Publican*; this may well be taken to direct a *Private Charitable Course* (used on other Occasions by the *Jews*^d) to be tried in this Case, before the *Judicial Proceedings* begin. And then, what follows may be very properly understood of the Validity of the *Sentence of Excommunication*, if, by the *Obstinacy* of the Party, the *Process* must be carried so far; *What ye bind on Earth, shall be bound in Heaven, and what ye loose on Earth, shall be loosed in Heaven*. That is, (in the *Jewish* way of Speaking, something of which

^a Matth. 16. 23.

^d §. I.

^b Joh. 9. 22. 16. 2.

^c Matth. 18. 15.

may be seen in this Chapter^a;) the so *Condemned* and *Excommunicated Below*, and by *Men*, shall be held as *Excommunicated Above* in *Heaven*, and by *GOD* himself: and the *Absolved* by the *Consistory Below*, shall be *Absolved* by the *Consistory Above*. This *Meaning*, supported by the *Practice* of the *Jews*, and consonant to their *Expressions*^b, the *Place* certainly admits; and so naturally, as not to be easily set aside by the bare force of an uncertain Criticism upon a single Word^c.

Our Saviour, in all probability, may be supposed to speak of *Excommunication* there: but we find expressly the Actual Exercise of it in the Church of *Corinth*, directed by *St. Paul* upon the Person of a grievous *Offender*; and the *Sentence* given, *Therefore put away from among yourselves that wicked Person*^d. And though any one should insist upon the Variety of Rendering which may be used on that Text, and translate it, *wicked Thing*, yet that Thing must be understood of the Person *that did this Deed*^e, and who ought to have been taken away from among the Congregation, and delivered to *Satan*^f, that is, Cast out of the Communion of Christ our Saviour and Comforter, or Advocate, and delivered up to *Satan*, to be accused and tormented by him. Here is an *Act* of *Excommunication*: and a *Precedent* of *Absolution* from it we have upon the same Person in the *Second Epistle*; the *Forgiving and Comforting* of him by the Church^g, confirmed by the Apostle's *Forgiveness* also^h.

a §. III.

b Several Persons are said by the *Jews* to be *Excommunicated* in *Heaven*, or by *GOD*; [מנודים לשמים]; as the Children of *Israel* in the *Wilderness*, (so mentioned in the *Chejeph Mishnah* upon the above-cited Place of *Maimonides*. Vid. *Notes* a & b. p. 226.) and those spoke of in the *Gemara*, alledged by *Mr. Selden*, de *Synedr.* Lib. 1. Cap. 7. The Form too of a *Cherem*, produced by him in his Book de *Jure Nat. & Gent.* Lib. 4. Cap. 7. is said to be pronounced *ex sententiâ Dei*, & *ex sententiâ Ecclesiæ*, [על דעת המקום].

c His Assertion in his Book de *Synedr.* Lib. 1. Cap. 9. towards the End, is thus: *Expresso Obligationis seu Li-gationis nomine ipse Excommunicandi actus nullibi, quantum observavi, apud Hebræos veteres designatur*: And he had shewn there before, (and afterwards at large, Lib. 2. Cap. 7. §. 2.) that the Phrase to *Bind* and to *Loose*, in the Usage of the *Jews*, signifies to *Declare Unlawful* and *Lawful*, to *Forbid* and *Permit*.

This, it is true, is now the usual Signification of אסר; and commonly an *Excommunicate* is not termed *Bound*, but *Separated* or *Devoted*, [מנודרה or מוחרם]. But the Word still continues most properly to signify *Bound*, and stands for *Illicitum*, as it is *quid Inhibitum*: just as the *Arabick* حرم is put for *Vetitum*, under the Notion of *Prohibitum*. And, besides, it frequently in the Old Testament stands for something bound upon another: as our Saviour speaks of those that did ἀποσυνεως φερεται, [Matth. 23. 4.] and as a *Condemned* Person may be said to be Bound by a Sentence. And whatever the Reason was, why the Word אסר was not commonly used to signify one *Excommunicate*, it was not, because the Notion of *Binding* did not agree to that Sentence. For that of *Absolving* still remains, when the *Excommunication* is withdrawn; and the Ordinary Expression for that Act is שר and מחר, to *Loose* and *Set at Liberty*. Nay, contrary to the Learned Author's Negative Observation, the very Word אסר is used for *Excommunication* in one Passage of the *Gemara*, cited by himself, (the *Seventh Chapter* of the same Book,) where one *Rabbi Samuel* is brought in speaking of the *Sound* of the *Horn*, with which the Sentence was Pronounced and Revoked, שר אסר ושר.

I therefore may more reasonably suppose, That the Word אסר was not so frequently used for *Excommunication*, not because it more properly signified to *Declare Unlawful*; (for Words of *Loosing*, though signifying to declare *Lawful*, continued also to signify the *Absolution* of an *Excommunicate*;) but because it bore another Sense of being *Tied* and *Bound up together*, (as אסרה and אסור are *Fasciculus*, *Manipulus*;) a Sense opposite to *Separation* and *Distance*, which *Excommunication* implies. This also is one of its *Arabick* Significations, where both أسر in itself and Derivatives imports, besides the Sense of *Binding*, that of *Proximity* of Kindred; and اصبر, besides that of *Inclut*, *Coercuit*, and *Peccatum*, and *Onus*, has in it also that of *Cognatio*, *Affinitas*, and the more general Signification of *Propinquus*; and thence *Vicinus fuit*, *Tentorium fixit proxime à Tentorio alterius*. And this last Acception (if the Excursion is pardonable) the like Word עצר apparently requires, in that known Phrase, [1 Kings 14. 10.] עצור ועזוב בישראל, which is commonly rendered *Shut up and Left*, but seems rather to mean, *Those who live together in neighbouring Tents, and those who live alone, and at a Distance, with their Cattle in the Field*: (for so عذب and عرب have in them the Significations of *Longè à mansione & seorsim abesse, sub dio versari, cum pecoribus suis procul ab hominibus passum recedere*;) these Two Sorts of People, with those that lived in *Walled Houses*, making up the whole Number of the Children of *Israel*.

d 1 Cor. 5. 13.

e Verse 2.

f Verse 5.

g 2 Cor. 2. 7.

h Verse 10.

And

And thus *Excommunication* (which, whenever it was introduced among the *Jews*, whether by *Moses*, or some other Prophet, had long obtained among them before our Saviour's Time) is, as we find, in all probability countenanced and ordered by Him, and certainly commanded and executed by his Apostle: And how this Practice was continued in the succeeding Ages, we shall see anon^a.

C H A P. V.

- §. I. Circumstances relating to Baptism, under Five Heads; practised in the Church of Christ in the Second Century.
- §. II. These all agreeable to Jewish Custom: and First, in General; as to the Persons Baptized and Baptizing, and the Solemn Time of Baptism:
- §. III. In Particular; Secondly, as to the Distinction and Instruction of its Candidates;
- §. IV. Thirdly, As to the Action of Baptism;
- §. V. Fourthly, Its Confirmation;
- §. VI. And Lastly, the Sequel and Close of the whole Ceremony.

§. I. **H**OW much the Ordinances of Christianity, recorded in the Scripture, agree with those of the Jewish Church, we have seen. Now several *Circumstantials* of those Ordinances are remembered to have been practised in the next Age; as well as several other *Usages*, of which the Scripture is silent: and whether they were not derived from the *Jews* also, we now come to consider.

I begin with the *Rituals* and *Circumstances* of Baptism, many of which were undoubtedly practised very early in the *Second Age*, being mentioned by *Tertullian* at the latter end of it, as used then by the Church time out of mind.

Now this Author, in his Treatise which he writ expressly of Baptism, and besides scatteringly in other places, hath happily informed us, both in general, concerning the Persons Capable of Receiving this Sacrament, Those Able to give it, and the Common Time of Administering it: and also, particularly, concerning the Administration of it; letting us know some *Circumstantials* of the Preparation to the Action, of the Action itself, of the Seal or Confirmation of it, and of the Solemnity that afterwards attended it.

^a Chap. VIII.

First, The Church at that time Baptized Children, (their Godfathers undertaking for them^a), as well as Grown Persons: and the Solemn Time for the Administration of that Sacrament was^b the Paschal Season [1]. The High-Priest, who is the Bishop, had the Right of conferring it; and the Presbyters and Deacons by his Authority: though the Lay-Men, in Case of Necessity, had Right to give it also^c.

Secondly, The Church then made a Distinction^d between the common Gentile or Jew, and one of them in some measure persuaded to Christianity, called a Hearer, or one under Instruction, who professed Repentance for his past Life; as well as between the last Sort, and a perfect Christian [2]. And those were not promiscuously admitted in its Assemblies; but had their distinct Places assigned them [3].

approved by the Church: and these had their particular Instruction, from whence they were called; and, professing Repentance for the Sins of their Unconverted State, had the Privilege to stay after Sermon, and to have the Prayers of the Congregation for them, and to be dismissed with a Blessing. And, lastly, when they were admitted to stand for Baptism, they then entered into a stricter Course of Repentance, and had the peculiar Articles of the Faith more plainly inculcated; called now the Enlightned; and, after frequent Examination and Scrutiny, were at last Received into the Body of the Faithful^e].

3. [The Places of Assembly, or Churches, had commonly an Area, or Court before them, Cloistered on either Hand [Fig. 2. aa]. Beyond the Court, to the East generally, was the Building, which we may conceive, at present, to have been in Three Divisions, whether they were separated or not within by any Raised Partitions, or distinguished without by any Difference of Structure. The Lowermost, next the

What I have added in this Column, for Explication, is taken out of other Authors, not later than the IVth Century.

1. [Saturday in the Evening before Easter-Day. Cyril. Hieros. Cateches. Mystag. I. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. 1. Cap. 1.]

2. [Those of the Middle Kind, and not yet Christians, were also (at least afterwards) subdivided. The Hearers were such, as had been informed of some General and Preliminary Points of the True Religion^e, and were half come over: if Heathens, having renounced their Idolatry and gross Immorality; and if Jews, acknowledging the True Messiah; but not yet entirely satisfied in all Points necessary: suffered therefore to hear the Scriptures and Sermons for their further Conversion. The Catechumens, or those under Instruction, were willing to become Christians, and resolved it; but either did not esteem themselves worthy as yet, or were not fully

a Tertull. de Baptismo, Cap. 18. Itaque pro cuiusque personae conditione ac dispositione, etiam aetate, cunctatio Baptismi utilior est: praecipue tamen circa Parvulos. Quid enim necesse est Sponsors etiam periculo ingeri; qui ipsi per mortalitatem destituere promissiones suas possunt, et proventu malae indolis falli?

b Ibid. Cap. 19. Diem Baptismo solenniorem Pascha praestat.

c Ibid. Cap. 17. Dandi jus habet Summus Sacerdos, qui est Episcopus; dehinc Presbyteri, et Diaconi; non tamen sine Episcopi auctoritate, propter Ecclesiae honorem, quo salva salva pax est. Alioquin etiam Laici jus est.

d That there was in general such a Distinction, as follows, of Persons and Places, appears from this single Passage of Tertull. De Praescrip. Haeret. Cap. 41. Non omitam ipsius etiam Conversationis Haereticæ descriptionem. Inprimis quis Catechumenus, quis Fidelis, incertum est: pariter Adeunt, pariter Audiunt, pariter Orant; etiam Ethnici si supervenerint; sanctum canibus, et porcis margaritas, licet non veras, jactabunt. And as the word Catechumenus is used here, so in his Book de Pœnit. Cap. 6. Auditores and Audientes are opposed to Intineli; and they are there spoken of as Novitoli, — qui incipiunt divinis sermonibus aures rigare, — et dicunt pristinis renuntiare, et poenitentiam assumunt.

e In the Apostolick Constitutions, Lib. 7. Cap. 40. ex Edit. Labbei, the Μὴν ἡμετέριος is directed to be first taught Ἀνεύχως Ἀσπὸς μέγας, Περὶ τοῦ εἰσὶν, Νομίστας Ἀσπὸς δικαιοσύνης, &c.

f This Subdistinction is evident from the Writers of the IVth Century, and particularly from St. Cyril of Jerusalem.

Outer Doors, we may call the *Ante-Church* [Fig. 2. AB]; the Next was the *Church* [CD]; and the Last the *Apartment* of the *Altar*, or *Sanctuary* [EF]. Now the *Ante-Church* was also subdivided into *Two Parts*: and in the Lowermost Part, or *Portico* [A], and next to the *Court*, was the *Place* of the *Hearers* properly so called: The *Catechumens* Station [B] was above them, next to the *Church*: And in the Head of them the *Enlightned* or *Immediate Candidates* were, I suppose, posted; being those who were in a little while to proceed further, and to be taken into the *Church* itself, the *Place* of the *Faithful*. And so the *Faithful* themselves were orderly disposed, according to the Difference of their Sex and Age: and the *Church* was likewise in *Two* distinct *Parts*; having the *Desk* or *Pulpit* [S] in the Middle: that *Below* the Desk, answering near to the Body of our *Collegiate Churches* [C], belonging to the *Women* chiefly, who were seated in the Sides of it beneath, and in Galleries above [cc]: and the Upper Part [D] belonging to the *Men*; the Whole, or the greater Portion of which, is now taken up by our *Choir*."

Thirdly, The Person to be Baptized protested first, [among other things,] before the Congregation, That he Renounced the Devil, his Pomp, and Angels^b. Thence he went to the Water, and made the same Renunciation again [4]: and then he dipped thrice, with solemn Responses^b [5.]

Fourthly, When he came out of the Water, he both tasted^b of a Mixture of Milk and Honey;

4. For, being come to the Porch of the Baptistry, he turned to the West, and stretching out his Hands, spoke to Satan, as if present; *I Renounce thee, Satan*, &c. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. I. and then turning to the East, he said the Creed; and going into the Baptistry, he was stripped. Ibid.]

5. [For being asked, whether he believed in God the Father, &c. he answered, *I believe*, and was dipped: and so at the second and third Questions concerning the other two Persons of the Trinity. Cyril. Catech. Mystag. II. Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. 3. Cap. 2.]

a Such an antient Distinction of Places in general is intimated already from Tertullian (Note d), and denied by none. And such a particular Form of an Antient Church, as I have here given (Fig. 2.), is the same with that represented by Goar in his *Euchologium*.

Neither do I chuse Goar's Model, because it will best suit with the Comparison I am going to make; but because it seems more agreeable to the Truth, and has less of Confusion in it, than that which Leo Allatius (*De Templis Græcorum*) has figured out, and which others have chose to follow. And for this I have the Authority not only of Morinus, who had considered the matter, and wrote a Treatise about it, (as he tells us, *De Panit.* Lib. 6. Cap. 6. §. 10.) but also of Du Fresne more lately, who in his Description of *Sancta Sophia* has given the Controversy on Goar's side.

For they both rightly judge, that the Name of *Narthex*, which is now given, and has been so a long while, to the Nave [C] of a *Grecian Church*, did not antiently nor properly belong to it, but to the *Porticos* before it: Morinus discerning, [Ibid. Cap. 3. §. 2.] and Du Fresne further demonstrating [*Constantinop. Christ.* Lib. 3. Cap. 18.], That *Νάρθηξ* signifies a *Narrow Oblong*, *Παρώμας π καὶ μὴ Εὐθύμαχος*. They think therefore that the *Audientes* and *Catechumeni* were there at first in their proper Places, though upon extraordinary Occasions they might come into the lower part of the Church; (as *Gentiles* also might crowd in with them;) and that afterwards, when they began to go more ordinarily into the Body of the Church, (either They taking more Liberty, or the Churches wanting such Porches,) they then brought in with them the Names of those Places, and the Nave was called *Narthex* from their assembling in it; the Upper-part [D], or the Choir, being thenceforth called the *Church*, and the names also of the *Doors* transferred. [Morin. Ibid. Cap. 1. §. 12. Du Fresne, Ibid. Cap. 25.] Upon that Occasion the *Desk* too, we may suppose, was removed from its former place [S] to an higher in the Choir, either in the Middle of it [Σ], or on the Sides; as there was also another left in the Nave. [Of this *Desk* or *Ambo*, Morinus may be consulted in the 6th Chapter of the above-mentioned Book; and Du Fresne, in the 74th and 75th Chapters of his above-cited Book; besides what Goar has said]. But, to shew the antient Place of the *Ambo*, still, as I am told, in some Churches the Lessons are read from the Loft over the Choir Door. And so from the modern Place of the Font in a *Greek Church*, which was used antiently to be in a House apart, but is now commonly in the inner *Narthex* [B], we are left to judge, where of old the Place of the *Catechumeni* was.

b This, together with what follows on this and the other Articles, is thus expressed by Tertullian, *De Coronâ*, Cap. 3. *Aquam adituri, ibidem, sed & aliquanto prius in Ecclesiâ, sub Antistitis manu contestamur nos Renuntiare Diabolo, & Pompæ, & Angelis ejus. Deinde ter Mergitamus, amplius aliquid Respondentes, quàm Dominus in Evangelio determinavit. Inde suscepti, Lactis & Mellis concordiam prægustamus: ex eâque die Lacuâro quotidiano per totam hebdomadam abstinemus.*

and was anointed^a with the Bleffed Ointment, [the Chrism,] as heretofore the Sons of *Aaron* had been anointed to the Priesthood.

He was also signed^b or sealed with the Sign of the Crofs on the Forehead [6]. And laftly, Hands were laid upon him with a Bleffing, calling and inviting down the Holy Ghoft^d; and, as the fame Author expreffes it, *he was overshadowed by the Impofition of Hands*^e.

Fifthly, The next Morning, (if not immediately,) on *Easter-day*, they proceeded to the Eucharift^e [7]: and wore their white Garments all the next Week; not allowing themselves the Ufe of Bathing for that time^f [8].

6. [Some Difference of Practice there was here between the Latin and Greek Church. In the Greek the Chrism was given by the Person that officiated, on the Forehead as well as on the other Parts of the Body: [Cyril. Catechef. Myftag. III.] as now their *Priest* Anoints the Baptized, figning them with the Crofs, in the Forehead, and Eyes, and Nostrils, and Ears, and upon the Breast, and on their Hands and Feet; the Practice, as I conceive, of our Church^e. Whereas in the *Latin* Church the *Priest* anointed the other Parts, pouring the Chrism upon the Head: but it was referved to the *Bifhop's* Confirmation, to fign the Forehead with the Chrism at the fame time he laid on his Hands [Innoc. ad Decent.] And this figning they called the Spiritual Seal, [Ambros. de Sacram. Lib. 3. Cap. 2.] the Holy Ghoft being fuppofed to be given by that and the Impofition of Hands. And this Confirmation the *Bifhop*, when prefent at the Baptifm, adminiftered to the Baptized when he had put on the white Garments after his first Anointing. [Ambros. de Myfteriis, Cap. 7.]

7. [Then^g, as now in the Greek Church, even the Infants receiving it.]

8. [When alfo they had more perfectly expounded to them the Nature of thofe Two great Myfteries, the Sacraments of Baptifm and the Eucharift, to which they had been lately admitted: (as we fee in the *Myftagogick Difcourfes* of Cyril of Jerufalem, made for that purpofe.)

§. II. WITH fo many Circumftances was the Initiation into the Church begun, and perfected, in thofe early days of Chriftianity: neither is it to be imagined that all thefe Rituals were the pure Invention of fuch *Simple Plain* Men, as the first Chriftians appear to have been; much lefs can it be thought that they were borrowed by thofe *Pious* Men from the *Heathen Idolatry*. Whence therefore fhould moft of thefe *Circumftantials* be derived, but from the fame

^a Tertull. de Baptifmo, Cap. 7. Exinde egressi de Lavacro perungimur benedictâ Unctione, de pristinâ disciplinâ, quâ ungi oleo de cornu in Sacerdotium solebant. This Unction is expreffed antecedently to the Milk and Honey in the Enumeration the fame Author makes, Lib. 1. adverf. Marcion. Cap. 14. Nec aquam reprobavit creatoris, quâ suos abluuit; nec Oleum, quo suos ungit; nec Mellis & Lactis societatem, quâ suos infantat; nec Panem, quo ipsum Corpus suum repræsentat.

^b Tertull. de Resurr. Carnis, Cap. 8. Scilicet Caro eluitur, ut Anima emaculetur. Caro ungitur, ut Anima consecratur. Caro Signatur, ut & Anima muniatur. Caro manûs impositione adumbratur, ut & Anima Spiritu illuminetur. Caro corpore & sanguine Christi vescitur, ut & Anima de Deo saginetur. And, that this Sign was made on the Forehead, he elfewhere tells in the Comparison he makes, De Præscrip. Hæret. Cap. 40. Mithra signat illic in Frontibus milites suos.

^c When the Priest, in our Office of Baptifm, figning the Child with the Sign of the Crofs on the Forehead, receives it into the Congregation of Chrift's Church: for that Sign might alfo have been made in the Antient Church with Water only; according to that of the 23d Chapter of the 7th Book of the Apostol. Constit. Εἰ δὲ μὴ πὶ ὕδατος ἢ μὴ πὶ μέρον, δεκτὴ ὕδατος.

^d Tertull. de Baptifmo, Cap. 8. Debinc manus imponitur, per Benedictionem advocans & invitans Spiritum Sanctum. — Of the different Opinions of the Latin and Greek Church about this Impofition of Hands, see Bp. Pearson, Lect. in Act. Apost. V. §. 6, 7.

^e Idem, de Resurr. Carnis, ubi suprâ.

^f Idem, de Coronâ, Cap. 3.

^g Baptismus non sine Eucharistiâ Hieron. Dialog. contra Lucifer.

Religion, from which the *Sacrament* itself was taken? And whence else should *They* derive them, who had been originally of that *Religion*, or Well-willers to it, as most of the first Christians were?

This conjectural Conclusion the Account given above of *Jewish Baptism*^a, which we suppose the Reader to remember, will confirm: and, it may be, so far, as to make us willing to suppose that a more exact Correspondence would have appeared, if the Information from the *Jews* had been less defective.

For *First*, That the *Jews* Profelyted *Children* by Baptism, we have there seen: and also, that they required *Sureties* for them; which we shall the less doubt, when we know that they do not Circumcise a Natural *Jew*, without a Godfather and a Godmother^b. The *Pass-over* also was *their* chief Festival; and their Converts, in all probability, capacitated themselves by Baptism, *then* particularly, for its Celebration: neither could the natural *Jews* themselves^c partake of it, if they had any Servant of their House Uncircumcised, and, as I suppose, consequently Unbaptized. These sorts of Men therefore, I presume, were amongst those who *purified themselves before the Feast*, and added to the Solemnity of the Week or Fortnight before^d. And, lastly, though any Three would serve to confer it, yet regularly it was to be done by Commission from the Consistory, and, I presume, by the Appointment of the *Father* or President of it, to whom we suppose the *Bishop* to answer^e.

§. III. *Secondly*, There was likewise a great *Distinction* of *Persons* made by the *Jews*. There was a *Common Gentile*; and there was one who believed the *Unity* of God, and *took upon him* to observe the *Precepts* to be kept by all the Descendants of *Noah*^f, though he did not oblige himself further yet; and this was a Degree of Approach into which he was solemnly admitted, being called a *Profelyte of their Gate*, as one permitted to live amongst them in the Holy Land. Further, there were those who professed their desire *to become Jews*^g: and this Profession, we find, was solemn, and they reputed by it of another Rank; for if they did not proceed to make it good within a Twelvemonth, they were degraded, we are told, and to be esteemed as a mere Heathen. There was too yet, as it should seem, a further Class, of such Stranger Servants, as were *Circumcised* and *Baptized* in the Quality of *Servants*^h, but wanted still a further *Baptism* to compleat them *Jews*: as there were others, who were *Circumcised* and *Baptized* into perfect *Judaism*, but not yet *Sanctified* by a *Sacrifice*ⁱ. The *Profelytes* of the *Jews* were distinguished by

^a Chap. I. §. 2, 3.

^b Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 4.

^c Maimon. de Sacrific. Tract. 1. Cap. 9. §. 9.

^d Part I. Chap. V. §. 3.

^e Chap. III. §. 5.

^f Maimon. Tract. de Regibus, Cap. 8. §. 11.

^g Ibid. §. 10.

^h Idem, Tract. de Prohib. Congressu, Cap. 13. §. 11.

ⁱ Above Chap. I. §. 2.

these Advances: and it is plain that their *Profelyte* of the First kind, the *Profelyte of the Gate*, was of the same Rank with a *Hearer*; and also that he who *undertook to become a Jew* was in the Nature of a Christian *Catechumen*; as he who was in immediate *Preparation to be Circumcised*, or was *Circumcised*, but waiting to be *Baptized*, was in a like Class to that of the *Immediate Candidates* and Probationers for our *Baptism*; and he too, who was actually *Baptized* into *Judaism*, but *not yet Expiated by Sacrifice*, was in the Condition of one *Baptized* a Christian, but yet *Unconfirmed*, and not admitted to full Communion. So were the Steps, made by a *Convert* of the *Jews*, agreeable to those of a *Profelyte* to Christianity. The *Instruction* also, by which he was gradually brought on^a, was much alike to that recommended in the *Apostolical Constitutions*^b, proceeding gently and by easy Ascents. Neither is it to be doubted but that the *Jews* were severe enough in their *Scrutiny* of him, since they were so shy of *Profelytes*^c, and that a solemn *Profession of Repentance* for his former *Heathenism* was required of him.

Now it is probable likewise, that these different Sorts of *Persons* with the *Jews* had their *different Places* and Liberties of Access. For the *Apostolick Constitutions* themselves suppose the Placing of the *Faithful* in the Assembly, according to their Sex and Age, to be after the Pattern of the Temple^d. And as a *Christian Church* has been described to be separated in two Partitions, whereof the *Upper* part [D Fig. 2.] belongs to *Men*, or the Chief of them, and such as peculiarly attend on the Sacred Offices; and the *Lower* part [C] to *Women*, who are disposed of on either side of it, leaving the Middle for a Passage, and to be taken up by Ordinary Men, or such who are not provided to go higher: so we see^e that in the Temple the *Jews* were likewise ordered in two Courts; whereof the *Lower* [C Fig. 1.], called that of the *Women*, had Galleries for them on either hand [cc], and in the Middle those Men stayed, who came only to Worship, and had no Offering to make^f; whereas the further *Court of the Israelites* [D] was the proper Place of those private Persons who brought their Ob-lations, and of those *Stationary Men*, whose Office it was to attend upon the Daily Service.

And as the *Two Courts* of the Temple belonging to the *Israelites, Men and Women*, correspond with the Places of the *Faithful* in our Churches; so will the Stations of the *Aspirers towards Judaism* be found answerable to those of the *Advancers towards Christianity*. The *Second Court*, or rather Alley [B Fig. 1.] next the Court of the *Women*, where those stood who were Circumcised into *Judaism*, but not Baptized, is represented by the *Inner Portico*, or *Narthex* [B Fig. 2.] of an old Christian Church, where the immediate *Candidates* were

a Above Chap. I. §. 2.

b See Note c of §. 1.

c Chap. I. §. 2.

d *Constit. Apostol.* Lib. 2. Cap. 57. Καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ Μακροτέρᾳ ὁ αὐτὸς λόγος καὶ πῶς.

e Chap. IV. §. 3.

f *Lightfoot's Prospect of the Temple*, Chap. 18.

placed,

placed, and to whom all the *Catechumeni* were properly enough added. And so the *First Court*, that of the *Gentiles* [A Fig. 1.] is manifestly parallel with the *Outward Portico* [A Fig. 2.] of the Christian *Hearers*: as the *Space without the Temple*, within *Jerusalem*, [a Fig. 1.] answers to the *Cloistered Area* [a Fig. 2.] before a Church.

This Resemblance the *Four First Partitions of a Church* bear to the *Four First Courts of the Temple*: and the same Correspondence was, I suppose, formerly observable in a *Jewish Synagogue*. For this sort of Edifice is described by *Maimonides*^a, with a *Desk* [S Fig. 3.] in the Middle, from which the Law is read, and Sermons are made; and by which it was of old divided in *Two Parts*. In the *Highest*, at the Upper End looking towards the Holy Land, the *Law* is placed in the Wall^b, in an *Ark* [p Fig. 3.]; and on each side, the *Elders* are seated in a Semicircle, their Faces towards the *Desk* and the People, none else being suffered regularly to sit there^c. And in the *Lower* the People were orderly disposed of, the *Women* being in Galleries on the sides^d. So do these two Divisions of the Synagogue answer to the two Temple-Courts of the *Men* and *Women*: and though they now have no Provision for New-comers, because they expect not *Profelytes*^e; yet it cannot be doubted but that heretofore the *Pious Heathens* had their Places; and those who *desired to be made Jews*, theirs; the *Heathens*, I suppose, in an *Outward Porch* [A Fig. 3.]; and the *designed Converts* in an *Inner* [B Fig. 3.], the Place next within the Door, and beyond which those who come to Pray are now directed to go^f.

§. IV. *Thirdly*, As the *Christian Profelyte*, so the *Jewish*, do doubt, made his first Renunciation in a Congregation; for if he was a Male, he was not to be Circumcised but in the Presence of Ten Persons^g. And, I suppose, as he was not admitted without the Approbation of the Consistory, so not without the Privy of the Synagogue; that any Person might have the opportunity and liberty to object in the case of a new Member, as they had in case of an Officer^h.

When too this *Profelyte* of the *Jews* came to the *Baptistery*, or Place of Water, he had the *Interrogatories* put to him again, as we

^a Tract. de Precibus, Cap. 11. §. 2, 3, 4.

^b This Place in the Wall, and as it were beyond the Floor of the Synagogue, seems to be, at least, as the Gate [p] entering into the Court of the *Priests*, from whence the Law is supposed to be fetched; if it be not as a *Desk* or *Ducan* of that Court, (of which see *Lightf.* Prospect of the Temple, Chap. 33.) by which name, if I mistake not, the *Jews* now call the Space railed in before their *Ark* or *Heikal*.

^c This last Particular is implied by *Maimonides* in the place last cited, and affirmed by *Buxtorf* in his *Synag. Jud.* Cap. 10. (an Author very exact, and so esteemed by the ablest Judges:) however the *Jews* may have given themselves the liberty to vary from it; as they do also in other Dispositions of the Synagogue, which *Maimonides* gives us, and the Author of *Celeph Mishneh* would reconcile.

^d Dr. *Lightfoot*, Harmony of the Gospels, p. 611, makes the *Repository of the Law* to be in the *דבר*, as in the *Sanctum Sanctorum*; and the other part, where the Elders and People sit, to be the *Church*.

^e Cap. I. §. 2.

^f *Maimon.* Tract. de Precibus, Cap. 8. §. 2.

^g *Buxtorf.* Synag. Cap. 4.

^h *Lampadius de Alex. Severo.* Ubi aliquos veluisset vel Rectores Provinciis dare, vel Praepositos facere, vel Procuratores ordinare, Nomina eorum proponebat, hortans populum ut si quis quid haberet criminis, probaret: dicebatque, grave esse, cum id Christiani & Judaei facerent in Praedicandis Sacerdotibus, qui ordinandi essent, non fieri in Provinciarum Rectoribus, quibus & fortunae hominum committerentur & capita.

are told expressly; and upon that was dipped, &c. And here the Parallel is very clear, as we have seen before^a.

Further, I would, with the Reader's leave, offer a guess, that the Renunciation was made too by the *Jew* towards *One Point* of the Compass; and that he after turned to the contrary, and so entered the Water. For, it is certain, when he was once from under the Water, and was become a *Jew*, he had then for ever afterwards a new Point of Direction impressed, and in all his Devotions was to turn his Face towards the Holy Temple^b. Nor is it unlikely therefore that he put himself in that Position, when he entered upon that Sacred Action; and that, taking his leave of the opposite Part of the World, he took care to rise up with that Prospect before him: after the manner of the *Jews* their Predecessors, when they were baptized again in *Jordan*, and passed through it to the Holy Land.

In like manner I am apt to think that the *Profelyted Jew* tasted of *Milk* and *Honey*; both as it was the first Food of a New-born Infant, and the Product of the Land into which he was now naturalized. Neither let it be thought that such Conjectures beg the Question; and that where I should prove a Parallel, I only fancy it. For as soon as we know that this Ceremony, for example, was in use so early in the World, we cannot but observe that it was very proper for the *Jews*, more proper for them, than for *Christians*: and that therefore, in all likelihood, it was rather invented by them, from whom the *Christians* confessedly borrowed many other remarkable *Circumstances* of the same Action, and with whom such Ceremonies as these abounded. And no question, as the *Rabbins* inform us of many a Rite, of which the Old Testament speaks not a tittle, so there were many more, which they have passed by, and left in Oblivion, even in Subjects of which they expressly treat; and much more in this of *Profelytism*, on which the *Talmudical Treatise* is missing, as Mr. *Selden* informs me^c. But of this particular Rite we shall much less wonder, that the Use of it with the *Jews* is forgot; when we consider that, were it not for some few Writers, there would have been no footstep of its Practice left amongst us *Christians*.

§. V. *Fourthly*, I proceed to the Seal of this *Baptismal* Action, its *Confirmation*; and shall again offer to the Reader the Probability of its Correspondence with the *Jewish* Rites on the same Occasion.

It will be easily imagined, that this New *Convert*, who was now become an *Israelite*, and had the Title to all the Honours and Privileges of it, would make haste to be put into possession of the greatest, the Admission into the Holy Temple, and to the Solemn Worship of God: Neither will the Reader think, after so much Ceremony used upon this *Profelyte* before, that this last Act, of introducing him into the House of God, was without its share of Formality.

^a Chap. I. §. 2.

^b *Maimon*. Tract. de Precibus, Cap. 5. §. 3.

^c De Jur. Nat. & Gent. juxta *Hebr.* Lib. 2. Cap. 5. sub finem.

And that there was to be a *Confirmation* of the *Jewish Baptism*, we know already in gross; and also, in particular, that it was performed by a Burnt-Offering, joined most ordinarily with a Peace-Offering, the *Profelyte* sprinkled with the Blood^a: But other *Circumstances* of that Action I do not find; and beg the Reader's leave again to conjecture at them from other similiary Cases.

For, first, a *Profelyte* new baptized, and purged from all his former Sin, and admitted to the Number of *Believers*, but not yet received into their Station in God's House, was very like to a *Leper* recovered from the *Plague* of his *Leprosy*, (which with the *Jews* resembles a Sinful Life,) whose Flesh was as that of a Child; and who, being now purged and washed, and restored thereby to the Society of his *Brethren*, was at the distance of Seven Days to be readmitted into his former Place in the Temple. And that Solemnity was performed in the following manner, as we know both from the Scripture and *Maimonides*^b. The clean *Leper* being again washed in the Court of the *Women*, and come up to the Door of the next Court, the Court of the *Israelites*, offered there a Sin, and a Trespas, and a Burnt-Offering; and was then anointed with the Blood of the Sin-Offering on the tip of his Ear, on the Thumb and great Toe of his right Side. Afterwards, (for this might be done^c many days after the other,) he was anointed with Oil on the same parts out of the *Priest's* hand; and what remained was poured on his *Head*.

And further, the *Purification of a Profelyte*, to come near to God into that Court, was something of the same nature with the *Consecration of a Priest*, which was nothing else but his Purification to come nearer yet, and to pass into another Court: and how that was done, we learn from *Leviticus*^d. There was first a Bullock offered for their Sins, and a Burnt-Offering; and then after, a Peace-Offering, with the Blood of which *Aaron* and his Sons were anointed, in the same parts in which the *Lepers* were. After this, with a Mixture of that Blood and the Holy Ointment, they and their Clothes were sprinkled. And besides, on *Aaron's Head* (if not on his Son's too) the Holy Ointment was poured; and on his *Forehead* (as the *Rabbins*^e tell us) *Moses* the Consecrator made with part of it the *Sign of a Cross*, like a *Greek X*, (they say,) or what we call *St. Andrew's Cross*. For though the *Forehead* be not mentioned in the Text to be so marked, yet it was the place on which the *Plate of Gold* was wore by *Aaron*, that had on it the Inscription of the *Name of God*, graven in it like the Engravings of a Signet^f. There too one of the two *Phylacteries* (or, as the *Jews* stile them, *Praying-Dresses*) are now always placed, hanging down from the top of the *Forehead* between the Eyes, and having on it a *Name of God*^g. And there those

^a Chap. I. §. 2. as afore.

^b Lib. de Sacrif. Tract. 5. Cap. 4.

^c Ibid. Cap. 5. §. 4. Idem. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 7. Cap. 18. §. 8.

^d Lev. 8.

^e *Maimon*. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 2. Cap. 1. §. 9. *Selden*. de Success. in Pontif. Lib. 2. Cap. 9.

^f Exod. 28. 36.

^g *Buxtorf*. Synag. Jud. Cap. 9.

were *marked with a Mark*, (in *Ezekiel*^a;) who were to be spared by the Destroyers: and marked they were, as some of the *Rabbins* understand^b, with the *Hebrew Letter Tau*, which, *St. Jerom* tells us, was like a *Cross* in the old *Samaritan Alphabet*; like to which is the last *Coptick Letter* of the same sound; and as probably the old *Greek T* might be first made, when it came from *Phœnice*, the downright Stroke beginning a little higher above the transverse. Answerable to this Mark of *Ezekiel* is that made, for the same purpose, in the *Revelations*^c, by the *Seal of the Living God upon the Forehead* of the Elect: as there were others who had the *Mark of the Beast* on their Hands, or on their *Foreheads*, (the two places where the two *Phylacteries* of the *Jews* are fastened;) and as it was the Custom of the *Eastern Idolaters* to be marked with the peculiar Mark of their supposed Deity, and particularly on the *Forehead*.

Thus was the *Consecration* of *Aaron* and his Sons performed: and though the succeeding *High-Priests* were for some time Anointed, yet, as the *Rabbins* say, they ceased to be so Inaugurated before the first Captivity. And as for the ordinary Priests that followed, they were never admitted to their Office by a new Unction: but their *Consecration* was, in this, like the *Baptism* of a *Profelyte*, not to be reiterated, and supposed to descend down upon them from their first Progenitors. The *Kings* also of the *Jews*, we are to remember, were anointed with an Ointment, but not of the Holy Composition; and those only, according to their Tradition, who were the First of their Race, or under a questioned Title^d.

Now then, as the *Leper* and *Priest* were *Purified* much after the same Fashion, and as the Case of a *Profelyte* agrees with either of them; so I am willing to suppose, that his *Purification* was performed in a mixed Manner, betwixt those used to the other two.

The Offerings for Sin, used to both of them, a new-born *Profelyte* did not want; and he therefore might be *purified* by *Ointment*, as both of them were, either alone, or mixed with the Blood of the Burnt-Offering; which *Ointment* might neither be simple Oil, nor was it to be of the Holy Sort, but of another kind, as that for Royal Inaugurations was. The Ointment was poured on the *Heads* of the *Leper* and *High-Priest*, and also of their *Kings*: and so, I suppose, it was upon the *Head* of the *Profelyte*, after some parts of him had likewise been anointed with it before. For, as he was clean from the Sinful Leprosy of his former State, so he was now admitted to be one of that Holy Nation, a *Royal Priesthood*, or *Kingdom of Priests*: and therefore, I presume, the Ointment on his Head was accordingly, on his *Forehead*, drawn in some such Figure, as might mark him to be *Holy to God*. And after all, it cannot be doubted but that the *Priest* laid his Hands upon him, and blessed him, that God might lift up the *Light of his Countenance*, and his Holy Spirit might rest upon

^a Ezek. 9. 4.

^c Rev. 7. 2. — 13. 16.

^b Kimchi in locum.

^d Selden, ut pag. super. literâ e.

him. And if this was performed upon a *Profelyte*, probably it was not all to be done by an ordinary *Priest*; but the *Profelytism* was confirmed by the leave and direction of the *Higb-Priest*, or his *Vicegerent*, and the *Blessing* at least received from a superior Hand.

I again confess, that this Rubrick of *Jewish Confirmation* is drawn from Conjecture: but we are sure of our Ground, having their Authority, that there was actually such a *Confirmation* of a *Jewish Profelyte*: and we had Reason, from the Agreement in other parts of this great Ceremony, to presume it here. We know too, that Things and Persons were *Consecrated by Ointment*, as well as by Blood; that the *Ointment* was used alone to the *Priest*, and apart to the *Leper*; and that the *Forehead* was the place with them for a *Mark* of the Name of God, which all the *Faithful* were supposed to wear.

Though therefore we have no express Account left us of this Proceeding, yet we have Reason to surmise it; and not only from the Practice I have given of the *Jews* in similiary Cases, but from frequent Allusions to such Particulars as these, made in the New Testament. And, to mention but one, though I do not at all think, with some, that St. Paul refers to *Christian* Practice, yet I do not know but he may to *Jewish*, and give us the Process of their *Confirmation*, when he says, *Now he who establisbeth [confirmeth] us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us, is God; who hath also Sealed us, and given the Earnest of the Spirit in our Hearts*^a.

§. VI. *Fifthly*, And *Lastly*, What followed after the *Christian Baptism* so *Confirmed* is consonant likewise to *Jewish* Practice. For as the *Christians* new Baptized omitted not to partake of the *Eucharist* the next Morning; so the *Jewish Profelytes* added ordinarily to their Holocaust a *Peace-Offering*^b, on which they also might feast before the Lord: neither can it be doubted but that their *Infants*, if profelyted with them, did partake of the same Sacrifice.

And as to the *White Garments*, and the following *Weekly Solemnities*, though we know not certainly whether they were used by the *Jewish Profelytes*, or no; yet this we know, that they were at other times used by the *Jews*, and on like Occasions. A *Jewish Baptism*, with the subsequent *Confirmation*, was, as we have observed, a kind of *Consecration* of the *Profelyte*: And as to the *Consecrated Priest*, his Habit was *White Linnen*; that he put on at his entrance into his Office, and in that he his said to have appeared, when, upon any Question concerning his Sacerdotal Pedigree, the Sentence was given for him, and he was declared to be of that Order^c. When too the *Priests* received their first Consecration, the Holy Action, we know^d, continued for a *Week*, to exercise and perfect them in their Office; and all that while they were to attend incessantly in the Tabernacle; for

^a 2 Cor. 1. 21, 22.

^b Chap. II. §. 2.

^c Maimon. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 3. Cap. 6. §. 11.

^d Levit. 8. 33.

the anointing Oil of the Lord was upon them^a. And for the last Reason, I suppose, they washed not all that while, no more than the *Stationary Men*, who were not to wash, as we are expressly told^b, in their *Weekly Wait*.

C H A P. VI.

- §. I. *Several Particulars practised in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, by the Primitive Christians, which varied from those of the Paschal Supper.*
- §. II. *These speak Our Lord's Supper to have succeeded the Paschal in its general nature, as a Memorial of Thanks.*
- §. III. *The Description of a Jewish Offering of Praise and Thanks, with the Feasting upon it.*
- §. IV. *The Christian Eucharist answered to it: and in what manner.*
- §. V. *A Tradition of the Jews, That in the Days of the Messiah, only the Eucharistical Sacrifice should remain.*

§. I. **T**HE Sacrament of the *Lord's Supper* has plainly appeared^c to be raised by our Saviour from a *Paschal Supper*; and from that Original it might have been expected, that it should have been afterwards celebrated at *that Time* of the Year only, and in a *Night-meal*, and with *Unleavened Bread*: and if the *First Christians* shall be found to have varied in these Particulars, it may perhaps seem a harder task to reconcile such a different Practice with the Usage of the *Jews*.

Now such a Difference there was in the Practice of the succeeding *Christians*.

In the Scripture itself^d the *Breaking of Bread in the Apostles Fellowship, and with Prayers*, daily repeated, is supposed to be done as an Office of that Sacramental Communion. Neither is it necessary that I should bring any Proofs from the next Age for such a frequent Celebration of it.

And that it was not administered with *Unleavened Bread*, would follow from its continual Administration out of the *Paschal Season*, and through the rest of the Year: But it is besides known, that the *Greek Church* has always used *Leavened Bread* on that Occasion: and the *Latins* too are confessed, by the ingenuous *Jesuite Sirmondus*^e, to have so done in the Beginning; though their Variation since to the contrary Usage has much contributed to the widening of the Schism between those two Churches.

^a Levit. 10. 7.

^b Maimon. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 2. Cap. 6. §. 11.

^c Chap. II.

^d Acts 2. 42.

^e Disquis. de Azym. Opusc. Var. Tom. 3.

dy and Blood of his Son^a: after which, it was distributed by the Deacons to the People, and sent also to the Absent.

§. II. THIS was the *Christian Practice* undoubtedly in the Primitive Church: nor does it want a *Jewish Pattern*.

Our Saviour, as it hath been premised^b, took Occasion, from the *Paschal Memorial* of the Redemption of *Israel* out of their *Ægyptian Slavery*, to Institute a Commemoration of a new and far greater Deliverance of all Mankind from the eternal Bondage of *Satan* and Hell.

And, whereas it has been observed^c that the first *Paschal Lamb* of the *Jews* was a Sacrifice of a mixed extraordinary nature, being in part Propitiatory, in part Federal, and partly Eucharistical: it is likewise manifest, that the *Sacrifice of our Saviour* was also of an eminent extraordinary kind. It was a Sacrifice *for Sin*, taken in the most strict acception, being perfectly Expiatory: It was also *Federal*; for in that Blood the New Testament or Covenant was made; and, in that same respect, it was in some sort an *Offering of Peace*; obtaining not only Pardon, but Favour for Men.

And further, as the succeeding *Paschal Sacrifices*, though Commemorative of the First, yet varied something from it; being chiefly of an Eucharistical nature, and not performed with the same Ceremony; (for neither was the Blood sprinkled upon the Doors of the Offerers, neither was the Lamb eaten with their Staves in their Hand, and in a travelling posture^d;) so it is not to be wondered if the succeeding Commemorations of our *Lord's Sacrifice*, though it was chiefly Expiatory, were *Eucharistical*, and differing also from the Manner in which the First was celebrated by our Lord himself.

Now such a Change in the Nature of the Commemoration, from that of the Original Sacrifice, though not expressed in the Words of the Institution, may yet be the better admitted, if we find Cause to suppose it; because our *Saviour*, instituting the Memorial of the Action, before it was *done* by himself, or so much as *understood* by the *Apostles*, may therefore be presumed, neither to have held his *Supper* exactly and altogether in the same Manner in which that Sacrament was afterwards to be, nor clearly to have expressed its Nature; but to have left the more particular Directions for it, and Explanation of it, to the supervening Instructions of the Holy Spirit.

Though therefore the *Lord's Supper* was erected out of a *Paschal Supper*, yet the *Apostles*, as it has appeared, did not understand it to be confined to that Time of the Year only, or to the Use of Unleavened Bread; neither did they think their Duty discharged by an Annual Celebration of it. And so, in the judgment of their Disciples,

^a This Order of Oblation and Invocation is not only to be seen in the Antient Liturgies, but is plainly expressed by that Antient and Venerable Author *Irenæus*, in the Chapter cited on the other side, Note b.

^b Chap. II. §. 2.

^c Ibid. §. 1.

^d *Maimon. de Sacrif. Pasch. Cap. & Sect. ult.*

the Christians of the next Generation, it is still more manifest, that the one *Supper* succeeded the other, not in its strict, but in its general Nature, and as it was of the Eucharistical kind; a solemn Festival kept in Thanks for a great Deliverance, and for a most beneficial and gracious Covenant: that, as our Deliverance was not Temporary, belonging to the present Age only, and from an Enemy once slain, but was to extend to each Person of all Generations to come, and to be perpetually afforded against our continual Spiritual Enemies; so neither should its Recognition be restrained to one Season, but offered unto our God throughout the whole Year, as the *Sacrifices of Praise and Thanks* were used to be offered by the *Jews* with very frequent and solemn Devotion.

This therefore seems to have been the Construction of the Primitive Christians, That the *Sacrament of our Lord's Body and Blood* answered to the Jewish *Sacrifices of Thanks*: And that this Correspondence may the better appear, we shall do well to recollect a little the Nature and Manner of such Oblations.

§. III. THE Nature of a *Peace-Offering* in general is well known. It was the Oblation of a Sacrifice, some certain parts of which were burnt on the Altar, others belonged to the Priests, and the rest was returned to be eaten by the Offerer. To this Sacrifice a Meat-Offering and Drink-Offering were joined: and by it the Offerer prayed for future Prosperity, or thanked for that he enjoyed^a. In the more solemn Kind of *Peace-Offerings*, that of *Thanks*, the Bread of the Meat-Offering is expressly required and particularized^b; and it consisted half of Unleavened, and half of Leavened Bread; (though Leaven^c was not so grateful to the Altar, as ever to be offered for a Meat-Offering upon it.) The Unleavened half was made into Thirty Cakes, each Ten dressed a several way, and the Leavened half into Ten: The Tenth of all, that is, Four Cakes of the several sorts, together with the Breast and Shoulder and Inwards, were waved by the *Priest* in the Hands of the Offerer before the Lord. Of that Bread so waved some was burnt on the Altar with the Inwards; and the rest, with the Breast and Shoulder, (all which together was called *Muram*, the *Separated or Elevated*^d Portion,) remained to be eat by the *Priest* and his Domesticks, who joined his Thanks to God with the Offerers; while He likewise and his Family and Friends feasted before God on the other Nine parts with the Flesh of the Sacrifice remaining to him; Portions of which he sent too abroad, to his Acquaintance, and to the Poor.

Now, this Bread so offered being very singular for a Sacrifice, by reason part of it was Leavened, was particularly called the *Bread of*

^a *Abarban.* Exordium Comm. in Levit. Edente de *Veil.* p. 330. 332.

^b Lev. 7. 13. *Maimon.* de Cult. Divin. Tract. 5. Cap. 9. §. 17, 18.

^c Lev. 2. 11. *Maimon.* de Cult. Divin. Tract. 4. Cap. 5. §. 1.

^d Idem, Ibid. Tract. 5. Cap. 9. §. 12. *Rab. Salom.* in Exod. 29. 27.

Thanksgiving; and in one Case, recorded in Scripture^b, the *Bread* is supposed by the *Jews* to have stood for the Living Sacrifice, and to have supplied its place. And besides, it is there conceived that *Leavened Bread* alone was used, as being the principal part of the Eucharistical Offering, and fittest to represent the whole.

Now the great *Entertainments*, as was now said, of the *Jews* were made of their *Peace-Offerings*: on those they feasted together with their Friends at home, and of those they made Presents to the Absent. The Invitation the False Woman makes to the Young Man in the *Proverbs*^c is, That she has a *Peace-Offering at home*. And with his Sacrifice *Jethro* entertained *Aaron* and the Elders of *Israel*, who eat *Bread with him before God*^d. And so *Solomon*, at the Dedication of the Temple, feasted the whole People with those many thousands of *Sheep and Oxen* which he offered to the Lord^e.

These Feasts, after the Building of the Temple, were necessarily held at *Jerusalem*, and not elsewhere. But it may be rationally supposed, and I propose it conjecturally, (as I before have offered a like guess concerning the *Passover*^f;) that the *Jews* of remote Dispersions, the Temple standing, (for under its Destruction they are not to rejoice,) did heretofore, upon glad Occasions, though they would not pretend to the Formality of an Eucharistical Supper, yet make some such Festival Entertainments, to which they called their Friends, to rejoice with them before God; giving him Thanks, not only for what they then eat and drank, but mentioning at the same time his other gracious Favours, which had been the Cause of their present Meeting, and which they recognized in proper Benedictions and Hymns over the Bread and Wine. And Bread and Wine I therefore suppose to have been used in this Case, for the expression of their Thanks, not only because we find that the Leavened Eucharistical Bread did in the above-alleged Case stand for the whole Sacrifice, or that some part of the Unleavened *Paschal* Bread does now represent the Flesh of the Lamb, or that in *Jethro's* Sacrificial Feast the eating of Bread is particularly mentioned, or lastly, that Bread and Wine were given in the High-Priest *Melchizedek's* Entertainment of *Abraham*, which in all probability was Eucharistical for his Victory; but because those Creatures of God are still taken by the *Jews*, in all their Repasts, for a special Occasion of his Honour and Worship, as we might have observed before, and shall straight see further.

^a לחם תודה. *Maimon. de Cult. Divino, Tract. 5. Cap. 9. §. 5.*

^b *Nehem. 12. 31.* Then I brought up the Princes of Judah upon the Wall, and appointed Two great [Companies of them that gave] Thanks, [whereof one] went on the right hand upon the Wall, &c. By this Procession the *Jews* suppose the Bounds of the Holy City to have been determined; and that the Bread of Thanksgiving, which was not to be carried out of *Jerusalem*, was therefore carried about now to mark its utmost Limits. And accordingly, by Two great Thanks, as it is in the Text, [שתי תודות גדולות,] they understand Two great Oblations of Bread of Thanks: making the word תודה, which signifies the whole Sacrifice of Thanks, to stand here for the Bread only, and that only the Leavened. So *Rabbi Salom.* on the place: And *Maimon.* in the Book above mentioned, *Tract. 1. Cap. 6. §. 12.*

^c *Prov. 7. 14.*

^d *Rab. Salom. & Aben Ezra, on Exod. 18. 12.*

^e *1 Kings 8. 63.*

^f *Chap. II. §. 1.*

Such Entertainments of which we have been speaking, especially those of *Jerusalem*, were, we doubt not, very solemn, being dedicated to the honour of God: and though the particular Ceremonies are not told us, yet how those Feasts were kept we may well enough conjecture, from the Description we have already^a given of a *Paschal*, compared with this that follows of an *Ordinary Supper*.

At an *Ordinary Meal*, where there are more than three, the *Priest*, or *Rabbin*, or *Chief Person*, takes the *Bread*, half cuts it, and blesses it, *lifting it up* at the Name of God; then eats a piece of it himself, giving likewise to the rest, who eat also. After, he takes the *Cup*, and the rest having their *Cups* likewise, he, elevating the *Wine*, says the *Benediction* over it, and they all drink: And so, when he has said the 23d *Psalms*, they proceed to eat and drink as they please. And when they have done, the principal Person and the others take again their *Cups* in their Hands; and, after he has given Thanks and prayed, they all drink and conclude^b. The *Jews* have too a more solemn Meal, the *Supper of the Sabbath Eve*, but little differing from the other; only here, because they then begin the *Sabbath*; and such Separations of Initiatory Dedications, as well as Conclufional Separations, are made with *Wine*; they therefore invert the Order, and the Master, or *Rabbin* first takes the *Cup*, repeating the first Verses of the second Chapter of *Genesis*, and saying over it a *Benediction* proper for the *Sabbath*, which then begins; and after that, uncovering the *Bread*, (which was covered, as if it had not been there, when the *Cup* was taken first, and which consists of two Loaves,) he blesses it in the ordinary form, &c.^c

Now hence, as we may, by comparing, discover what the additional Ceremonies were in the *Paschal Supper*, above those of any more ordinary Meal; so something between those we may judge to have been used in the other *Peace-Offering* Feasts, and particularly the Eucharistical. As, for instance, we may presume that the *Bread and Wine* of a *Thanksgiving* were taken and elevated by the *Priest*, or *Rabbin*, if present, or by the Master of the Family, with some peculiar *Benediction*; to which might be subjoined a proper Hymn: that when they eat, they both began the Meal with the *Flesh and Bread of the Sacrifice*; or at other times with a piece of the *Bread*, representing the *Sacrifice*; and also ended it: and that then, with some of that *Wine*, they gave Thanks, recontinuing their Eucharistical Hymn, and so concluding^d.

^a Chap. 2. §. 1. as above.

^b Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 12.

^c Ibid. Cap. 15.

^d To what has been here said of the *Bread and Wine*, made use of in these *Eucharistical Entertainments*, I will beg leave to subjoin an Observation or two on the same Subject, communicated to me by Mr. Abendana, a learned Jew.

The *Breaking of Bread* upon Sacrifices appears to have been an antient Rite. For upon these Words, 1 Sam. 9. 13. *He doth bless the Sacrifice*, the *Chaldee Paraphrase* has it, *He doth Break Bread upon the Sacrifice*; the Sacrifice being consecrated by the *Breaking of Bread*: which Office was always performed by the Chief of the House. Compare *Kimchi* with other Commentators on the place.

The *Solemn Drinking of a Cup* was a Ceremony made use of by our People on their Days of *Thanksgiving* for any great Victory, or Deliverance. This *David* mentions in Ps. 116. 12. *I will receive the Cup of Salvation, and call upon the Name of the Lord*. And on this Evening, Four *Cups* were made use of, as our Antient Doctors say, in relation to the Four Expressions that are mentioned Exod. 6. 6. And, as every such Festival of Deliverance was hallowed by the *Drinking of a Cup*, so every such Consecration of it was called *Kiddush Hailom*.

At such Feasts some particular Ceremony they certainly had, and something like this, in all probability, it was. It appears also, by the Divine Worship they pay at their less solemn Repasts, that at these extraordinary ones their *Devotion* to God must have been as great as their Hospitality to Men. And if their common Tables are always esteemed by them as Altars, particularly when after Meals they return Thanks; (for then they remove their Knives from off them on that Consideration^a;) we cannot think but that those Tables then, when they were furnished from the Altar, or imitated one so furnished, were judged more especially to represent it.

§. IV. SUCH were the *Sacrifices and Feasts of Thanksgiving*: and to these I suppose our Saviour had respect in the Institution of his *Feast*, and was so understood by the *Apostles*, and by the *Christians* that immediately succeeded them. That it was so understood, and How, I am now going further to explain.

And first, That *the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper* came into the place of a *Sacrifice of Thanks*; this may seem probable from several Considerations, to be suggested from what has been premised.

For, 1st, The *Name* which the Antients gave this Sacrament seems to speak them of the same Opinion. For they not only speak of it as of a *Sacrifice* and *Oblation*, at large; but call it determinately and expressly the *Eucharist*, that is, the *Thanks* or *Praise-Offering*, as by its proper Name: the *Sacramental Bread and Wine* being as much known by that stile with *Christians*, as the *Bread of the Eucharist* or *Praise* was with the *Jews*^b.

2^{dly}, The *Leavened Bread* they always chose to use, as it evidently declares, that there was no further regard to the *Paschal Sacrifice*, so it seems to import a just Correspondence with those of the *Eucharistical* kind, in which *Leavened Bread* was singularly required.

And, lastly, The *Bread*, which was to represent, and in some manner to become, *the Body* of our Lord, did not unfitly succeed in the place of that *Bread of Thanks*, which had been made use of before to stand for the *Flesh of an Eucharistical Sacrifice*, and to make up the whole, even in *Jerusalem* itself; if it did not sometimes in Places more remote, according to the Conjecture now mentioned.

Now, as this Feast of our Lord was *Eucharistical*, so we suppose it was celebrated in a suitable *Manner*.

The Bread and Wine chiefly designed for the Holy Entertainment, being fitly provided and brought on the Table, some part of the Bread (and so of the Wine) was, I suppose, taken up by the Presi-

^a Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 12.

^b Maimon. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 5. Cap. 9. §. 5. I confess that תודה in this Case, where we translate it a Sacrifice of *Thanksgiving*, is rendred most commonly in the *Greek*, of the *Septuagint* so called, by Αἰναις, and never by Εὐχαριστία. But it is notorious that the Sense is the same. Neither do they always interpret that word by Αἰναις, but on the same subject they once put Χαρμοσύνη, [Levit. 22. 29.] and in another place, which we shall meet with in the next Section, [Jerem. 33. 11.] Δάσος, a Name by which our Christian Sacrament is also known. The truth is, the word Εὐχαριστία is found in the *Septuagint* in no sense: but it is frequent in the *Apostle's* *epistles* and in the *New Testament*; and *Aquila* in his Translation [of Acts 1. 5.] uses it for this very matter.

dent, or Chief of the Company, (were he Apostle, Bishop, or Presbyter,) and blessed in an extraordinary Form, expressing the Reason of the Thanks then offered, together with a Prayer, that the Holy Ghost would sanctify the Offering; (as Gifts brought to the Altar were esteemed to be;) and sanctify it particularly to that Purpose for which it was prepared, that the Bread might effectually represent the Flesh, or Body, for which it stood. This Bread and Wine, so offered and blessed by the officiating President, (as if it had been waved at the Altar,) was the more Holy and Sacramental Part, of which they communicated, as of the Body and Blood of the Lord; while the rest of the Oblation, which was less holy, as being consecrated only by virtue of the other, (like the remaining Nine Parts of the Bread of a *Thanks-Offering*^a;) served, together with other Provisions, for the furnishing of the Supper at which they then fed.

And so, when afterwards the Sacrament and Supper were divided, (about the Time, I presume, when the Legal Sacrifices were going to cease,) the Christian Eucharistical Oblation, as the Primitive Church speaks, began then more distinctly to appear, and was made after Morning-Prayer, just as extraordinary Sacrifices with the *Jews* were offered after the Morning daily Sacrifice. And then, as, under the Law, what of the Eucharistical Sacrifice was offered at the Altar, the *Muram*, belonged to the Priest, so that Part which had been offered by the Christian *Priest*, being more especially Sacred, and his Portion, was eaten in the Morning *Sacramentally* from his Hands; the Congregation being, as it were, his Family; while the other *Residual Part* was kept for the Provision of the *Love-Feast*, to be held in the Evening, its accustomed Time.

Now, as these solemn Suppers, called by the name of *Love* or *Charity*, were in Imitation of those Sacrificial Feasts held by the *Jews*, so were they of a like *Name*. For, if those of the *Jews* were not stiled *Love-Feasts*, as possibly they might be, yet they were plainly *Peace-Feasts*, being made of Peace-Offerings of the most perfect kind, and being Symbols and Pledges of *Peace*, both in Heaven and Earth; the Offerer and his Guests partaking in some degree of the Table of God, and rejoicing together in mutual Good-Will and Amity.

So did the Present partake of both Parts of the Oblation in the Antient Church, agreeably to the Practice of the *Jews*. And when they sent *Portions* to the Absent, they acted likewise according to their Custom. We know that the Lay-*Jews* sent of their Part^b; and I know not whether the *Priests* might not so do of their Share; neither is it much material. For, though the *Christian's* Eucharist was an Imitation of the *Jewish*, yet it was not necessary that it should be bound to the Niceness of all the *Mosaick Rules*.

Though therefore a Sacrifice, by *Moses's* Law, was not to be offered by night, as all Legal Acts were to be done by the *Jews* in the

^a What was to be eaten by the Priests, was not eaten till the Evening. *Leviticus's* Temp. Serv. Cap. 8. §. 3.
^b Nehem. 8. 10.

day; and so the general Practice of *Christians* was to celebrate the Eucharist in it: yet they might think themselves at liberty to solemnize it before day, whensoever any particular Reason should require them so to do; for to their Lord the Day and Night were both alike.

Likewise, though the Eucharistical Bread was no more to be kept till next day, than the Flesh, by the *Jewish* Rituals, as being not to be niggardly saved, but all of it spent that night in a chearful Liberality; and in this it was like their *Manna*: yet the *Christians* might not think it unlawful in some cases to suffer some part of their Eucharist to be left unto another day. For they had already invited all to their Feast who were capable of it; and they had not been sparing in their Distribution, as far as was meet. However, even in this particular, they observed something of the *Levitical* Precept; burning still what should remain at last unspent. And those of *Jerusalem*, if we understand their *Hesychius*^a with some, kept very precisely to the Eucharistical Ordinance, burning all that was left of each Day's Communion: as it is too ordered by our Church to be immediately divided among the Communicants; a Rubrick intended to prevent the *Papal* Superstition, but answerable withal to the Nature of the Sacrament.

Now to all this I have nothing to add, but only to take notice, that the *Mixture of Water* with the Sacramental Wine, of which the Antients speak, was done too after the Manner of the *Jews*; and, in their Opinion, did not make it less proper for a Cup of Thanksgiving. For they likewise do not think^b they celebrate their Paschal Supper duly with *pure Wine*, but mix it with Water, that they may the more freely drink the four Cups, and also for the better Taste, and their greater Pleasure.

§. V. IT sufficiently appears, I presume, that the *Sacrament of the Body and Blood of our Lord* was understood by the antient *Christians* to be in the Nature of an *Eucharistical* (not of a *Propitiatory*) *Sacrifice* with the *Jews*. But further, That this kind of Sacrifice only should remain, when all the rest should cease; this also is consonant to the Tradition of the *Jews*, as *Kimchi* tells us. For, upon this Saying of the Prophet^c, That *there should be heard again in Jerusalem the Voice of Joy, and the Voice of Gladness, the Voice of the Bridegroom, and the Voice of the Bride, the Voice of them that shall say, Praise the Lord of Hosts, for the Lord is good, for his Mercy endureth for ever, [and] of them that shall bring [the Sacrifice of] Praise [or Thanks] into the House of the Lord*: he comments on the last Words in this manner; *The Prophet says not that they shall bring Sin-Offerings, or Trespas-Offerings; because in that day there would be no Wicked nor Sinners among them: for (as he before^d told them) they*

^a Comm. in Levit. 8. 32.

^c Jerem. 33. 11.

^b Maimon. de Solenn. Pasch. Cap. 7. §. 9.

^d Ibid. Chap. 31. 34.

should

should all know the Lord. And so have our Masters of Blessed Memory told us, That in the time to come all Sacrifices should cease, except the Sacrifice of Thanksgiving.

This Saying of the Masters of *Israel* is a great Truth, and better understood by *Christians*, who *know the Lord* and themselves so well, as to know, that the *Sacrifices for Sin* are not ceased by the ceasing of Sin, but superseded by the Sacrifice made for them by their *Lord* and *High-Priest*; and that the *Sacrifice of Thanksgiving*, they are thenceforth to make, is the Commemoration their Lord has instituted, for that their most gracious Redemption. This is the Sacrifice of that *New Covenant* of which the Prophet there speaks, and which the Author of the *Epistle* to the *Hebrews* from him alledges^a. And to this Sacrifice the same Author, I suppose, refers, when he says^b, *We have an Altar, whereof they have no right to eat, who serve the Tabernacle*; for they eat not of the Oblation made for their Sins, as we do of our Blessed Saviour; *by whom* [by whose Body, and in whose Name] *we offer the Sacrifice of Praise* [Thanksgiving] *to God continually, that is, the Fruit* [or Oblation] *of our Lips*, [or which our Lips have Vowed to return, as well as what we do return with our Lips,] *ceasing not to do Good, and to Distribute*, [both out of our Oblations, and the rest of our Substance,] *for with such Sacrifices* [such Offerings of our Praise and Goods in the general, and at the Eucharist in particular] *God is well pleased.*

C H A P. VII.

- §. I. *The Distinction of Clergy and Laity, specified by Tertullian: That of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, by Him, (Irenæus also being his Leader, for the Apostolical Authority of Bishops;)*
- §. II. *And by Ignatius; as the other at least, of the Laity and Clergy, by St. Clemens of Rome.*
- §. III. *The First Distinction derived from the Language of the Old Testament: The Offices of the Second, from those of the Jewish Sanhedrim, and likewise of the Temple; the Upper Parts of our Churches being also supposed to answer the Temple Courts, of the Priests, and the Altar.*

§. I. **W**E come next to the *Officers* of the *Christian Church*, expressed in the Scripture under general Names, and which answered sufficiently to those used by the *Jews*; but whose Signification was not in some Cases so well distinguished, as to make out the Parallel exactly.

^a Hebr. 8. 8.^b Ibid. 13. 10, 11, &c.

Now the Writings of the Primitive Christians speak on these Occasions more expressly, and clear up the Confusion caused by ambiguous Words, determining their Sense by such a Distinction of Offices, as had all along obtained from the Days of the Apostles.

Certain it is, from what we have already seen of *Tertullian*, that in his Time, at the End of the Second Century, the Offices of *Bishop*, and *Presbyter*, and *Deacon*, were the principal Offices of the Church, and notoriously Distinct. *The Power*, says he^a, of *Conferring Baptism the High-Priest hath, who is the Bishop; then the Priests, and Deacons, but not without the Authority of the Bishop, to keep up the Honour of the Church, without which Peace cannot be preserved: otherwise even the Laity have a Power to do it.* Now, whatever becomes of the Controversy of Baptism by *Lay* hands, it is manifest from our Author, that there was a Distinction of the *Laity* and the *Clergy*^b; and, among the *Clergy*, between the *Bishop*, and the *Priests*, and *Deacons*; and that the *Bishop* had a singular *supereminent Authority* over the *Presbyters*, as well as the *Deacons*. And, that he understood this separate Authority to have been derived from the hands of the Apostles, is as plain from his Treatise of *Prescribing against Hereticks*^c. There, to bar some Heresies, which were as old as the Apostles, from pleading that they were taught by the Apostles, he bids them, *Shew the Origin of their Churches, and deduce a Series of their Bishops, with such a continued Succession from the Beginning, as that the First Bishop of them may have some Apostle, or Apostolical Man, who continued in the Communion of the Apostles, to vouch for his Author and Predecessor. For so the Apostolical Churches bring down their Pedegree: as the Church of Smyrna reckons Polycarp, placed there by St. John, and the Church of Rome, Clemens ordained by St. Peter; and as other Churches name those, who were made Bishops by the Apostles, and to whom the Seed of the Apostolical Doctrine was transmitted.*

This is *Tertullian's* Opinion; and, as it appears from his manner of delivering it, was the general acknowledged Opinion of that Time. But on the same Argument *Irenæus* had before said the same thing^d; where he names the Succession of the *Bishops* of *Rome*, down to *E-leutherius* of his own Time, the *Twelfth* from the Apostles; supposing the same Succession of such single Persons in all the Apostolick Churches, and giving it as a *Truth* in matter of *Fact*, on which he might found the *Truth* of the Catholick *Doctrine*, and which the Hereticks themselves could not gainsay. This plain Testimony of so learned and venerable a Person, at no longer a distance from the Apostles, seems unexceptionable: but for the Church of *Smyrna* it is absolutely unquestionable. For there he speaks almost from his own

^a *Tertull. de Baptismo*, Cap. 17. See above Chap. V. §. 1. Note c. p. 230.

^b One Part of the Distinction, the *Laici*, are specified in the place last cited: and the other, the *Clerus*, containing the *Ordines Ecclesiastici*, is as expressly and familiarly mentioned in his Book *de Monogam.* Cap. 12. occurring very often in the compass of a few lines.

^c *De Præscript. Hæret.* Cap. 32.

^d *Iren.* Lib. 3. Cap. 3.

personal Knowledge, having himself been acquainted with *Polycarp*, who was immediately *ordained by the Apostles*. And, as sure as this *Polycarp* was Bishop of *Smyrna*, so plain it is there that *Anicetus* was of *Rome* in his Time: and from their very Conference together, reported by this *Irenæus*, (as we have seen^a;) it also evidently appears, that such Bishops had been always there presiding; of whom, we know, as many are mentioned in that place, on Occasion of the *Paschal* Dispute, as reached up to the very Beginning of the Second Century. Neither need I dissemble, that those *Bishops* are stiled *Presbyters* in the place last mentioned; since they are known to be *Presbyters* of the more eminent Degree, and to be the same single Persons, with the same superior Character, the same Distinction still remaining between them and the inferior *Presbyters*.

§. II. I might well be content with the Evidence *Tertullian* and *Irenæus* give for the Apostolical Distinction between the *Bishop* and the other *Presbyters*; and may therefore presume, that what I have further to say of the same nature from *Ignatius*, will not fail to be credited. For how unreasonable it is to suspect his Writings, for the peculiar Dignity he attributes to Bishops, (and that is the greatest Argument of Suspicion they have,) has already appeared from the little I have produced: as the Reader may find both that, and all the lesser Cavils, at large, and unanswerably refuted by our Bishop *Pearson*^b.

This *Ignatius*, Bishop of *Antioch*, being in his Journey through *Asia* the Less to his Martyrdom at *Rome*, (about the Year 116 at farthest^c;) wrote several Letters to the adjacent Cities, thanking the Churches there for their Christian Courtesy to him, which they had shewed by their Messengers, and expressed by other Tokens of Fraternal Love; and taking, at the same time, Occasion to make them some effectual Return, and confirm them in the Faith and Discipline of Christ. These Letters (as all others, even the *Apostolical*;) would be much better understood by us, if we distinctly knew the particular Circumstances of those Churches; to which, no doubt, he speaks very properly, though we now, out of the same Words, can make but a general, and sometimes a very ordinary Sense. But, however, something of the Circumstances of those Times, and of his Intention in those Letters, appears through them. And as his Design seems to be to fortify them against the Fears of the present Persecution, and to warn them of the dangerous Heresies sprung from *Simon Magus*, and then prevailing; so he manifests a particular Care against Schism, and for the Preserving the Government of the Church. Before this Time, the Divisions of the Church of *Corinth* about their Governors had occasioned a Letter from the Church of *Rome* by *Clemens's*

^a Part I. Chap. I. §. 4.

^b Vindic. Epist. Ignat.

^c Doder. Dissert. I. in Iren. Sect. 17.

Hand: and now in *Asia*, when St. *John* himself, the surviving Apostle, was dead, and the supreme controuling Authority was extinct, it is very likely that the Orders before established were in some danger of being subverted by the Ambition and Unruliness of such, whom the Spirit by St. *Paul* had expressly foretold to *Timothy*, the Bishop of their capital City^a. Now, that such Attempts were then made upon the Authority of Church-Officers, and to the Confusion of their Distinction, may be gathered from this *Ignatius*: as it also appears, from his manner of Expression, that such a Distinction was no novel thing, and of modern erection; nor was it of slight concern.

In this view, (as we may suppose,) he tells the *Ephesians*, That they ought to glorify *Jesus Christ*, who had glorified them; to be of one mind, and to say the same thing; and to be subject to the Bishop and to the Presbytery, that they may be wholly sanctified. You ought, says he, to concur with your Bishop; as you do; for your Presbytery is as consonant to him, as Strings to an Instrument. And let no Man be deceived: he that is not within the Altar, falls short of the Bread of God: and he that does not come to the Assembly, is proud; and it is written, God resisteth the proud^b: Let us not then resist the Bishop, that we may be subject to God. And the more modest [and condescending] your Bishop is, the more he is to be revered: for he is to be looked on as the Lord himself. And, lastly, he speaks of their Concurrence with Christ; that they may obey the Bishop, and the Presbytery, with an undistracted Mind; breaking [that] one Bread, which is the Medicine for Immortality, the Antidote against Death.

This, it seems, was necessary to be said on this Subject to the *Ephesians*, amongst whom, as amongst the other *Asiatick* Churches to whom he writes, the Peace of the Church, which St. *John*'s Presence had hitherto secured, began to be disturbed. Whereas therefore, in his Letter to the *Roman* Church, whose Zeal in this case was so well known, he makes no mention of their Obedience to Spiritual Governours: in all his other Letters to the *Asiatics*, he enlarges much on the same Topick, and was, it seems, obliged to press that Duty even upon the *Smyrneans*, where *Polycarp* himself was Bishop. He does it after this manner: Fly Divisions, as the Beginning [or Cause] of Evils. All of you, follow the Bishop; as Christ Jesus, the Father: and follow the Presbytery, as the Apostles; and reverence the Deacons, as the Commandment [or Mandatories^c] of God. Let no one do any thing appertaining to the Church, without the Bishop. Let that be esteemed a good Eucharist, which is under the Administration of the Bishop, or such as He shall appoint. Where the Bishop appears, there let the People be: as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholick Church. It is not lawful, without the Bishop, neither to Baptize, nor keep the

^a 1 Tim. 4. 1.

^b Jam. 4. 6. St. Peter argues in the same manner, 1 Ep. Chap. 5. 5.

^c Ὁς οὕτως ἐντολὴν — Mandatum, it may be; in the sense of the Civil Law; and the Deacons here to be understood as Mandatories, or Agents: for such they were to the Bishops, (Constit. Apost. Lib. 2. Cap. 28.) and, such Proctors the High-Priest had, whom the Jews call Entellers, or Antalars, from the Greek, as may be seen at large in Selden. de Synedr. Lib. 2. Cap. 10. §. 7.

Love-Feast;

Love-Feast; but what He approves, that is it which is acceptable to God. So to the Philadelphians, after Exhortation to Unity under the Bishop, he adds: Take care therefore to use one Eucharist. For there is one Flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, one Cup wherein his Blood is united, one Altar: as there is one Bishop, with the Presbytery, and my Fellow Servants the Deacons. As also in that to the Magnesians he directs: Endeavour to do all things in the Unanimity of God; the Bishop Presiding in the place of God, and the Presbyters in the place of the Consistory [Synedrium] of the Apostles, and the Deacons being intrusted with the Ministry of Jesus Christ. And, speaking of Deacons to the Trallians, he says expressly, They are not Ministers of Meats and Drinks, but Servants of the Church of God.

I know well that these now Unusual Expressions, and High Comparisons have been construed into a Prejudice against the Authority of these Letters. But it is not reasonable to judge either Antient Practice, or Phrase, by the Modern: for possibly those Primitive Christians would be at as great a loss to understand some later Divinity. The Passage, that may appear the most strange, is that to the *Smyrneans*: *Follow your Bishop, as Christ Jesus [followed] the Father.* But we are to remember that the Hereticks, whom he warns them to avoid, were those who denied the *Reality of our Saviour's Flesh*, saying, that He *Suffered*, and *Rose* again in *Appearance* only; themselves also dispensing with the *Reality of their Duty*, as he tells them, and being *Christians only in Appearance, high-minded and puffed up.* These he commands them to avoid: and, for the same intent, he cautions them to *shun Divisions* among themselves, as *the Beginning* of those and most other *Evils*; and *to follow the Bishop* (*Polycarp*, a Faithful Servant of Christ, approved and intrusted with the Charge of them by the Blessed *St. John*); adding, *as Christ Jesus, the Father*; a Comparison, that no more equals the *Bishop* to the *Father*, than it does the other *Christians* of that Church, to *Jesus Christ*. It imported only, that they should not be high-minded and conceited, but should be subject to their Bishop; for *Christ* also himself was in *reality* found in *the form of a Servant*, and *obedient unto the Father, even unto the Death of the Cross*: and that they should receive the Commandments from *Polycarp*, and act as they saw him to act; for (as *St. John*, lately departed from them, had informed them) *Christ* also did or spoke^a nothing from himself, and he both taught and kept the Commandments of the Father^b. This seems to be the occasional Analogy of that Expression. And as for the others, that the Bishop *presides in the place of God*, or *is to be looked on as our Lord*; these speak him only as a Substitute and lower Representative of God and Christ, invested with some degree of Authority from them; as when *St. Paul* commands *Christian Servants* to *obey* even *Heathen Masters*, as *Christ*: neither were the *Presbyters* to be followed, *as the Apostles*, for the Pa-

^a Joh. 8. 28. 12. 49.^b Chap. 15. 10.^c Eph. 6. 5.

rity they held, but for the Similitude they bore, being Assistants to the Bishop, as the Apostles were to our Saviour. For so was *Moses* heretofore put in the place of God^a: and, as in *Ignatius*, the *Prefbyters* are said to *preside in the place of the Consistory, or Sanbedrim of the Apostles*; so the *Apostles* themselves may be supposed to succeed in the place of the *Twelve Princes*, the Chief Assistants to *Moses*. Neither has this Language of *Ignatius* to Christians any other meaning, than it might have had, if a *Jew* should have admonished his Brethren *Jews* to have obeyed their *Nasi*, or *Patriarch*, as God; (for so they were to have obeyed *Moses* their first *Nasi*;) and his *Assessors*, as they would have done the *Assessors of Moses*, (for to those in some manner they succeeded.)

Thus *Ignatius* concerning Church Officers. And to go higher yet, up into the First Age; (for then *St. Clemens of Rome* undoubtedly wrote his Epistle, if not before the Destruction of the Temple^b;) there, if we have not an Authority for the Distinction of them by proper Names one from another; yet we have a certain Instance of the Use of the word *Lay* before-mentioned, whereby they were discriminated from the rest of the Congregation. The place, whether speaking of the *Jewish*, or of the *Christian Church*, (and of the *Christian* in all likelihood it does,) runs thus^c: *To the High-Priest proper Offices are given; and to the Priests a proper Place is appointed; and on the Levites proper Ministries are incumbent: The Layman is bound to Lay Duty. Let every one of you, Brethren, in his own Station, give Thanks [or celebrate the Eucharist] to God, having a good Conscience, and not transgressing the Rule of his own Office, [as he ought to do] in Holy Decency.*

§. III. THIS was the certain Distinction, in the Antient Church, betwixt the *Laity* and the *Clergy*; and, among the *Clergy*, betwixt the *Bishops*, *Priests*, and *Deacons*: And that it was derived from the Language and Polity of the *Jews*, we may have already discerned in part from the Account above given^d.

As to the Denomination of *Laity*, as distinct from the Tribe of *Levi*; it must be directly understood to have been in Use with the *Jews*, by those who will understand the passage from *St. Clemens* last cited, concerning the *Jewish Priesthood*. And those too, who will have it taken of the *Christian Priesthood*, must conclude, from the ordinary and current Manner of using this Phrase in the Beginning of Christianity, that it had been received before, and was as well known, as that of *Priest* and *Levite*.

^a Exod. 7. 1.

^b According to Mr. Dodwell, Dissert. II. Cap. 6. §. 24. inter Oper. Posthum. Viri Cl. *Johan. Pearsonii*, Episcopi *Cestriensis*.

^c *Clem. Rom. Epist. ad Cor.* §. 40, 41. Τῷ γὰρ Ἀρχιερεὶ ἰδίαν λειτουργίαν διδόμεναι εἰπὶ καὶ τοῖς ἱεροῦσι ἰδίᾳ ὁ τόπος καθέστηκεν καὶ Λαϊταίς ἰδίαν Διакониάν ὑπακύνται· Ὁ Λαϊκὸς ἄνθρωπος τοῖς Λαϊκοῖς καθέστηκεν δίδεται. Ἐκτός ὧν, ἀδελφοί, ἐν τῷ ἰδίᾳ πνεύματι Εὐχαριστοῦμεν τῷ Θεῷ, ἐν ᾧ καὶ συνειδήσεσιν ὑπάγετε, μὴ περινοσήναι τὰς λειτουργίας ἡμῶν, ἐν σιωπῇ.

^d Chap. III.

But

But besides, the Ground also of this Appellation is from the Old Testament. For there, as the Nation of the *Israelites* is contradistinguished to other Nations, and is separated for the Peculiar Propriety^a and *Inheritance*^b of God; (the signification of the *Greek* word *Clerus*;) and they might all therefore have been properly stiled the *Clergy* of God, in respect of other *People*; (the meaning of the word *Lay*;) for in that regard they all are called *Priests*^c: So, in this Holy Nation, one Tribe of it was more particularly *Chosen*, and Holy and Separated from the rest; (God not only claiming them to be *his Own* yet more Peculiarly, and in the place of the *First Born*^d, but declaring *Himself* also to be their Peculiar and *Inheritance*^e;) and might well therefore have been appropriately stiled the *Clergy*, even in respect of the rest of the *Holy People*, who were then, for distinction, to be called the *People*. Neither was this Term, the *People*, at all dishonourable to the other Tribes; for it appears, by the Phrase of St. *Luke*^f, to have been the Name whereby they chose to distinguish themselves from the *Gentiles*, [or *Nations*]: and the disparaging Acception which the *Pharisaical Rabbins* give it, when they oppose it to the *Disciples of the Learned*, and make it to signify the *Illiterate* and *Rude*, seems to be raised by them for their own Honour, since they have come into the room of the *Priests*, and usurped their Privilege^g.

Next I am come to compare the several *Officers* of the *Christian Church*, so distinguished as above, with the several *Officers* of the *Jewish*. But in this, as for the Synagogue-Discipline and Worship of the *Jews*, I am prevented by what has been said before: and the Parallel must have manifestly appeared between the *Bishop*, *Priest*, and *Deacon*; and the *Chief* of the *Sanhedrim* or *Synagogue*, the *Elders*, and their *Ministerial Officers*.

For as every *City* had its *Consistory* in that manner Officered, with the *Jews*, so had it with the *Christians*; though with no Subordination to any other higher Court, as at *Jerusalem*; in as much as that Local Dependence was now abolished.

The *Chief* of the *Consistory*, with the *Jews*, was either the *Prince*; or his *Deputy*, the *Father* of the Assembly. Now the Title of *Prince* was, I suppose, in the *Christian Church*, every where appropriated to *Christ*: and the *Bishop* was as the *Father*, in whom the Principal Directive Power was lodged. The other *Elders* were his Councillors and Assistants in the Governing and Teaching of the Assembly; and the *Deacons* had the Management of Affairs, Execution of Orders, and Distribution of Alms, belonging to their Part; as is notoriously known.

Thus was a *Christian Church* governed conformably to the *Synagogue*, as a *Society*; it was likewise, as a *Congregation*. The *Instruc-*

a Exod. 19. 5. Deut. 14. 2.

b Deut. 4. 20.

c Exod. 19. 6.

d Numb. 3. 45.

e Ibid. 18. 20.

f Acts 26. 17, 23.

g See Chap. III. §. 4.

tion and Exhortation belonged to the *Bishop*; or else, by his leave, to the *Presbyters*: or it was performed by such other proper Person, as the *Bishop* should appoint. Likewise *Prayers* were said either by the *Bishop*, or *Presbyters*; or else by the *Deacons*. For these last, answering the *Jewish Chazans*, directed the People in their Devotions; either repeating the *Prayers* before them, or calling upon them to hearken to those repeated by others: and also either Read the Holy Scriptures, or assisted those who were to Read them.

Neither do the *Elders* of a *Christian* and a *Jewish* Church agree only so far, but farther yet. For as the *Jewish Elders*, since the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, have thought fit to assume to themselves much of the *Sacerdotal* Honour and Privilege: so have the *Christian* succeeded into the like Dignity, nay, are called by the same Name; as we have seen in *Tertullian's* Expression^a, *The High-Priest, who is the Bishop*; and as he phrases it, discoursing about those Hereticks, who, making little distinction between the People and the Church Officers, committed *Sacerdotal* Offices to the *Laity*^b; and as we may in general have collected, even from the discreitive Appellatives themselves of *Laity* and *Clergy*.

But the *Elders* of the *Christian* Church derive not those their Stile and Privileges from the Calamities of *Jerusalem*, and the Usurpation of the *Rabbins*: nor are they esteemed *Priests* in virtue of their *Presbytery*; though the *English* word *Priest* happens to come, by the *French Prestre*, from the *Latin Presbyter*. On the contrary, by Original Appointment, a *Christian Priest* corresponds as directly to a *Priest* of the *Jews*, as a *Presbyter* does to their *Elder*: or rather, to speak more generally, the *Bishops, Priests, and Deacons* of the *Gospel* answer not more to the *Officers* of the *Sanhedrim*, or *Synagogue*, than they do to those of the *Temple*, to the *High-Priest*, or (as we conceive) his *Great Vicar*, to the *Priests*, and to the *Levites*.

For this is not only intimated by the *Sacerdotal* Titles the Governours of the Church immemorially had, as we learned from *Tertullian*; but plainly declared by their Office, and all along allowed and owned by more Antient Authors: they having, as hath appeared, an *Eucharistical Sacrifice* still remaining to be celebrated by them; a *Pure Offering* to be offered in every Place; and every where *Holy Tables*, or *Altars* erected for that Service. And this is what *St. Jerom* has said, much to our Purpose, in that Letter of his, which has been often miscited to the Prejudice of *Episcopacy*^c. And, says he, *that we may understand the Apostolical Traditions to be derived from the Old Testament; we are to know, what Aaron and his Sons, and the Levites were in the Temple, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons are to challenge to themselves in the Church.*

^a See Chap. V. §. 1. Note c. p. 230.

^b *Tertull. de Præscript. Hæret. Cap. 41. — Hodie Presbyter, qui cras Laicus: nam & Laicis munera Sacerdotalia injungunt.*

^c *Ad Evagrium.*

This Remembrance of St. *Jerom* was, we see, well founded: and is, if I mistake not, attested by the Structure of an Antient *Christian Church*, such of which we have been speaking before^a. For, whereas the *First Four Partitions* of it, wherein the *Laity* were disposed, have been seen to answer to the *Four First Courts* of the *Temple*, beyond which none but those of the *Tribe of Levi* ordinarily could go; there yet remain *Two other Partitions*, the Places heretofore of our *Clergy*, to answer to the *Two remaining Courts*, of the *Priests*, and of the *Altar*.

For so that Part [E Fig. 2.] of a *Christian Church*, which is next beyond the Upper Place of the *Faithful* (now called the *Choir*) [D], and reaches to the Rails of the *Altar-space*, stiled by the *Western Church Presbyterium*, and by the *Greek, Solea*^b, where the *Readers* are said to have had a Place^c, corresponds aptly enough with the *Court* of the *Temple*, where the *Priests* stood, who were not actually on Duty, and where the [Ducans] Desks of the *Singers* were likewise placed^d.

And then the Higher space [F Fig. 2.] enclosed with Rails or Lattice, where the *Lord's Table*, or *Christian Altar* [G] stands, apparently agrees to the *Court of the Altar* in the *Temple* [F Fig. 1.], which was fenced in like manner. And possibly the *raised Seat* [T] behind the *Altar*, (as the *Archiepiscopal Chair* at *Canterbury* now is,) where the *Bishop* sat, with the *Chief* of the *Clergy* on either Side, answers not only to the *Seats of the Elders* in a *Synagogue*^e, but to the *Place* where the *High-Priest* stood, compassed with his *Brethren* round about, as a young *Cedar* in *Libanus* by the *Palm Trees*^f, either at the *Altar* itself [G Fig. 1.], or in the *Porch* [H], which was as high, and from whence, after the *Burning* of the *Incense*, the *Blessing* was pronounced^g.

And this, concerning the Agreement of the Upper Part of a *Church* with the Upper Courts of the *Temple*, I have added on this Argument; not so much to confirm the *Sacerdotal Title* of *Christian Priests*, (for that seems to be otherwise sufficiently secured,) as to complete the Parallel, already begun in the *Fifth Chapter*, and by which a new Account is offered of the Modelling of these *Christian Edifices*.

I know, *Architects* derive the Design of our Churches from the *Fabricks* of the *Heathen Basilicæ*, or *Publick Halls*^h: the Upper End

^a Chap. V. §. 1, 3.

^b The *Σολία*, or *Σολία*, &c. was the Place where the Communion was distributed to the *Laity*; and, from the *Lord's Body* being there on that Occasion, *Goar* would have it called *Solium*; as others, from the *Seat* of the *Emperour*: but *Du Fresno* seems to have given a more probable Original of the word, *Constant. Christ. Lib. 3. Cap. 73. Solea*, says he, à *Solo*, pavimento editiori: quippe apud *Italos* quicquid supra pavementum tantisper eminet, *Soglia* dicitur, ut apud *Francos*, *Seuil*. But *Solea* itself, in *Latin*, may possibly answer the Signification; and that Place, which is a little higher than the *Choir*, may be reputed the *Basis* of the *Bema*, its *Solea* or *Crepidæ*; as *Kennis* is expounded by *Υψηλότης*; and *Solea*, in *Festus*, by *Materia roborea, supra quam paries cratilius extruitur*: not to mention, that this Place might be called *Solea*; as that in the *Amphitheatres*, next the *Arena*, was called *Podium*.

^c This *Solea* is said by *Simeon Thessalon.* to be called *Βῆμα Αναγνώσεων*, *Goar*, *Euchol. pag. 18.*

^d *Lightf. Prosp. of the Temple, Chap. 33.*

^e Chap. V. §. 3.

^f *Ecclus. 50. 12.*

^g *Lightf. Prosp. of the Temp. Chap. 36. Maimon. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 6. Cap. 6. §. 4.*

^h *Pallad. Lib. 4. Cap. 5. Lib. 3. Cap. 19.*

of which was raised, and had a *Semicircle*, in which Governours and Judges sat for Audience, having before them a *Table*, as we may presume, and a Space separated and *Railed* in; and beyond that, without the *Bar*, a Place something lower, where those stood who attended the Court: the remaining and lowest part of the Hall being open to All; as there was commonly before it, a *Portico*, and a *Piazza*. Such Rooms, as these, Private Men also built in Great Houses; and, being *Christians*, might lend to the Use of *Christian Assemblies*: whence (as they say) it afterwards came, that *Churches* were built in the same Fashion, retaining also the Name [*Basilicae*.] Now, that those Halls might have sometimes, and somewhere served to that Use, and were very convenient for it, may be granted: but, as one cannot think that the Form of such a Hall gave Occasion to the several Ranks and Offices of Christians, so neither to the Building which was to be suited to them. I should rather suppose, that the Congruity of those two Sorts of Edifices was accidental, and that the Name came from the Similitude^a.

There are indeed others, who take the Modules of our *Churches* from the *Jews*; but either from their *Synagogues*; or from the *Temple-House*, consisting of the [H Fig. 1.] *Porch*, the *Holy* [I], and the *Holy of Holies* [K]. Whereas the *Synagogue* goes but half way, and neither now has, nor ever pretended to, an *Altar*: and the *Altar of Incense*, and *Table of Shewbread*, which were in the *House*, were, we know, in the Outer Part, and not in the Inmost, the *Holy of Holies*.

It appears therefore, that the *Temple*, as it consisted of its several *Courts*, was rather the Pattern which the *Christians* followed for the Place of their Worship. For as for the *House*; as it might before have been an Imitation of the *Heavens*, the *Holy of Holies*, representing the *Third Heaven*: so now it might be supposed to be no longer on Earth, but changed into that *not made with Hands*, into which the *High-Priest* was now entered with his own Blood, as the Author to the *Hebrews* observes^b; we all, in the mean time, waiting without, in expectation of his Return; and, until that his Coming again, by his particular Command, continuing to celebrate the Joyful Memorial of that *Sacrifice*, with which he *appears now in the Presence of God for us*.

^a The word *Bēma*, *Tribunal*, by which the Altar-space is called; and the *Cancelli*, and *Vails* or Curtains, by which it was separated from the rest of the Church; and also the *Candles*, and *Book* upon the Table; may indeed concur, to strengthen the Opinion I have opposed. But it may be considered, that *Bēma* itself, in that sense, may well come from the Hebrew בֵּמָה; and that therefore the *Jews* may be supposed to have used their בֵּמָה more willingly, and that the *Christians* took it from them. And so we know that, though the *Cancelli* and *Vails* were used to enclose the Apartment of Secular Governours; yet *Vails* were used in the House of God, and that these *Cancelli* divided the Court of the Altar from that of the Priests. And, lastly, whereas it is true, that the Furniture of the Table of the *Præfetti Prætorio* was a *Book* of his Office, standing up between *Candles* on each side; (as it is designed in the *Notitia Imper.* of *Panciroli*;) it is also to be observed, that this Civil State was derived from Sacred Eastern Usage; that *Candles* were burnt before God in one part of the House, and the *Law* lodged in the other: and accordingly, in the *Jewish Synagogues* their Repository of the *Law* has those *Candles* before it; and when the *Law* is brought out to be read, it is placed on a Table, that has a Cloth over it (*Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 14.*) and that therefore our Christian Altar, instead of Fire, which it needed not, might have those Lights continually burning; and might withall be the Sacred Table, on which the Word of God should be placed, that *Lamp unto our Feet, and Light unto our Paths*.

^b Hebr. 9. 11, 12, 24

But,

But, (to return to my Argument,) whatever may become of the Conjecture concerning the *Figure* of our *Churches*, this is certain, by the exprefs Declaration of the Scripture^a, that our Saviour Christ is the *High-Priest* of our Profession: and, in the Opinion of the Primitive Church, all the feveral *Bifhops* feem to have been as fo many *Sagans*, or Vicars of that High-Priest, officiating at the feveral Altars with equal, and among themfelves independent Authority^b. Under His Direction, the *Presbyters* are as *Priefts*, affifting that their *Vice High-Priest* in their feveral Stations: and the *Deacons*, as *Levites*, attend and adminifter unto them.

So are our *Bifhops* Representatives of our *Saviour*, either as he is our *Prince*, or our *Priest*; his Deputies both in the *Synagogue*, and in the *Temple*. And thus, as the *Fathers* of the *Confiftories* with the *Jews*, the *Presidents* under the *Princes*, might have been properly enough ftiled by the Title fignifying a *Bifhop*, or Superintendent: fo we actually know that the *Vice High-Priest*, whom now the *Jews* call *Sagan*, was heretofore in the Old Testament expreffed by that very Name^c.

C H A P. VIII.

§. I. *The Sentence and Effects of Excommunication with Chriftians, as with Jews: and the Relaxation of it alike.*

§. II. *Their Agreement in the Estimate of the Guilt of Sins, and the Appointments of Penance.*

§. I. **E**XCOMMUNICATION, as we have feen^d, was with the *Jews* a Punifhment with which their *Presbyterial* Authority was armed; and which befides, if it was not alfo Decreed, was certainly Executed, by the *Sacerdotal*: and that Sentence, we muft think, was then moft valid and moft effectual, when it was paffed by both thofe Powers. Such an *Excommunication* we have feen too Directed in the *New Testament*, and Executed, and afterwards Released. And the fame Jurifdiction, how it continued to be Exercifed in the Church, we are now to confider.

This Difcipline then is well known to have been Executed, in the Primitive Church, by the *Bifhops* and *Priefts*, with great Severity; and to have been much dreaded by the Guilty. And the Account of it we may take from *Tertullian*, as he describes it in his *Apology*^e.

^a See Repart. II. Chap. II. §. 2.

^b The excellently learned Mr. *Dodwell* (in his Book of *One Prieftbood, and One Altar*) differs not from what is here faid. He puts indeed our *Bifhops* in the place of the *Jewifh High-Priefts* (Chap. 9.) but then he fuppofes thofe *High-Priefts* to have been the Representatives of the *Λόγος*, the *High-High Priest* (Chap. 8.) As therefore *Bifhops* now are the Subftitutes of our Lord, fo they answer the old High-Priefts, and are, in fome fenfe, High-Priefts themfelves: but as He has alfo been pleafed openly to Own, and to Execute that Office; fo They are thenceforth, in propriety of Speech, to forbear that Title, and to own themfelves for his Vicegerents and *Sagans*.

^c See Chap. III. §. 3.

^d Chap. IV.

^e Chap. 39.

Being to justify the Christian Assemblies from the Imputation (put upon them by the Imperial Officers) and common Opinion of their being unlawful Associations, and dangerous Conventicles, he says: *We are indeed a Corporation, embodied by our Agreement in the same Religion, and Obedience to the same Discipline; and are confederate by the same Hope. We Meet together, but it is before God. Him we surround with our Prayers, and as it were with our Numbers Force; but this is such a Violence, as is acceptable unto him. And then our Prayers are for our Emperours, for their Officers, and such as are put in Authority. We Meet, but it is to refresh our Memory by Reading the Word of God. — There too^a is the Place for Exhortation, and for Reproof; and there our Manners are Inspected and Censured, as it were by God himself. For Causes are there Judged with great Deliberation, as it is fit to be done by those, who know that they Judge in the Presence and Sight of God: and if any one shall be found so Criminal, as to be Excluded from the Communion of our Prayers and Assemblies, and from the rest of our Holy Commerce; this Judgment, so passed upon him, is taken for the highest Presumption, that can be, of a like Judgment to come. Elders [or Governours] the best approved Preside over us; such as have purchased the Honour, not by Money, but by their Deserts: for nothing belonging to God is to be bought with Money.*

By those who *Preside over us*, we are chiefly to understand the *Bishop*, and then the *Presbyters*, who are said above^b in the Language of *Ignatius* (to the *Magnesians*) to *Preside* also. And likewise it appears manifestly, that the *Authority*, by which they act, is not looked on as founded upon any *Voluntary Agreement* of the Fraternity, but upon the *Law of God*. Neither is it necessary that I should trouble the Reader with any further Proof from the Antients, either for the Immemorial Practice of *Excommunication*, or for the Constant Presumption of its Authority from God.

Now a Person so Ejected out of the Church was either cast off Finally, without any Hopes of Return; or he was in a Possibility of it: and of these some were not to be Readmitted until they were in evident danger of Death, and after the Penance of their whole Lives; while others might have the favour of an earlier Reconciliation, who upon their earnest Intercession were Restored, after some Time of Penitence imposed, and commonly by Degrees. And for those Degrees, I need not use any other Authority, than that we have already produced from the Synod of *Ancyra*^c. For thence we have perceived, that the Readmission into the Church was usually performed by the same Steps, by which the first Admission was made: and that one Ejected out of the Church was first kept at the Distance of a Hea-

^a *Ibidem etiam exhortationes, castigationes, & censura Divina. Nam & judicatur magno cum pondere, ut apud certos de Dei conspectu; summumque futuri judicii præjudicium est, si quis ita deliquerit, ut à communicatione orationis, & conventus, & omnis sancti commercii relegatur. Præsident probati quique seniores, honorem istum non pretio, sed testimonio adepti; neque enim pretio ulla res Dei constat.*

^b Chap. VII. §. 2.

^c Part I. Chap. VI. §. 2.

then;

then; then admitted to be as an Auditor; afterwards, as a *Catechumen*, or a nearer Candidate of Christianity; next, as one Baptized, and who was allowed to pray with them, but had not yet received the other Sacrament; until, at last, he was restored into Full and Entire Communion.

And, agreeably to this, we have already seen, that *Excommunication* with the *Jews* was Lighter, or Heavier, and differently Aggravated, as the Cause deserved^a. It has likewise appeared probable, that the several *Excommunicates* may have lain under several Prohibitions, as to their Approach in the Synagogues or Temple^b. And, since it has been shown that the *Jewish* Profelytes entered into their Religion by the same Degrees, by which the *Christians* did^c; we cannot doubt but those of them, who had been solemnly Excluded the Temple, ordinarily Reentered it after the same manner, advancing successively thorough the several Courts, (as those did who had been under corporal Pollution,) according to the measure of their supposed Purification.

We have yet spoken only of the *Spiritual* Effect of *Excommunication*; and *Tertullian* mentions the Exclusion from all *Sacred Commerce* only; and this, no doubt, is the proper Jurisdiction of that *Presbyterial* Authority, which pretends not to govern the Commerce or Negotiations of this World. But there can be no question but that the Faithful always avoided any great Familiarity, or intimate Conversation with the *Excommunicates*; other than to Reform and Reconvert them. And this the Scripture itself seems to direct^d: and necessary it was, to the Humiliation and Mortification of the Criminal, and for the Danger of others being corrupted by him: though the other common Intercourse, the Christians were to have with their Neighbours of all sorts, was to be regulated by the Policy of that Temporal Government, to which they belonged. But, when the *Government* became *Christian*, as it thought fit to enlarge the proper *Presbyterial* Power with some new Jurisdiction, in things confining upon that Office; as in *Causes Testamentary* and *Matrimonial*: so it backed their *Excommunication* with civil Restraints and Penalties. And thence those, who were under the *Greater Excommunication*, have been forbid all common Conversation, rendered incapable of several Legal Benefits, and sometimes Imprisoned, or otherwise punished in Body or Estate: in all which Proceedings, the Pattern of the *Jews*, as is evident, has been much followed; as it seems to be, in the *Three Admonitions* before the Sentence, the Consideration of the *Contempt of the Court* on which it is founded, the Pronouncing it by *Bell and Candle*, and Executing it even upon the *Dead*^e.

§. II. AND thus much may suffice, at present, for the Correspondence of the *Sentence* and *Effect* of *Excommunication*, with the *Jews*,

a Chap. IV. §. 1.
d 1 Cor. 5. 11.

b Ibid. §. 3.
e See Chap. IV. §. 1.

c Chap. V.

and with the *Christians*; but they also agree further, about the *Crimes* that are to be the *Cause* of it, and about the *Means* of its *Absolution*.

The most *grievous Crimes*, in the Judgment of the Antient Church, were *Idolatry*, *Adultery*, and *Murder*; as *Morinus* has demonstrated^a. And that they are so estimated by the *Jews*, he has also sufficiently proved^b.

And concerning Repentance, and Expiation, or Abolition of Sins; this is the Doctrine of the *Rabbins*, according to *Maimonides*. The *Guilt of the Transgression of an Affirmative Precept*, or of a *Sin of Omission*, if it does not deserve Excommunication by their Law, (for Death it never does,) is Expiated by Repentance alone. The *Guilt of the Transgression of a Negative Precept*, or of a *Sin of Commission*, if it deserves neither Death nor Excommunication, is suspended by Repentance at present, and Expiated by the Day of Propitiation. And the *Guilt of a Sin of Commission*, to which Death or Excommunication is due, is suspended by Repentance, and by the Day of Expiation; and not Expiated, but by Afflictions. But the *Guilt of the Profanation of the Name of God* is suspended by Repentance, the Day of Expiation, and Afflictions; and Expiated only by Death^c. Now Repentance is described to consist of these Acts: (1.) Forsaking the Sin in Deed and in Thought, and Resolving within ourselves never again to commit it: (2.) Grieving for it: (3.) Vowing to God against it: and (4thly) The Profession of all this with our Mouths^d; with Confession, of Sins against Men, before Men, Satisfaction being made also^e; and of Sins done in private against God, before God alone^f. And therefore, as he adds^g, a Penitent is to cry day and night before God; to strive with him by Tears and Supplications; to Give Alms; to Avoid the Occasions or Opportunities of Sin; to Change his Name, and his whole Course of Life, and to go into Voluntary Banishment. And further he tells us^h, that all Times are fit for Repentance, and Crying to God; but the most proper and acceptable Season, is the Propitiation-Day, with the Nine days before it.

This we have in general out of *Maimonides*. In the *Penitential Ex-scripts*, at the End of *Morinus de Pœnitentiâ*ⁱ, there are further Directions for particular Cases; and some Things thence it may be for our Use to observe.

A *Murderer* is to go into Banishment, or on Pilgrimage for Three Years; to bear Forty Stripes save one in every City to which he comes, and to say, I am a Murderer: neither to eat Flesh, nor to drink Wine, except on Sabbaths and Holy-Days: not to shave his Head, or Beard; or to wash his Clothes, or Body; nor so much as to comb his Hair above once a Month, or twice at most: to tie the Hand and Arm that did the Murder, in an Iron Chain, to his Neck; and to go barefoot, and mourning for the Fact; if any one reproaches

^a *Morin. de Pœnit. Lib. 5. Cap. 1.*

^c *Maimon. de Pœnit. Cap. 1. §. 7, 8, 9.*

^f §. 7.

^g §. 5.

^b *Ibid. Cap. 3.*

^d *Ibid. Cap. 2. §. 3.*

^h §. 8.

ⁱ *Page. 151.*

^e §. 11.

him,

him, to be silent; and those Three Years not to walk for Pleasure, nor to use any Recreation; and during his Pilgrimage to lay himself at the Door of the Synagogue, that they who go in and out may pass over him; (but they are not to tread upon him.)

The *Adulterer* is to undergo Afflictions as bitter as Death: (for he is, by the Law, guilty of Death:) For a Year not to eat Flesh, nor drink Wine, except, &c. every day, in the Winter, to sit in Snow or Ice for an Hour, and, in the Summer, amidst Bees or Wasps; or (as it is in the other *Penitential*^a) every day, that he suffers not from the Cold or Heat, to Fast, and to take nothing but Bread and Water in the Evening: every day to confess his Sins with Tears and Sighs; and to be beat with the Thirty Nine Stripes; and to lie upon the Ground, or a Plank without straw, &c. except on Holy-Days; to wear Sackcloth also, and to lead a mournful Life, and to keep from all Conversation with Women. He also, that is guilty of some other sorts of Uncleaness, is to Fast Forty Days continued^b; in them to use neither Flesh nor Wine, nor to take any thing warm, except on Sabbaths, &c.

An *Idolater*, as soon as he Returns and Repents, is to wash himself, and to endure Afflictions and Tribulations, in proportion to his Crime. He is to put on Mourning; to weep and to afflict himself all the Days of his Life, making his Confession thrice every day; not to wash, &c. or to eat Flesh, &c. to be present at no Feast.

These are the most Criminal Cases: and I shall only observe, of the other there mentioned, what we saw in one Instance above, that *Forty Days* are commonly specified for a more Solemn Penitence, and enjoined in almost all of them; as also in general, that the Penitent is supposed to be as a Mourner.

Now no one that reads these *Penitential* Injunctions, and knows any thing of the Practice of the Antient Church, but will easily discern the Correspondence. He will presently call to mind the Severity of old, that was used especially to Adulterers, Murderers, and Lapsed Idolaters; the Difficulty they found to be Restored, and the Long and Rigorous Penances they underwent: How they Lamented, and Mourned, and Prostrated themselves before the Doors of the Churches, at the Feet of the Brethren; some of them not Readmitted till after many Years; others not Reconciled till the Point of Death; and some not at all, though left to the Mercy of God; passing their Time in Fasting, and other Hardships, for the Humiliation of their Body and Spirit, and a Testification of their Sorrow both before God and Men. So like, in very many points, was the Behaviour of *Penitents*, both in the Synagogue, and in the Church: not to mention Change of Name, or Course of Life; Pilgrimagining, Vo-

^a Pag. 157.

^b Pag. 151. *Morinus* his Translation agrees with the Printed Text, and makes the Forty Days to be discontinued. But it should seem, that they were intended to be continued, by the Prohibition that follows of not Washing the while above Twice or Thrice; and that for אֵינָם should be read אֵינָן. However, there is no need of this place, for an Instance of such a Fast of Forty Days together; such a Penance being afterwards thrice enjoined in the same short Paragraph.

luntary Banishment or Abjuration, especially of Murderers; the Ty-ing up of their Arms in an Iron Chain; and such kind of Practices, which were frequent in after Ages, and might have been sometimes used before, though not then recorded.

But, for a general View of this Correspondence of Practice in the Primitive Church, we need only to compare *Tertullian's* Tract of *Penitence*; or but only to look back upon those two Passages already cited thence in the Second Chapter of the *First Part*. And, as for the Virtue assigned to all kind of Afflictions, we may find a suitable Opinion of them in *Hermas*, the Antient Christian Writer. He is told by the Angel, that *he is Afflicted, to the end his Family may Suffer and Repent*: and when he answers, that *behold They already Repent from the bottom of their Hearts*, the Angel replies, *I know they do. But dost thou think^a that the Sins of those who Repent are presently blotted out? Not so quickly. But he that is a Penitent must Afflict his Soul, and behave himself Humbly in all he has to do, and endure many and grievous Vexations; and when he has Suffered much, then God may have Mercy on him.*

C H A P. IX.

- §. I. *A Parallel of Christian Rites mentioned by Tertullian: and*
- §. II. *Of those Usages mentioned by Origen, particularly about Prayer:*
 - (1.) Disposition of Mind. (2.) Posture of Body. (3.) Direction of the Face.
- §. III. (4.) Times of Daily Prayer.
- §. IV. (5.) Matter and Method.
- §. V. *The Antient Order of Christian Prayer,*
- §. VI. *And the Order of the Jewish,*
- §. VII. *Compared.*
- §. VIII. *A Parallel of some few Other Usages.*

THE many *Christian Ordinances*, which have already appeared to be derived from the *Jews*, may be more than were necessary to prepare the Reader for a like Account of *Lent*. I shall therefore take leave to add only so much, as may be comprehended in this one Chapter more.

§. I. IT is known from *Tertullian*, that the Antient *Christians* made frequent Use of the *Sign of the Cross*: His Words^b are these:

^a *Hermæ* Palt. Lib. 3. Simil. 7. Numquid ergo, ait, protinus putas aboleri delicta illorum, qui agunt Pœnitentiam? Non proinde continû. Sed oportet eum, qui agit Pœnitentiam, affigere animam suam, & humilem animo se præstare in omni negotio, & vexationes multas variasque perferre. Cùmque perpeſſus fuerit omnia quæ illi instituta fuerint; tunc forsitan, qui cum creavit, & qui formavit universa, commovebitur erga eum clementiâ suâ.

^b *Tertull. de Coron. Cap. 3. Ad omnem Progreſſum atque Promotum, ad omnem Aditum & Exitum, ad Veſitum, ad Calceatum, ad Lavacra, ad Menſas, ad Lumina, ad Cubilia, ad Sedilia, quæcunque nos Converſatio exercet, Frontem Crucis Signaculo terimus.*

When

When ever we Move and set forward on any Action; when we Come in, and when we Go out; when we Dress ourselves; when we put on our Shoes, or Wash, or are at Table; when Candles are lighted; when we Lie down; when we Sit; Whatsoever it be that we are doing; we still, as it were, wear away our Forehead by Signing it with the Cross. And we have already seen^a, that when this *Sign of the Cross* was first made on the Forehead of a Christian Confirmed, it might be well taken from a like Practice used in all probability at the Confirmation of a Proselyte Jew, when the Priest marked him on the Forehead to God, and first put on that Frontlet [or *Tephillim*] between his Eyes; a Sacred Dress, memorial to himself, and distinctive to others; which he was after to wear (when free from Impurity) before God and Men; he being supposed by it to own God and his Law, and to be armed and warned against all Sin^b. Now the *Christians*, though they did not *dress* themselves with their Badge of the Cross, yet, upon all proper Occasions, they repeated the *Sign* of it, for a Profession of their Faith, and Remembrance of their Duty; a *Sign*, which they continued perpetually to make and *write* on themselves, *when they Sat in the house, and when they Walked by the way, when they Lay down, and when they Rose up*^c. This too they might use more particularly at those Actions *Tertullian* mentions: they being such as are always begun by the *Jews* with their proper Benedictions^d; and were not, I suppose, undertook by those Primitive *Christians* without their peculiar Blessings; in a literal and explicit Conformity to that Reinforcement of the *Jewish* Usage by *St. Paul*^e, *Whether ye Eat or Drink, or Whatsoever ye do, do all to the Glory of God.* And when such Acts of Devotion attended those ordinary Actions, they did not only, in common Form (of the *Jews*), require a *Sign* to accompany them; but they wanted the *Christian Sign* more especially, to shew in whose Name they were offered; that another Direction^f of the same Apostle might also be formally observed, *Whatsoever ye do in Word or in Deed, do all in the Name of the Lord Jesus, giving Thanks to God and the Father by him*; as has been long ago remarked on another Occasion.

2. The same *Tertullian* reckons up^g another celebrated Christian Rite, for a Practice immemorial in his Time; that they thought it a Fault to *Fast*, or to *pray Kneeling* on any *Sunday*, or on the *Fifty Days* between *Easter* and *Whitsuntide*, all of them formerly Festival, as sacred to the Resurrection of our Lord, and the Promise of the Holy Ghost.

Now as the *Sabbath* of the *Jews* is changed into our *Lord's Day*, so was this Observation of it transferred too: for they think it by no means lawful to *Fast* on their Seventh Day; as it is absurd to *Fast*

^a Chap. V. §. 5.^b Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 9.^c Deut. 6. 7, 8, 9.^d Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 10.^e 1 Cor. 10. 31.^f Coloss. 3. 17.^g *Tertull. de Coron. Cap. 3. Die Dominico Jejunium nefas ducimus, vel de Genuculis adorare. Eadem immunitate à die Paschæ in Pentecosten usque gaudemus.*

upon any Festival. For the same reason, they Kneel not neither, at their Prayers on Sabbaths, and Holy-Days^a: *Standing* with Them being the proper Posture of *Ordinary Prayers*; and *Kneeling* or *Falling down*, of *Afflictive Humiliation*.

3. Whereas too the same Author mentions there^b an Observation, then Antient, concerning the *Bread* and *Wine* of their Ordinary Food; that they were very careful that none of it should *Fall upon the Ground*: this has also been formerly suggested to be *Jewish*, for the *Bread* at least. For though the *Jews*, when they conclude the Sabbath, and separate it from the following Week, pour some of their *Wine* upon the Ground: yet to their *Bread* they preserve always a particular Respect; supposing an Angel deputed to watch the Negligence of those that let it fall to the Ground, and foreboding Poverty to themselves from such an unhappy Accident^c.

4. Our *Author* in another place, in his *Treatise of Prayer*, makes mention of some Customs then observed at that Duty, which were apparently from the *Jews*. It was the Usage, he tells us, though he disapproves it, ^d to *Wash their Hands* before Prayer: and so, it is known, the *Jews* are required to do^e.

5. Others were used, when they had done *Prayers*, to *Sit down* for a while^f: and for this they cited *Hermas* his *Pastor*, where he is said^g, when he *Prayed*, to have *Sat down on the Bed*. The Argument *Tertullian* derides, and the Practice he takes to be *Ethnick*; but it seems rather to come from the *Jews*. For they are directed to *Sit* a while after Prayers in Meditation and Devotion: and the Godly Men of old are remembered to have passed one Hour before Prayers, and another after, in that Posture^h.

6. So the Custom, he taxesⁱ, of publishing their *Fasting* by their declining the Fraternal *Kiss*, seems to speak them to have thought the Time of Fasting to be a Time of Mourning, and in which they were not to salute, nor be saluted.

7. But where he finds fault with those that *Prayed too loud*, and advises to use a low Voice^k, he agrees with the Masters of the *Jews*, who order the Prayers to be said by each, but with a Voice audible only to his own Ears^l.

8. And when, speaking of the *Christian* Manner of Lifting up their *Hands* at *Prayer*, he reproaches the *Jews* with the contrary Posture, as not daring to lift them up, imbrewed as they were with the Blood of our Lord^m; he truly reports the present *Jewish* Custom, used (I

^a Maimon. Libello de Precibus, Cap. 5. §. 15.

^b Tertull. de Coron. Cap. 3. Calicis aut Panis etiam nostri aliquid decuti in Terram anxiè patimur.

^c Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 12.

^d Tertull. de Orat. Cap. 11.

^e Maimon. de Precibus, Cap. 4. §. 2, 3.

^f Tertull. de Orat. Cap. 12. Quod, assignatâ Oratione, Assidendi mos est quibusdam, non perspicio rationem; nisi Hermas ille —

^g Hermæ Past. Lib. 2. in Procem.

^h Maimon. de Precibus, Cap. 4. §. 16.

ⁱ Tertull. de Orat. Cap. 14. Alia jam Consuetudo invaluit: Jejunantes, habitâ Oratione cum Fratribus, subtrahunt Osculum Pacis. — Jam enim de Abstinentiâ Osculi, &c. Vide Not. b, p. 166.

^k Ibid. Cap. 13. Sonos etiam vocis subiectos esse oportet: aut quantis arteriis opus est, si pro sono audiamur?

^l Maimon. de Precibus, Cap. 5. §. 9.

^m Tertull. de Orat. Cap. 11. Certè [Israelis] manus semper immundæ, sanguine Prophetarum & ipsius Domini cruentatæ

Room on that Side; according to the antient Custom mentioned before him by his Master *Clemens Alexandrinus*^a, and by *Tertullian*, and which had obtained, I presume, from the Beginning of Christianity; being in their Judgment countenanced by those Expressions of Scripture, that *our Saviour* was the *East*; (for so they understood what we render the *Branch*^b;) that he was the *Day-spring from on high, that hath visited us*^c; and that hereafter *he shall come as the Lightning from the East*^d: in this also the *Christians* will be found to correspond with their Predecessors the *Jews*.

For that they turned themselves to some one certain *Point*, was according to the Custom of the *Jews*, who are supposed^e, ever since the Erection of the *Sanctuary* by *Moses*, to have turned themselves towards it at their Prayers; and, ever since the Building of the *Temple* at *Jerusalem*, have been obliged both to look towards that Place, and, if they are within Walls, to open a *Window* on that Side^f.

The *Line* too, in which the *Christians* placed themselves, that between the *East* and the *West*, though it continued not to be the standing *Line* of Direction to the *Jews* in their Devotion, yet, however, it has been always esteemed Sacred with them, and in that Position some things therefore are not to be done by them^g: a Respect, they give, as they say, by reason of the like Situation of the *Temple*; if it was not rather for a much more antient Reason.

Now in that *Line* it is not to be wondered, if we consider not the Worship of the Sun, that the Place of his *Rising* was always held the chiefest *Point*; and should in the Primitive Languages be stiled the *Part* of the World *before* us, as most regarded; and that the *Northern* should thence be called the *Left*, and the *Southward*, the *Right*^h. But, besides this Natural Consideration, there seems also to have been some antient Religious Respect had to that *Point*, and that afterward the *Face* of the *Temple* was therefore turned that Way. For the *Jews* themselves suppose, by Tradition, that *Adam* was formed by his Creator in that Situation; and that his Eyes were first opened towards the *East*ⁱ. And as to the *Temple*, although the *Worshippers*, who stood before it, looked towards the *West*, as those who yet were to see the *Day-spring from on High* by *Reflection* only from that Building; yet the *Temple* itself faced the *East*, as *directly* looking for Him, who was to come thence: and that Way therefore might the *Christians* turn, as being themselves *Temples of God*^k, and professing *immediately* to expect his *Second Coming*.

a *Clem. Strom.* VII. Edit. *Parif.* Pag. 724.

b See Mr. *John Gregory's* Works, Chap. 18. on *Zach.* 3. 8. and 6. 12.

c *Luke* 1. 78.

d *Matth.* 24. 27.

e *Maimon. de Precibus*, Cap. 1. §. 3.

f *Idem*, *Ibid.* Cap. 5. §. 3, 6.

g *Idem*, de *Cult. Divin. Tract.* 1. Cap. 7. §. 9. *Buxtorf. Synag. Jud.* Cap. 8.

h This, in part, is exemplified by Mr. *Gregory*.

i This too is mentioned by Mr. *Gregory* in the same place: and by Mr. *Selden*, De *Synedr. Lib.* 3. Cap. 6. §. 2.

k 1 *Cor.* 3. 16, 17.

§. III. *Fifthly*, The *Times of Daily Prayer* our Author had determined, in the former part of his Treatise^a, to be the *Morning* and *Evening*; and, between them, *Midday*, and *Midnight*. In the *Morning* also the (so called) *Apostolical Constitutions* direct to assemble in the Church, before they go about any Business; and likewise to return in the *Evening*^b.

Now the *Jews* also have their *Daily Prayers*, in the place of their *Daily Sacrifices*^c. Their *Morning Prayers* take place from the time when the Sun is going to Rise (for then they began their *Morning Sacrifice*^d) to Ten of the Clock^e: and at those they all assist in the Synagogue, if they are not extraordinarily hindered, before they do any other Business. Their *Evening Prayer* may be said any time from half an hour past One; but ordinarily from half an hour past Three till Sun-set^f: in any of which hours the *Daily Evening Sacrifice* might have been offered^g. Besides these two *Daily Duties of Prayer Commanded* them, they have taken upon themselves to perform another in the *Night*, and in any hour of it^h; after the Example of those Parts of the *Sacrifices* which were usually then Burning. And possibly, because those Parts were not to be put on the Altar after *Midnight*ⁱ, though they might continue afterwards to Burn, it might thence seem most fit, in strictness, at least to begin the *Night-Prayers* at that time: as it was also the fittest hour, being at equal distance from the Last of the Evening Office, and First of the Morning^k; an hour too, the far greater part of the Christian World would therefore also be more likely to observe, because it had been with them the Beginning of their Sacred and Civil Day, as we have learned heretofore from *Pliny*^l. Such are the constant *Prayers* of the whole People of *Israel* Thrice every Day. On their Sabbaths and other Holy-Days, as they had *Additional Sacrifices* to be offered between those of the Morning and the Evening, so in their place there are *Additional Prayers* to be said after the Morning, and before the Evening Prayer; but regularly not after One in the Afternoon^m. Now this Duty, though it obliged the Generality only on those Peculiar Days, yet it was every Day repeated by the Representatives of the whole People, the *Stationary Men*ⁿ, both in the Temple, and Distant Synagogues; and was attended with a solemn *Blessing*^o. And if we suppose it to be done by them at a Fixt time, no hour could

a Page 36, 37.

b *Constit. Apost.* Lib. 2. Cap. 36, 59, 60.

c *Maimon.* de Precibus, Cap. 1. §. 5, 6, 7.

d *Idem*, de Cult. Divin. Tract. 6. Cap. 1. §. 2.

e *Idem*, de Precibus, Cap. 3. §. 1.

f *Idem*, *Ibid.* §. 2, 3, 4.

g *Idem*, de Cult. Divin. Tract. 6. Cap. 1. §. 3.

h *Idem*, de Precibus, Cap. 3. §. 6, 7.

i *Idem*, de Cult. Divin. Tract. 6. Cap. 1. §. 5.

k The *Midnight* with the *Jews* was a Distinctive Term of Time, whereby a Day was to be bounded in some cases. *Lightfoot's* Harm. of the Evang. p. 643.

l See Part I. Note c, p. 153.

m *Maimon.* de Precibus, Cap. 3. §. 5.

n See Part I. Chap. II. Note g, p. 152.

o *Maimon.* de Cult. Divin. Tract. 2. Cap. 6. §. 4.

be more proper for it, than that of the *Midday*; a Cardinal time, and equidistant from those two of the Sun-rising and Sun-set, about which times the same *Blessing* was likewise pronounced^a. And, lastly, to all this, said on the Occasion of *Origen's* Affignation of Time, I may add, in reference to the Antient *Christian* Prayers, made when they began to Light Candles, and called thence *Lucernary*; that there was such an Office with the *Jews* likewise, called the *Close*, from the Shutting up of the Day and its Service; a kind of *Completory*, used by all of them on their Propitiation-Day, and by the *Stationary Men* on every Day, (but the Sabbath Eve,) at what time the Priests gave the Blessing also, as has been but now observed.

§. IV. THE *Matter* (and *Method*) of *Prayer* is the *Last* Thing this Antient Writer considers: and he directs it to consist, *First*, Of *Doxology*, or Giving Glory and Praise; *Secondly*, Of Returning *Thanks*; *Thirdly*, Of *Confession of Sins*, with *Supplication for Grace and Pardon*; *Fourthly*, Of *Intercession for greater Favours*; and, *Lastly*, To conclude with a *Doxology* again^b. It is, too, observable that, where *St. Paul* exhorts that *Supplications, Prayers, Intercessions, and Thanksgivings be made for all Men*^c, our Author distinguishes the Three First Sorts of Prayers in this manner: a *Supplication* he understands to be an Humbler Petition, begging the Relief of our Necessities; *Prayer*, strictly so called, to be an Address to God, speaking his Glory, and, without Dejection of Mind, desiring his Favour; and *Intercession*, to be that, which is made with yet a greater Degree of Assurance and Holy Confidence^d. Now, as this latter Explication may interpret what he means in the Third and Fourth Member of the Matter of Prayer, so it gives a Sense to the Apostle's Words, which may make those *Four Sorts of Prayer*, made for ourselves and others, to agree with the *Four Sorts of Sacrifices*, used to be offered for that Purpose. For so *Supplication* answers a *Sacrifice for Sins or Trespasses*, by the Remission of which Relief was to be procured: *Prayer*, the *Burnt-Offerings*, which were chiefly meant to God's Honour, and also besought his Favour: *Intercession*, the *Peace-Offerings*, which were joined with Requests, put up with some kind of Communication and Familiarity: and, lastly, *Thanksgivings* agree plainly with the *Sacrifices* of that Name.

The Constituent *Parts* of Prayer are, no doubt, very rightly assigned by *Origen*: but as for the *Order* and *Method* of them, it seems, by his Expression, to be rather what he thought fit for Private Composition, than what was observed in the Service of the Church, or even

^a *Maimon. de Precibus, Cap. 14. §. 1.*

^b *Orig. Περὶ Εὐχῆς, pag. 134.*

^c *1 Tim. 2. 1.*

^d *Orig. Περὶ Εὐχῆς, pag. 44.* Ἡγούμεν τίνων δέσπον μὲν εἶναι, τὴν ἰκαίνομεν καὶ μὴ ἰκαίνομεν ἀπὸ τῆς οὐκείας τυχῆς ἀναμνηστέον ἡμῶν· τὴν δὲ προσδόντων, τὴν μὲν δεξιολογίας ἀπὸ μνηστῶν μεγαλοφύσεων ἀναμνηστέον· Ἐνταῦθα δὲ, τὴν καὶ παρηγορίας καὶ πλείονος ἔχοντος πρὸς τὴν αἰσιν πρὸς τὸν Θεόν· Εὐχαριστίαν ὅ, τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ πετυχάνῃ ἀγαθῇ δὲ Θεῷ μὲν ἡμῶν ἀνθυμολογίαν.

^e The *Burnt-Offering* (Δωρεον) was offered, after Expiation made, פְּנִיָּה לְקַבֵּל, to procure Favour and Acceptance. *Lightfoot* on *St. Mark VII. 11.*

in our *Lord's Prayer*, upon which he there Comments. For our further Information therefore on this Subject, it may be best to have recourse to other Authors.

§. V. Now the Offices of Publick Devotion for the *Lord's-Day* Morning are summarily represented by *Justin Martyr*^a, as performed in this *Order*: that, first, they *Read* [the Scriptures of both Testaments] the *Writings of the Apostles and Prophets*; that then, there was an *Exhortation* made; that after, they *Rose up and Prayed*; and, lastly, that they *Made the Oblation*, and Received the *Eucharist*. This is that Apologist's short Account to the Emperour; that the Heathens might know, in general, how Innocently the Christian Assemblies were employed. *Tertullian*^b, from another Occasion, accidentally falls upon a very cursory Mention of the former of the same Offices, interposing another; remembering the *Reading of the Scriptures*, the *Singing of Psalms*, the *Making of a Discourse*, and the *Putting up of Prayers*. And this Office of *Psalmody*, though for Brevity omitted by *Justin*, yet questionless was as Antient as the others; and is too recounted by the *Author of the Apostolical Constitutions*, in the same Method, after the Lectons, and before the Sermon^c. He also in a following Chapter^d gives a larger Description of the Whole Service, after this Manner. A Reader first is directed, standing in the *Ambo*, or Desk, to Read some *Lessons* out of the *Old Testament*: Another then Chants the *Psalms of David*, the People also Chanting in their Turns: After, *Lessons* follow, out of the *Acts*, and *Epistles*: Then the *Gospel* is Read by a Priest or a Deacon, all standing: And afterwards the *Exhortation* is made by the Priests and the Bishop. This being done, and the *Catechumens*, &c. dismissed, the *Faithful*, turning towards the *East*, join in *Prayer*: and then, after that, the *Oblation* began, and other *Prayers* were made; and, lastly, the *Eucharist* was celebrated. So do these *Constitutions*, giving a true Account of Antient Practice, though under supposed Names, represent the *Psalmody* to be performed most of it together; as it stood until, in the Fourth Century, it was ordered by the *Council of Laodicea*^e to be more intermixed with *Lessons*, that the Attention of the Congregation might be the better refreshed and secured by that Variety.

This was the Primitive *Order* of the Christian *Liturgy*, according to the General Descriptions we have of it: for as to the lesser Particulars, many, no doubt, there were; and some of them such, as we find in the *Liturgies* going under the Names of St. *James*, St. *Chrysostom*, &c.

a *Justin*. Apol. II. sub finem. Τῇ ἡμέρᾳ λειτουργίᾳ πάντων — συνάδουσι γίνεται καὶ τὰ ἀπομνημονεύματα τῶν ἀποστόλων, καὶ τὰ συζητήματα τῶν προφητῶν ἀναγινώσκουσιν, μέχρις ἰσχυροῦ. Ἐπειτα πᾶσαι αἱ ἀναγινώσκονται, ὁ προϊστάμενος λέγων τὴν Νουθεσίαν — ποιῶνται. Ἐπειτα ἀνίσταμεθα κοινῇ πάντες, καὶ εὐχαὶς πύμπνομεν. Καὶ, ὡς ἀνέφημα, πᾶσαι ψαλμοὶ ἡμῶν τῇ εὐχαίᾳ, ἁγῶς, ὡς φέρει, καὶ οἶνος, καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ —

b *Tertull.* de Animâ, Cap. 9. Est hodie soror apud nos Revelationum charismata sortita, quas in Ecclesiâ inter Dominica solennia per Ecclasiâ in spiritu patitur. — Jam verò prout Scripturæ leguntur, aut Psalmi canuntur, aut Adlocutiones proferuntur, aut Petitiones delegantur, ita inde materia Visionibus subministrantur.

c *Constit.* Apost. Lib. 2. Cap. 54.

d *Ibid.* Cap. 57.

e *Can.* 17.

§. VI. Now the *Jews* have their *Liturgy* too: and their *Morning Devotions* consist of several *Offices*^a. And here, first, I may mention those Occasional *Benedictions* they are supposed to have made Daily upon their *Waking*, *Hearing the Cock crow*, *Putting on their Clothes*, &c. such as we intimated above, and Three and Twenty of which they are directed to pronounce constantly every Day, and which run in this Form; *Blessed art [or be] thou, O Lord our God, the King of the World, who Clothest the naked*, if they are putting on their Clothes; or, if they are Covering their Heads, *who Crownest Israel with Honour*; or, if they are Tying their Girdle, *who Girdest Israel with Strength*. But, besides these *Benedictions*, which are to be said apart, and on their proper Occasions only^b, though some Synagogues are used to repeat them together, as an Office; the next Stated Duty is that of *Reading* some Part of the *Law*, Written or Oral, to which every one is every Day obliged: and this Duty, as all others, is still to be prefaced and concluded with its proper Prayers or Benedictions; of which *Prefatory Benedictions* the first, for example, is this, *Blessed is the Lord, &c. who hath sanctified us with his Precepts, and hath commanded us to study the Law*. This Office is not only Private, but Publickly also discharged in the Synagogue, and Read there. Next to it is the Duty of *Repeating* the *Psalms*; which has too its *Benedictions*, with which it begins and ends. And this Duty is so acceptable, that the Practice of some is recommended, who have Daily repeated the whole Book: however, the Synagogue every Day say over some *Psalms*, and especially on their Sabbaths and other Great Days, to which also they generally add some Verses of the *Bible*, that are chiefly *Laudatory*; as in some Places the Custom is to conclude with the *Song* at the *Red Sea*, or with that of the 32^d Chapter of *Deuteronomy*^c. For it is in general to be noted, that in several Places the Usages are various, as to the Choice of the *Sections*, and *Psalms*, and *Hymns*. After this Duty there follows another, of *Repeating* the Verses of the *Law*, they call *Shema* from the first Word of the first of them, which is as it were their *Creed*, and begins thus, *Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one God*. This *Repetition* they are obliged to every Morning and Night, where-ever they are: and it has too its proper *Benedictions* before and after, and makes up also an Office in the Synagogue.

These forementioned Offices may be differently performed in different Countries, according to their particular Customs; but that which follows, and to which the others are but Introductory, is constant and stated, and uniformly observed by all the People of *Israel*; being a *Formulary* of short *Prayers*, now *Nineteen* in Number, *Eighteen* of which were dictated by *Efra*, as they say: These Collects are regularly to be said by each of them, at Home, or in Publick, Thrice every Day: and this Office in the Synagogue is always to be said, for

^a *Maimon*, de Precibus, Cap. 7. §. 17.

^b *Ibid.* §. 7.

^c *Ibid.* §. 12, 13.

the greater Solemnity, by the Precentor, or Deputy of the Congregation himself; whereas the Foregoing might have been read by a Private Person. Of those Prayers, or Collects, the *Three First*, and *Three Last* are most remarkable; those speaking the *Glory of God*, and these returning *Thanks*^a; the other *Intermediate* ones being *Petitionary*, for Understanding, Repentance, Pardon, Relief from their Distresses, Healing their Infirmities, Giving of seasonable Plenty, Return from their Captivity, Restoration of their Government, Protection of Good Men, Reinhabiting of *Jerusalem*, the Coming of the *Messiah*, &c. the Requests gradually rising up, according to *Origen's* above-mentioned Distinction of *Supplications, Prayers, and Intercessions*. It is also further to be remarked, that though the Three First Collects are noted to be wholly Doxological, yet the rest are not to be thought to want that Duty; all of them beginning, or ending, with a *Benediction of God*; and the whole Formulary being accordingly called the *Eighteen* (or *Nineteen*) *Benedictions*; as it is also prefaced with this Versicle, *Lord, open thou our Lips, and our Mouth shall shew forth thy Praise*. But the *Third* of those Prayers is more signally *Glorificatory*: when it is said in Private, *referring* to the *Hymn* of the *Seraphim*^b, *Holy, Holy, Holy*, &c. and, when in Publick, *expressing* it. And there is also a solemn Hymn of Glory, which they call the *Kaddish*, pronounced particularly by the Deputy of the Assembly, before and after every Service^c.

Thus far goes an Ordinary *Morning Service*. But on *Mondays*, and *Thursdays*, there still follows a *Litany*: and such Prayers are particularly ordered to be pronounced from a *Low Place*^d.

After the *Litany* on those Days^e, or after the Offices before described, when there is no *Litany*, as on the *Sabbath*^f, the *Law* is brought from the *Ark* to the *Desk* in great Pomp; and peculiar Portions of it are read there by several, with previous and subsequent Benediction of God: and then in the same Manner it is carried back: the *People* all the while *Standing*, and, as the *Book* comes and goes, *Chanting* out some Versicles, and pressing to *Kiss* it.

Lastly, On *Sabbaths*, and other *Great Days*, there follows another Office, the *Additional Service*, peculiar to the *Festival*; consisting now chiefly of the Commemoration of the Peculiar Sacrifices, on that day heretofore offered. And this *Service of Prayers*, though having some the same, is separate and distinct from that of the Daily *Morning Prayers*: as the Daily and the *Additional Sacrifices*, however some things in both might be of the same nature, were never intermixed and dispatched together for greater speed and convenience; but always separately offered, and each Office kept entire to itself^g.

^a Maimon. de Precibus, Cap. 1. §. 4, 5, 6, &c.

^b Isai. 6. Ezek. 3. 12.

^c Ord. Precum subjunct. Libro secundo Libri *Yad Chaz.* Titulo, *De Benedictionum Formulis.*

^d Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 10.

^e Ibid. Cap. 14.

^f Ibid. Cap. 16.

^g Maimon. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 6. Cap. 7.

§. VII. Now, to the last described *Jewish Order of Morning Prayers*, so far did the Antient *Christian* agree, as to begin likewise with *Lectons and Psalmody*: and from the *Jewish* Custom of *Sitting* at the Repeating of those *Psalms* it is, that such *Portions of the Psalter* as are now read by the *Greeks*, without any Interposition, are called by them *Sittings*^a: as also the *Laudatory Hymns* in the *Greek Church*, used at Morning Prayer, which is thence called the *Lauds* by the *Latin*, seem to have been placed there after the same Example. As to the *Lectons*, the *Christians* have the Variety of the *Jews*: for as these read in the Morning out of their *Mishnah*, and *Doctors*, and the *Prophets*, and the *Law*; so had we our Lessons also out of *Unscriptural* Authors, and the *Old Testament*, and the *Epistles*, and the *Gospels*. And herein the *Gospel*, with us, answered plainly to their *Law*. For though we read the *Gospel* before the solemn Prayers, and they the *Law* after, (and in this Order only we differ,) yet the *Lecture* was made with us in the like Solemnity; the People *Standing up*, and, before and after, *Blessing* and Praising God; as the *Book* is also in the *Greek Church*, even at Morning Prayer, carried about with great Solemnity, and *Kissed* by the People. After this *Lecture* and *Psalmody*, (or *Psalmody* and *Lecture*, for they were always somewhat intermixed,) with the *Exhortation*, if any was made; and after the *Hearers* and *Catechumens* were dismissed by the *Christians*; (and at the same Time, I suppose, they were dismissed by the *Jews*, when they had any;) our *Creed* and their *SHEMA* come together: and then, in either Church, the *Prayers* properly so called. And, lastly, these, on certain Days of the Week, are closed with the *Litany*, by both.

Thus the Ordinary *Morning Services* answer one another: and so also does our *Communion Service*, strictly taken, answer their *Additional*; coming at the End of all, in a distinct Office. For in a *Greek Liturgy* (for example) both the *Psalmody*, and *Lectons*, and *Creed*, and the first *Prayers*, are known to be nothing else but an abbreviated Repetition of the Morning Office; (as the *Jews* too shorten theirs on their Festivals;) and then after that, (as with us of *England* after the Prayer for *Christ's Church*,) the Office of the *Eucharist* begins, the Celebration of the *Additional Christian Sacrifice*.

§. VIII. THUS much concerning the Agreement in the *Method* and *Order* of Prayers: Other particular Correspondences may be observed; of which I shall note but a few, leaving such as are more obvious to the Reader's own Reflections. And, *First*, It may be remarked in the *Greek Liturgy*, that when any new Action is entered upon in any part of the Service, it is begun with a *Benediction of God*^b;

^a Καθίσματα.

^b It is thus: Εὐλογητός ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν πάντοτε, νῦν, καὶ ἀεί, καὶ εἰς τὰς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. When the Priest pronounced this, he is said Εὐλογεῖν, or Εὐλογητὴν ποιεῖν: and it is a Διευκρινὴ Προσεύχου, or an Εὐχὴ Προτεταμένη. Vide Gear. ad Euchol. Græc. Pag. 56.

in like manner as the *Jews* use to do. And, *Secondly*, In the Preparation to the more solemn Prayers, at the putting on of the *Habits* in which the Priest is to Officiate, appropriate *Benedictions* are said; and one of them, as at the putting on of the *Girdle*, much the same with that the *Jews* use^a. *Thirdly*, As *Our* Collects conclude generally with the Laud and Honour of God, so do *Theirs*. *Fourthly*, The *Triumphal Hymn*, as it is called in the *Greek Church*^b, *Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God, &c.* is always solemnly said by their *Chazan*, with the Third Collect of their Daily Prayers. *Fifthly*, And whereas, when those words are pronounced, the *Jews*, with an Exulting Gesture, are used to *Lift up, not their Eyes only, but their whole Bodies; and to Leap up Thrice*^c at that Trine Hallowing, for so they call it, of God; the same Custom appears to have obtained among the Primitive *Christians* at a like Prayer: at the latter end of which, they are all reported^d to have *joined in with their Voices, Lifting up their Heads and Hands to Heaven, and together Raising their Feet; as if they would have followed their Prayers towards the Spiritual Essence, and Ascended up in Body, as well as in Mind.* *Sixthly*, Further, that antient Form of our Thanksgiving, (which follows these Words in the Communion Service, *Let us give Thanks to our Lord God,*) with its special Causes sometimes assigned, seems to be conceived after the Pattern of the *Jews* Eucharistical Collect, the First of the last Three. *Seventhly* and Lastly, Their *Kaddish*, or *Larger Hymn of Glory*, may answer to our *Angelick one*^e at the End of our *English* Communion, *Glory to be to God on High, and in Earth, &c.*

Many such Correspondences may be found between the solemn Devotions of the *Synagogue* and of the *Church of Christ*: and had we any sufficient Account of the Prayers, that were daily said in the *Temple* by the Priests and Levites; (as we have now Notice of little more than what is performed in the *Synagogue* by the People, and one of them their Deputy;) I question not but that our Antient Liturgies would be found to come much nearer to their Rites. It is known, that the *Orarium*^f of the Deacons in the Antient Church was but the same with the *Sudarium*, with which the Sign was given in the *Temple*^g: and it may be observed that, as a Priest in the *Greek Church* begins many Actions from the Admonition of the Deacon^h; so did the Priests heretofore from the like Remembrances of

^a Εὐλογητὸς ὁ Θεὸς, ὁ ἐξελθὼν ἡμᾶς διδάσκειν, ὃ ἐκρίνεν τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ πάντοτε, νῦν, &c. Vide *Chrysostomi Liturgiam*.

^b Ὑμνος Ἐπινίκιος, de quo consuli poterit *Goar*, ad *Chrysost.* Missam seu Liturgiam, Observatione 1251a.

^c *Buxtorf.* Synag. Jud. Cap. 10.

^d *Clem. Alexandr.* Strom. Lib. VII. Edit. Paris. Pag. 722. Ταύτην καὶ προσκοινωνομένην τῷ κεφαλῇ, καὶ πρὸς χεῖρας εἰς ὄραν ἀνέροντες, τάς πόδας ἐπιγείρομεν καὶ τὴν πλάταιαν τῆς εὐχῆς συνιπφύνομεν, ἐπακροθήμεναι τῇ προσφυσίᾳ τοῦ πνεύματος εἰς τὸ νοητὸν οὐρανόθεν, καὶ συναφιστάμεν πρὸς λόγον τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς τοῦ σώματος, —

^e Ἡ μεγάλη Δοξολογία. De qua *Smithus* Noster, Miscellan. Pag. 134, &c.

^f *Goar*, ad *Chrysost.* Missam, Observat. 91a: & ad Diaconi Ordinat. Observat. 22da. *Iustellus*, ad Can. 22. Concil. Laod.

^g Diaconus, cum Preces indicit, idem facit quod ἱερογέρτης, qui Convivas ad Gratias agendas excitat, illis Respondentibus, &c. Vid. *Guifum*, ad *Zeraim* 1, 6. De *Sudariis* autem, & eorum Usu, vid. *Maimon.* de Cult. Divin. Tract. 6. Cap. 6. §. 7.

^h Such Admonitions as these: Εὐλόγησεν, Διάσπετε. Ἐπαινον, Διάσπετε. Θῦσα, Διάσπετε. Vide Liturg. *Chrysost.*

some lower Assistant^a. In the Temple also only it was that the *Proper Name* of God, *JEHOVAH*, might be pronounced^b: and, when they tell us, that it was Ten Times pronounced by the High-Priest on the Day of Expiation, they let us also know^c, that the Priests and People in their several Courts, every Time they heard it spoke out, *Fell down upon their Knees with their Faces to the ground, and cried out, Blessed be the Name of the Glory of his Kingdom for ever and ever.* And from that Custom the *Reverence* used to the *Name of JESUS* may have come; it being the *Appropriate Name* of our Blessed Lord, a *Name*, as the Apostle says^d, *above every Name*, even above the Name *JEHOVAH*, so much glorified under the Old Covenant, and by which the *Father* would be hereafter honoured. So the *Christians* might bow at the Mention of that Name, in Imitation of the like Practice of the *Jews*: and to that Practice the Apostle may be well thought to allude, when he says, that *at the Name of JESUS every Knee*, of every Place, henceforth *should bow*; *every Tongue* also *confessing*, (for in the Obedience of the Temple the *Tongue* also had its part,) *that Jesus is the Lord, and King*; and all this *still to the Glory of God the Father*.

And thus have I at last concluded this Incidental Discourse concerning the Derivation of *Christian Ordinances* from the *Jews*; much indeed too prolix, in regard to my first Design; though possibly not too long, in respect to the Importance of the Subject itself; and which might easily have been enlarged yet further. But although the Answer to One Objection has increased so enormously, yet the other Two may have a quicker Dispatch, and shall take up only One Chapter more.

C H A P. X.

- §. I. *The Second Prejudice against a Jewish Origination of Lent, from Want of Authority in the Talmudical Writings;*
- §. II. *Answered: by shewing (First) That those Traditional Accounts were not without some Antient Foundation of their own;*
- §. III. *(Secondly) That they are Confirmed in many Points by Collateral Evidence;*
- §. IV. *(Thirdly) That they were not borrowed by the Jews from Foreign Authors.*
- §. V. *The Third Prejudice against such an Origination, from the Novelty of it; Answered.*

§. I. **T**HE *Second Objection* against the *Jewish Original of Lent*, as we apprehended^e, might be this; that the *Traditional*

^a An Instance may be seen in the Admonitions given to the High-Priest, by those next to him, at the putting on of the Two Lots on the Two Goats; *Domine Pontifex, tolle manum dextram, or, Tolle manum sinistram.* Maimon. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 8. Cap. 3. §. 3.

^b Maimon. de Precibus, Cap. 14. §. 10.

^d Philip. 2. 9, 10.

^e Pref. to Part II.

^c Idem, de Cult. Divin. Tract. 8. Cap. 2. §. 7.

Writings, we have of the Jews, were not sufficient Authority for the Knowledge of their Antient Customs: And this is a Prejudice, that has been entertained by many very learned Men, and has been much confirmed by Morinus his Exercitationes.

Neither is it to be denied, but that the *Jews* have deserved this Disgrace: having brought their Traditions under a Suspicion, by the foolish way they took to advance the Credit of them. For they thought it not enough, to have their Customs very Antient, and some of them as Old as *Moses*: but he must also have learned them in Mount *Sinai*, from the Mouth of God himself. Neither was it sufficient, to have had them preserved by Writing, if the People had so thought fit: but they must be necessarily transmitted by the sole force of *Oral Tradition*. And when they come at last to be reduced into Writing, by their Rabbi *Judab*, about the Year of our Lord 209; his Collection must be immediately as Authentick, as if wrote by *Moses*, or by the Finger of God. And then the Commentaries on this Book, the Two *Talmuds*, the First of them they will needs have compiled in our Fourth Century; and the Last, the *Babylonian*, to have been completed in the Beginning of the Sixth^a.

We shall not therefore wonder, if such confident Pretences, as these, have provoked the World to enquire, and examine; and, as is usual, extremely to undervalue and depress, what others have more unreasonably enhanced. And thus both that famed Book, and its Commentaries, are bid to go down Three or Four Hundred Years lower, than they were placed by their too devoted Admirers^b: the Text itself is esteemed an uncertain Rhapsody, and the Expository Additions to it, a Heap of Impertinences and idle Tales. And if there are any Antient Facts or Customs, agreeable to what we know by better Hands; the Notice of them is supposed not to have come originally from their Own Memoirs, but to have been borrowed afterwards from our *Greek* or *Latin* Authors.

Now, as to my own part, my Acquaintance with these *Jews* has not been so great, as that I should think myself bound to engage in their Quarrel, and to justify the pretended Age and Authority of their Writings. That their Accounts were more full in many material Cases, I have often had occasion to wish: and that they are certainly true, I must confess I am never entirely satisfied, until I find them confirmed by the Concurrence of some better Testimony; such a Prejudice has that Pretence of *Oral Tradition* given me^c. I shall not therefore undertake to offer more in their favour, than these two Considerations: *First*, That such *Traditional Memoirs* are no *Novel things*; but that such *Mishnaioths* were certainly very old, more early and better recorded, even than the *Rabbins* give out: and, *Secondly*,

^a Vide Pocockii *Portam Mosi*. Morin. Exercit. 6. Lib. 2di.

^b Idem, Exercit. eadem.

^c Instances of such *Concurrent Testimony* in favour of the *Rabbinical Traditions* will be given below, §. III. In the mean time, the Reader will be pleased to accept of this which follows. The *Zohar* says, that it was a Custom among the *Jews* for those that went into the Wars, to Sign their Wives a Bill of Divorce. This Custom is also mentioned by *Jarchi* and *Kimchi* in the Matter of *Uriab*. And the same is recorded by St. *Jerom* in his *Tradit. Hebr.* on 1 Sam. 17. 18. See *Selden. Ux. Hebr.* Lib. 3. Cap. 19, sub finem.

some lower Assistant^a. In the Temple also only it was that the *Proper Name* of God, *JEHOVAH*, might be pronounced^b: and, when they tell us, that it was Ten Times pronounced by the High-Priest on the Day of Expiation, they let us also know^c, that the Priests and People in their several Courts, every Time they heard it spoke out, *Fell down upon their Knees with their Faces to the ground, and cried out, Blessed be the Name of the Glory of his Kingdom for ever and ever.* And from that Custom the *Reverence* used to the *Name of JESUS* may have come; it being the *Appropriate Name* of our Blessed Lord, a *Name*, as the Apostle says^d, *above every Name*, even above the Name *JEHOVAH*, so much glorified under the Old Covenant, and by which the *Father* would be hereafter honoured. So the *Christians* might bow at the Mention of that Name, in Imitation of the like Practice of the *Jews*: and to that Practice the Apostle may be well thought to allude, when he says, that *at the Name of JESUS every Knee, of every Place, henceforth should bow; every Tongue also confessing*, (for in the Obeisance of the Temple the *Tongue* also had its part,) *that Jesus is the Lord, and King; and all this still to the Glory of God the Father.*

And thus have I at last concluded this Incidental Discourse concerning the Derivation of *Christian Ordinances* from the *Jews*; much indeed too prolix, in regard to my first Design; though possibly not too long, in respect to the Importance of the Subject itself; and which might easily have been enlarged yet further. But although the Answer to One Objection has increased so enormously, yet the other Two may have a quicker Dispatch, and shall take up only One Chapter more.

C H A P. X.

- §. I. *The Second Prejudice against a Jewish Origination of Lent, from Want of Authority in the Talmudical Writings;*
- §. II. *Answered: by shewing (First) That those Traditional Accounts were not without some Antient Foundation of their own;*
- §. III. *(Secondly) That they are Confirmed in many Points by Collateral Evidence;*
- §. IV. *(Thirdly) That they were not borrowed by the Jews from Foreign Authors.*
- §. V. *The Third Prejudice against such an Origination, from the Novelty of it; Answered.*

§. I. **T**HE *Second Objection* against the *Jewish Original of Lent*, as we apprehended^e, might be this; that the *Traditional*

^a An Instance may be seen in the Admonitions given to the High-Priest, by those next to him, at the putting on of the Two Lots on the Two Goats; *Domine Pontifex, tolle manum dextram, or, Tolle manum sinistram.* Maimon. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 8. Cap. 3. §. 3.

^b Maimon. de Precibus, Cap. 14. §. 10.

^d Philip. 2. 9, 10.

^e Pref. to Part II.

^c Idem, de Cult. Divin. Tract. 8. Cap. 2. §. 7.

Writings, we have of the Jews, were not sufficient Authority for the Knowledge of their Antient Customs: And this is a Prejudice, that has been entertained by many very learned Men, and has been much confirmed by Morinus his Exercitationes.

Neither is it to be denied, but that the *Jews* have deserved this Disgrace: having brought their Traditions under a Suspicion, by the foolish way they took to advance the Credit of them. For they thought it not enough, to have their Customs very Antient, and some of them as Old as *Moses*: but he must also have learned them in Mount *Sinai*, from the Mouth of God himself. Neither was it sufficient, to have had them preserved by Writing, if the People had so thought fit: but they must be necessarily transmitted by the sole force of *Oral Tradition*. And when they come at last to be reduced into Writing, by their Rabbi *Judab*, about the Year of our Lord 209; his Collection must be immediately as Authentick, as if wrote by *Moses*, or by the Finger of God. And then the Commentaries on this Book, the Two *Talmuds*, the First of them they will needs have compiled in our Fourth Century; and the Last, the *Babylonian*, to have been completed in the Beginning of the Sixth^a.

We shall not therefore wonder, if such confident Pretences, as these, have provoked the World to enquire, and examine; and, as is usual, extremely to undervalue and depress, what others have more unreasonably enhanced. And thus both that famed Book, and its Commentaries, are bid to go down Three or Four Hundred Years lower, than they were placed by their too devoted Admirers^b: the Text itself is esteemed an uncertain Rhapsody, and the Expository Additions to it, a Heap of Impertinences and idle Tales. And if there are any Antient Facts or Customs, agreeable to what we know by better Hands; the Notice of them is supposed not to have come originally from their Own Memoirs, but to have been borrowed afterwards from our *Greek* or *Latin* Authors.

Now, as to my own part, my Acquaintance with these *Jews* has not been so great, as that I should think myself bound to engage in their Quarrel, and to justify the pretended Age and Authority of their Writings. That their Accounts were more full in many material Cases, I have often had occasion to wish: and that they are certainly true, I must confess I am never entirely satisfied, until I find them confirmed by the Concurrence of some better Testimony; such a Prejudice has that Pretence of *Oral Tradition* given me^c. I shall not therefore undertake to offer more in their favour, than these two Considerations: *First*, That such *Traditional Memoirs* are no *Novel things*; but that such *Mishnaioths* were certainly very old, more early and better recorded, even than the *Rabbins* give out: and, *Secondly*,

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That it is *not* likely, that their Accounts of their Customs were *suggested by our Writers*, or formed from the Observation of *Christian Practice*.

§. II. AND, *First*, As for what concerns the *Mishnaioth*, or *Digest* of Traditions, composed by their Great *Rabbi*, and who is now their Oracle; it is allowed by *Morinus* himself^a to have been Read in their Synagogues in *Justinian's* Time, together with the Law and the Prophets; and to be meant by him in his Edict^b dated in the Year of our Lord 548. And if it had then that Authority with the *Jews*, it must be supposed to have risen up to it after some considerable Tract of Time, and not to have been compiled in the Memory of Man; unless we too will fall into the *Rabbinical* Fable, and make it to have been held so highly Sacred at its first Appearance. It might therefore well have seen the Light an Hundred, or Two Hundred Years before; and yet not have been particularly mentioned, either by *Epiphanius*, or *St. Jerom*; as not being of that singular Repute, in their Time, above other Collections of the same nature. For, that this was the First Book of the kind that was ever written, the *Jews* indeed tell us: but this Tale, we may easily guess, was devised only to do it greater Honour; and he that believes them not in all, will have no reason to believe them in this. The word *Tradition* is known to signify only the *Delivery* of a Doctrine or Ordinance; as *Mishnah* is a *Secondary Law*; neither of them excluding the help of Writing. Neither is *Tradition* or *Secondary Law*, if stiled *Oral*, therefore to be accounted *Absolutely Unwritten*, but only *Originally*; not as if it were never after to be reduced into Writing, but as not given out in it at the first Delivery. And although *St. Augustin*^c says, that the *Jews* of that Time *had not their Traditions in Writing, but retained them by Memory, and delivered them Orally*; yet we may well suppose the Good Father to be deceived in this by the *Jews*, who were shy, it may be, of publishing the Books of this nature to the Knowledge of Christians; and, because they were wont in their Schools to deliver their Lessons to their Scholars without Writing, (as many other Professors in many Places still do,) might therefore pretend they never used any. For that such Traditions had been Written long before, even in the *Apostolick* Times, we are competently assured from the Epistle attributed to *Barnabas*, where some of the Customs, which *Rabbi Judah's Mishnah* gives, are expressly mentioned; and as delivered in Writing^d.

^a *Morin. Exercit. 6. Cap. 2. Lib. 2di.*

^b Τὴν δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦς λεγόμενην Διδασκαλίαν ἀπερρέδοσαν. — Καὶ αὐτὰς δὲ διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς Φωνῆς ἀναγγέλλουσιν, τὰς βίβλους αὐτὰς ἀναπύουσιντες, ἀλλὰ μὴ κρατεροῦσιντες μὴ τὰ κατ' αὐτὰς εἰρημόναι, τὰς ἐξωτὴν δὲ παραλαμβάνουσιντες ἀρχαίως κεινοφώνως. *Novell. 146.*

^c *Contra Adversar. Leg. & Proph. Lib. II. Cap. 1.*

^d *Barnab. Epist. Cap. 7. de Capro Emiffario.* Ἀκούετε πῶς περὶ τούτων πεφανερώμενοι οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς λαοῦ, μαρτυροῦντες τὴν συνέλῃ αὐτῶν. — Πῶς ἂν συνέλῃατε; ἀποκρίνεται. Λαοὶ οὗτοι δύο τῶν γενησίων καὶ ὁμοίων, καὶ ἀποσπένονται καὶ λαοὶ οὗτοι οἱ ἱερεῖς τῆς ἐκείνης ἀποκατάστασης. Τὰν δὲ ἐκείνην ποιήσαντες; Ἐπικυρώσαντες, φησὶν, οἱ ἄνθρωποι. — Καὶ ἐμπύουσιντες πύνας, καὶ κρατεροῦσιντες, καὶ ἀποκρίνεται τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ κρατεροῦν περὶ τῶν κεφαλῶν αὐτῶν, καὶ ὕψους εἰς ἑξήκοντα βλαβήτων. Καὶ ὅταν ᾤκηται ὕψους, ἀλλὰ οὐ βλαβήτων τῶν τῶν εἰς τὴν ἑξήκοντα, καὶ ἀφαιρέσει τὸ ἱερὸν, καὶ ἐπιπύσῃ ἐπὶ φέρωνται τὰ λεγόμενα ἱερὰ. — Τί δὲ, ὅτι τὸ ἱερὸν εἰς μίσην τῶν ἀκαθάρτων πύσῃ;

From

From this Testimony of St. *Barnabas* it seems to be plain, against the Assertion of St. *Augustin*, and the Modern Opinion of the *Jews*, that there was some kind of Written *Mishnah*, in the First Age of Christianity: as it is very probable also, that this present *Mishnah* of *Rabbi Jebudah's* might be extant at the later End of the Fourth Age, the Time of that now mentioned Father, and of *Epiphanius* and St. *Jerom*. But besides, though these two last Authors do not mention this very Book, yet, as they both understood the *Jewish* Learning well, so they let us understand that this Traditional Part of it was then in high Esteem with them, cited for Unquestionable Authority, and reputed of very great Antiquity. St. *Jerom*, speaking of *Jewish* Traditions in St. *Paul's* Time, says^a, that a great Number of such they continued to have in his, (he, for his part, supposing them to be the same,) under the Name of *Secondary*^b Ordinances: and adds, that if they were asked, for example, how they came to take the Liberty of a *Sabbath Journey*, when their *Law* commanded them to sit in their House? they were ready to justify themselves by that other, their *Traditional* Authority, and to answer, that *Rab Akiba*, and *Simeon*, and *Hillel* (Names famous in the Present^c Collection) had allowed them to walk Two Thousand Feet on that Day (Two Thousand Cubits, saith the *Talmud*^d.) Such Traditions as these, he says, their *Doctors* Read to their *Disciples* on certain Days of the Week; and the Phrase for it was, The *Wisemen*^e Read the *Secondary Law*. So much does St. *Jerom* bear Witness of some *Mishnaical Memoirs*, then held very Sacred; and of their *Doctors* Commenting upon them. *Epiphanius* is more particular concerning the Age of those Traditions: and, to refute *Marcion*, who supposed the Old Testament itself to be the *Traditions* the *Pharisees* retained, while they passed by *Mercy* and *Judgment*; he^f bids him enquire whence they came, and he shall find, that they were otherwise descended; from *David*, or *Adda*, after the Return from *Babylon*; and from *Akiba*, who lived before that Captivity; as well as from the *Sons of Asamonæus*, who were 190 Years before our Saviour. Writing also against *Ptolomy the Valentinian*, who supposes the same *Traditions* our Saviour reproves (that particularly whereby a Parent was unrelieved under the Pretence of a *Corban*) to be found in the *Five Books of Moses*, and affirms the *Pentateuch* to con-

^a Hieron. Epist. ad Algas. Quæst. 10. Quanta Traditiones Phariseorum sint, quas hodie vocant Διαπρεσεις, & quam aniles fabulae, evolvere nequeo. — Præterea, quia jussu est, ut diebus Sabbatorum sedeat unusquisque in domo sua, & non egrediatur, neque ambulet de loco in quo habitat: siquando eos juxta literam carperimus artare, ut non jaceant, non ambulent, non stent, sed tantum sedent, si velint præcepta servare: solent respondere & dicere, Rab Akiba, & Simeon, & Hillel, Magistri nostri, tradiderunt nobis, ut bis Mille Pedes ambulemus in Sabbato: & cætera istiusmodi; doctrinas hominum præferentes doctrinæ Dei. — Videntur igitur Observationes Judaicæ apud imperitos, & vilem plebeculam, imaginem habere rationis, humanæque sapientiæ. Unde & Doctores eorum Σοφοί, hoc est, Sapientes, vocantur. Et si quando certis diebus Traditiones suas exponunt discipulis suis, solent dicere, Οἱ Σοφοὶ διδάσκουσιν, id est, Sapientes docent Traditiones.

^b משיבט.

^c Vide Maimonidis Præfationem in Seder Zeraim, editam à Pocockio Nostro, sub finem.

^d Videri poterit hæc de re Maimon. Tractat. de Sabbato, Cap. 27; quique ad eum è margine commentatur.

^e מלכא.

^f Epiphanius. Hæres. XLII. Refut. 26. Εάν γὰρ εἴπῃ, κατήχηται τὰς Παρεδδοσεις τῶν Προσφύγων — Ματὶ δὲ ποῖς ἡρώων ἀσπίται αὐτῶν, — ποῖς ἡ Παρεδδοσεις αὐτοῖς γάρτοι τῶν Προσφύγων; καὶ ὑψηλοῖς, ἐπὶ τῷ μὲν Δαβὶδ, μὲν τῷ οὐ Βασιλεὺς ἱπποδὸν τῷ Ἰ. Ακίβῃ, καὶ οὐ τῷ Βασιλεὺς αἰχμηλασίων γάρτοι τῶν Προσφύγων; τῷ δὲ ἡμῶν Ασπυριανῶν, οὐ ἡρώων Αλιξ-ατοῦ καὶ Απρίχου, οὐ τῷ Χρῆστῳ οὐδὲ μὴ οὐδὲν ἐνέχοντι ἐπιστά.

first of the Law of God, the Ordinances of Moses, and the Traditions of the Elders; he tells him, that for what relates to the *Elders*, he is not able to justify it by the *Scripture*; (*for the Traditions of the Elders are no where extant in the Law*;) and that this his strange Conceit proceeds from his Ignorance in those matters. For, says he^a, *the Traditions of the Elders are by the Jews called Secondary Instructions; and they are Four: the First bears the Name of Moses*; (as some of their Traditions do now;) *the Second is of Rabbi Akiba, as they call him; the Third, of Adda, or Juda; and the Fourth, of the Sons of Asamonæus. But where in the Five Books of the Pentateuch is that of the Corban, mentioned by our Saviour, to be found? You cannot shew it. Your Assertion therefore falls to the ground: that Saying of the Corban no where appearing in the Pentateuch.* Now hence we see, *First*, That the Traditions, which the *Jews* had in *Epiphanius* his Time, were the same, in his Judgment, which were in our Saviour's Time: *Secondly*, That those Traditions in all probability were not then kept Unwritten: for otherwise our Author would have taken another course with *Ptolomy's* Ignorance, and have told him, that those Traditions were so far from being Writ down in the *Pentateuch*, that they were not yet Written at all. And, *Thirdly*, We may conjecture, from his Manner of Expression, that the *Jews* had Four *Mishnah's* distinct then; and that the Compilation, or Digest of them, and of some later added, is the *Mishnaioth* we now have.

Such an Account do these Fathers give us of the reputed Authority of the *Jewish* Traditions, about the Year of our Lord 400. But further, that some of them were not Unwritten in the *Apostolical* Age, we have before seen from *Barnabas* his Epistle: and that they were in great Vogue in our Saviour's Time, is apparent from the Gospels; as also from *Josephus*^b, that there were such *Customs which had obtained a long while in Johannes Hyrcanus his Days*, above a 100 Years before our Saviour, and which they of that Time had received from their Fathers, not written in the *Laws of Moses*; (for neither does he say, that they were no where written.)

It is manifest therefore, from what has been premised, That such like Traditions, as the *Jews* now give us, pretended even in our Saviour's Time to great Antiquity, and were then much celebrated and regarded, and some of them in that Age reduced into Writing; That those Traditions, whatever they were, were supposed by *St. Jerom* and *Epiphanius* to have been carefully transmitted by the *Jews*, down to their Days; and that therefore the Author of the present *Mishnah*, if he were indeed as late as those two Christian Doctors, must however be allowed to have had the Opportunity of those Memorials, for the Basis of his Collection; and must be also judged to have used

^a Hæref. xxxiii. §. 9. Αἱ γὰρ Παράδοσις τῶν Προσούτων, ἀδελφότητες παρὰ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις λήγονται. Εἰσι δὲ αὐτῶν τρεῖς μὲν, ἡ εἰς νόμον Μωϋσέως φερόμενη· δούτινος δὲ, ἡ τῶν ἡγεμενῶν Ραββὶ Αἰκίᾶ· τρίτη, Ἀδδᾶ, ἥτις Ἰουδαίου τινος, καὶ ἡ τῶν Ασμοναίων.

^b Joseph. Archæolog. Lib. 13. Cap. 10. Νῦν δὲ δηλώσω βύλομαι ὅτι Νόμιμος ποτὶς πᾶσι παρέδωκε τὰς δόξας οἱ Φαρισαῖοι καὶ οἱ πατέρες Ἀλδδῶν, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀναγέγραπται ἐν τοῖς Μωϋσέως Νόμοις. Hæc autem Johannes ille Hyrcanus observari amplius vetuerat, Sadducæorum in gratiam.

that

that Opportunity, if only by the Credit his Work obtained with those of his own Nation. So that if we do not receive the *Jewish* Traditions with the same implicit Faith the *Jews* do, yet neither should we peremptorily reject them, as Arbitrary, and Groundless, and of Modern Invention; but rather give them such a fair equitable Entertainment, as to think, that though something of them may be false, yet much also may be true; being ready to admit them to be true, upon the Concurrence of any New unsuspected Testimony, the only Favour that I have to desire in their behalf.

§. III. SUCH a mean Degree of Credibility the *Talmudical* Accounts might reasonably demand of us in their own right, had they not yet been able to produce to us any particular Specimens of their Veracity: but many such there are to be collected for them out of Authors of other Languages. We have seen that what the Present Traditions say of the *Expiation-Goats*,—that both of them were to be like in Shape, and Stature, and Price^a,—that a Piece of Scarlet was to be put on the Horns of the one, and part of it to be taken off when he was brought into the Wilderness^b,—and that he was *contumeliously* used in the way^c, is much the same with that which is related in *Barnabas* his Epistle^d, and from him, as is guessed, expressed by *Tertullian*^e. And so the *Sabbath day-Journey* of 200 Paces, mentioned by St. *Jerom*, has appeared to be the same Space which the *Jews* now assign: as their other Traditional Observations, he occasionally reports, are not found to differ from those the Modern *Rabbins* give us. But for such an Attestation we need go no further than to the *New Testament*; many of whose Passages and Sayings are found to agree so well with some of the *Jewish* Records, as to borrow thence their best and clearest Light: as manifestly appears from those Commentators, and others, of this and the former Age, who have not neglected to consult the *Talmudical* Learning. Thence it is manifest, that the *Masters* of the *Jews* have been brought to contribute very much to the Explication of the *Gospel*: neither could they have been denied this Certificate, but because it was thought to be too great an Honour for them by such, who seem resolved to be as obstinate against Them, as they are against the Faith.

§. IV. FROM no better a Reason, when such a Consent between the *New Testament* and the *Jewish Traditions* appears, is that other Surmise thrown in, that this Agreement is by Fraud, and that the Later *Rabbins* transcribed their Customs out of our Sacred Writings:

^a *Mishn.* Titulo *Joma*, Cap. 6. §. 1.

^b §. 6.

^c §. 4.

^d See the last Section.

^e *Tertull.* advers. *Judeos*, Cap. 14. Sic enim & duorum Hircorum, qui Jejunio offerebantur, faciam interpretationem. Nonne & illi utrumque ordinem nominis Christi, qui jam venit, ostendunt? Pares quidem atque consimiles, propter eundem Domini conspectum, qui non alia venturus est forma, ut qui agnosci habet à quibus & læsus est. Unus autem eorum circumdatus coccino, maledictus, & consputatus, & convulsus, & compunctus, à populo extra civitatem abjiciebatur in Perditionem, manifestis notatus insignibus Christi Passionis; qui coccineâ circumdatus veste, & consputatus, & omnibus contumeliis afflictus, extra civitatem Crucifixus est.

a Surmise absolutely as groundless, as any *Jewish* Tradition can be, and no less improbable.

For first, when we certainly know, that the *Jews* of old had such Traditional Memoirs of their own current amongst them, it cannot but seem much more reasonable and natural, to suppose their Present Traditions derived thence, than from our Testament: especially since we find that this Conceit itself is Novel, and that the Elder Christians, *Jerom* and *Epiphanius*, who knew the *Jews* and their Learning best, never entered into it, but presumed the contrary.

Neither is it at all *likely* that the *Talmudists* ever increased the Knowledge of their Customs by the Help of our Writings: not only because that Nation has all along affected to be strangers to our Learning, partly out of Superstition, and partly out of Contempt: but because it actually appears, by their Gross Mistakes in many Points of History, (Mistakes with which they are much reproached by those^a whom we have now opposed,) that they never indeed looked into our Authors; no, not so much as into their own *Josephus*, from whom they might have had much better Information, if they would have vouchsafed to have been instructed in any other Language than their own.

But we need not go so far about, to refute this Suspicion of *Jewish* Forgery: the Unreasonableness of it being evident only from the bare View of such Traditional Particulars, and of the Texts of the Gospel, to which they relate. For whereas many Circumstances of those Traditions give so natural, and apposite, and full a Sense to their several Texts, that they justify, at the same time, their own Truths; they are also, we see, so obscurely expressed, and covertly hinted in those Texts, that they themselves could never have been suggested, and raised thence. This evidently appears, to give no other Examples, in the Parallels of *Baptism*, or of the *Lord's Supper*^b; in either of which the *Jewish* Customs afford a clear Explanation to many a Passage of our Scripture, but receive none. And that they could not be raised, and explained thence, is very plain in fact. For these Traditions (which, as soon as we have learned them from the *Jews*, every one in these later Ages easily and immediately applies to the Exposition of the Holy Text) were never in the least thought of by those many Antient Commentators of ours, who wanted indeed the Help of the *Jewish* Learning, but wanted not the Application nor Discernment, which the best *Jewish* Master could be supposed to bring.

§. V. THE *Third* and last *Prejudice*, we feared might be raised against a *Jewish* Derivation of *Lent*, was from its *Novelty*; that it cannot be true, because not mentioned by any Authors before.

^a *Morin. Lib. 2. Exercit. 5.*

^b Chap. I. and II. of this *Repartit.*

But

But this is an Objection, which may have been already removed by the appearing Probability of some like Originations, which we have now offered at, if the Reader has been so favourable as to admit them. However, as he cannot, I presume, reject those very many Explications of the Text of the New Testament, which Modern Commentators have given us from the Accounts of *Jewish* Customs; so he will reflect, that most of them were lately very New, and such as are not at all remembered by the Antient Expositors.

Neither is it to be wondered at, that the Antients left many such Derivations and Allusions unmentioned; or any Imputation upon them, if they are supposed to have been more ignorant of the *Jewish* Customs, than we now are.

It is well known, that in the Beginning there was very frequent Communication betwixt the *Jews* and the *Christians*, and that most of the first Converts to our Church came from the Synagogue. Yet, in a little time, there grew, we know, not only a Strangeness between those of the two Religions; but, on the *Jews* part, a great and a fierce Hatred: then when the Profelytes from the *Gentiles* had filled our Churches, and most of the Bishops and Doctors began to be of that Number. Of that Rank were the greatest Men, remembered to us, of the Second Century: and, among them, are those eminent Writers, still preserved, *Justin Martyr*, *Irenæus*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Tertullian*; Men admirably skilled in the *Heathen* Learning, but in the *Jewish* no further, than the Scriptures had informed them, and that too by a *Greek* Translation. And although, amongst those who followed them in the next Ages, some one or two, as *Origen* in the Third, and *Jerom* in the Fourth, were better seen in that Knowledge: yet they chose to use it, rather to compare and rectify the Translations then extant of the Old Testament, by the Help of the Language; than to bring any Traditional Rites, or Phrase thence, for a Correspondence with the Doctrines and Usages of the New: whether it was then thought, in the Height of that Animosity, that such a Comparison would do the *Jews* too much Honour: or whether it happened by the Allegorical Humour, which *Origen* affected, and the other imitated; they endeavouring so much to Spiritualize the plain Facts and Ordinances of the *Hebrew* Text, that much Literal Account of Unscriptural Ordinances could not be expected from them.

For what therefore concerns the *Exposition* of the *New Testament* in general, there being but little Use made of the *Jewish* Learning by those few that chanced to know it; the other Commentators, as (for example) *St. Ambrose*, *St. Augustin*, *Chrysostom*, and *Theodoret* bestowed their Pains in the Use of what Helps they had: and they gathered thence a Plain, and True, and Useful Sense of the Text; though, in some places, not so Elegant, and Full, as That the Words would have expressed. Neither is it any Disreputation to their Comments, that they reached not the Height of the Original; no more

than it is, to the best Translations. Neither were they under a much greater Disadvantage, in not understanding here and there a Criticism, understood now by us; than we now are, if any thing of that kind, unobserved by us, shall happen to be remarked by those that come after. In all Ages of Christianity, there has still been more of the Holy Scriptures understood, than was necessary for their great Design, the Salvation of Believers: and possibly the Providence of God has so ordered the Dispensations of Knowledge, that there might be some Equality between Us and those nearer the Apostles; and that, in Recompense of those many Advantages we have lost, this new Information should be given.

And in particular, as for *Rites* and *Usages*, this may be remembered; that as we have, in the few Writings of the First Ages that remain, but an occasional accidental Mention of such *Usages*; (for such Things were then too well known, to be studiously and circumstantially described;) so we have less Notice of their Original to expect. For That likewise was, in the very Beginning, too obvious to be discoursed of; and after, when it came to be less understood, was not much enquired into: those Primitive Christians wanting no Ordinary Derivations to reconcile them to such Customs, as they knew practised by the *Apostles*, and *Apostolical* Men; and not being so curious about the Reason, as observant of the Example. This seems to be the Case of the Christians of *Tertullian's* Time: for neither does he himself appear to have been very curious in that Matter^a.

Thus have I endeavoured, though too operosely, to give some Satisfaction to the General Prejudices against a *Jewish* Derivation of *Christian* Rites. And thus much I may have gained, that the Reader will be hence induced to give a fair Hearing to such a Derivation of *Lent*; (the Argument to which I am at length returning;) if I am not to hope that he may be brought so far over, as now to be *prepossessed* in its Favour.

^a See Chap. IX. §. I.

P A R T II.

R E P A R T I T I O N II.

A

C O N J E C T U R E

C O N C E R N I N G T H E

O R I G I N A L O F L E N T.

C H A P. I.

- §. I. *Our Easter, kept for some time with the Jewish Passover.*
 §. II. *The Notification of Easter by Paschal Letters, agrees with the Practice of the Jews.*
 §. III. *The Ante-Paschal Preparation of Christians, answers to a like Preparation of the Jews before their Day of Expiation.*

§. I. **T**HE *Festival* which puts an end to *Lent*, the Solemnity of *Easter*, is known by all to be an Imitation of the *Jewish Passover*; and the *Resurrection-Sunday*, to have come in the place of that Great Day on which the Children of *Israel* were released from their *Ægyptian* Bondage. And it is known likewise^a that, in the Appointing of this *Paschal* Season, the *Christians* followed for some time the Designation of the *Jews*; and that afterwards, when they found Reason to regulate this Matter by themselves, they still kept to the same *Mosaick* Rule.

§. II. Now when the *Christians* began to use a common Calculation of their own, it was generally the Work of the Bishop of *Alexandria*, (a Place famed for *Astronomical* Learning,) to consider beforehand, On what Day of the common Solar Year, the First Month of the Lunar Year, would happen to be the next Spring; and according-

^a Vide *Berber. de Pasch. Jud. Cyclo, Cap. 1.*

ly to ascertain the *Easter* Sunday, which was to be the First Sunday after the Fourteenth Day of that First Month. This the Great Bishops of several Parts learned usually from him of *Alexandria*; and timely notified to those of their Provinces, that they might know when to begin their Preparatory Devotions, which attended that moveable Festival.

And this also was done, as I conceive, after the Example of the *Jews*. For though, when they were in their own Country, the Lunar Year was with them of common Use; yet they were still to learn, when it should begin: for the first New Moon was to be so placed in the Spring Season, that on the Sixteenth Day of it a Sheaf of the First-fruits of the Harvest might be presented before the Lord^a, &c.
^b Such Things therefore the Priests, (as in other Nations,) or the *Sanbedrim* (as the *Talmudists* will have it) were to consider: and if the ordinary Year of Twelve Lunar Periods fell short, they were to lengthen it out with the Addition of a *Thirteenth*: and whether they would make such an Intercalation, or no, it was fit they should signify to the People^c some convenient time before; that a suitable Preparation might be made against that solemn Feast, to which every *Israelite* was bound to repair.

Notice the *Jews* wanted, that lived at any distance from *Jerusalem*, to order their Affairs so, that their Absence for some Weeks at that time from home, might be less incommodious: however to make ready any residue of Holy Things, that might be in their hands, and were to be spent at *Jerusalem*; to take care to have all their Family Circumcised; to Purify themselves, if not to take up the Lamb; to discharge the Vow of a *Nazarite*, if they had any such upon them; to provide and to offer any Eucharistical Sacrifice that might be due. And for some of these Reasons, they commonly came up to the Temple before the Feast; and the precedent Week had its peculiar Celebrity: and probably all the Fourteen Days of that First Month were half Festival, as hath been intimated above^d.

Now such a Notice was likewise necessary for the *Ante-Paschal Preparation*, the *Christians* used, though in a contrary Manner. For they, as we have seen^e, spent some Time before in Fasting; all of them, both the *Asiatics*, and those who differed from them: and though some *Fasted* only *One Day*, yet *others Fasted Two*, *others, More*, says *Irenæus*; and of them *some, Forty*. This indeed is the Account *Irenæus* gives of his own, and *Victor's* Side: but, in all probability, the *Asiatick* Manner of Fasting differed not from theirs in Length of Time. For from that *Apostolical Constitution*, cited by the *Audians*, in *Epiphanius*, it has appeared not unlikely^f, that those also of the *Asiatick* Manner, opposing their Fasts to the Festivity of the *Jews*, began therefore their Fasting at least a Week, if

^a Levit. 23. 10.

^b Maimon. de Consecr. Calend. Cap. 4. Selden. de Ann. Civ. Vet. Jud. Cap. 5.

^c Maimon. Ibid. Selden. Libri ejusd. Cap. 9.

^d Part I. Chap. V. §. III.

^e Part I. Chap. III.

^f Part I. Chap. V. §. III. Lit. b. Pag. 175.

not a Fortnight, before the 14th Day: as the same Opposition might have directed them to have kept the 50 Days after with great Joy.

§. III. But, in this contrary Manner of Observing the *Ante-Paschal Season*, Opposition to the *Jews* was not primarily designed: neither was it further prosecuted by the *Christians*, than they were led to it by contrary Causes. For what ever Reason the *Jews* might have for their Pentecostal Sadness, the Resurrection of Christ gave his Followers a greater, for Joy: and if the *Jews* did exult in the Death of their *Messiah*, the *Christians* were certainly to lament it. This Lamentation also of our Saviour's Death, as it was not made in consideration of any Loss by them sustained; so neither did it arise out of Indignation against his Mortal Persecutors.

On his Passion-Day they Fasted; and Grieved for the Sin of the *Jews*, by which he was put to Death: but they Bemoaned also their other Sins, and the Sins of the whole World, and more especially their Own; those for which he suffered, and which were all the more guilty, and more hateful Causes of his Crucifixion. In this Abhorrence of all Sin, and Penitential Grief, they spent the Day of their Lord's Death: and, for the better performing this Duty then, they prepared themselves by the Abstinence and Devotions of the Season before.

This was the Intention, as well as Practice, of the whole Church; and this was their *Ante-Paschal Preparation*, concurring at least in Time with that of the *Jews*. But the *Christians* agreed yet nearer with the *Jews* in this whole Action; passing their Time, not indeed as the *Jews* then did in that very Season, but as they did in another as solemn, and in an Occasion wholly alike to the present Circumstances of the *Christians*: that is, the *Church of Christ* kept the *Day of the Passion*, as the *Jews* did the *Day of Expiation*; and prepared for the one just after the same manner, as They did for the other.

For this is the Conjecture I now offer, That, as many *Jewish* Ordinances were Patterns to the *Christians*, and as their *Sabbath*, and *Monday*, and *Thursday* were removed to our *Sunday*, and *Wednesday*, and *Friday*; so their *Expiation-Day* was transferred to our *Passion-Day*; accompanied, as it used to be attended, with all its Previous Offices. And this Parallel *Tertullian*, we may remember, in the name of the Catholics, has already suggested to us^a, though he did not speak it out, when he tells us, that *the Fast of the Tenth Day of the Seventh Month is abolished*, and, at the same time, *that the Days, on which our Saviour was taken away, were now determined to that Duty*.

This Conjecture I shall endeavour to approve, by shewing, *First*, the Correspondence between the *Expiation-Day* of the *Jews*, and that of our *Lord's Passion*; and, *Secondly*, between the Seasons that Precede both the one, and the other, of those Radical Fasts.

^a Part I. Chap. IV. §. II.

C H A P. II.

§. I. *The Sacrificial Performance on the Jewish Expiation-Day,*§. II. *Compared with that of our Saviour on His Passion-Day.*

§. I. **T**HE *Day of Expiation*, or Atonement, is with the *Jews* a very Great Day; enjoined by God under a very severe Sanction, and observed by them always with a suitable Care. It was appointed on the Tenth Day of their Seventh Month; just Six Months after the Day of the Caption of the *Paschal* Lamb, or Kid of the Goats: and the Duties of it were Peculiar, partly *Sacrificial*, to be performed by the High-Priest; partly *Devotional*, incumbent on the People.

The *Sacrificial Office* proper to the Day, was proper to the *High-Priest*: and He only, and on that Day only, was allowed to enter within the *Vail* into the Holy of Holies. Besides the Propitiation he was then to make for himself, and his House, he was to make an *Atonement for the People of the Congregation*: and that was done by *Two Kids of the Goats*, for a *Sin-Offering*. These *Two Goats* were to be alike; according to the Tradition, both by the *Jews*^b and by *Barnabas*^c: and to be presented before the Lord, at the Door of the *Tabernacle of the Congregation*. There the *High-Priest* cast Lots upon them: one Lot for the Lord, and the other Lot for the *Scape Goat* [for *Azazel*, supposed by some to be *Satan*^d]: and the Heads of both

^a For this, and the whole Section, see Levit. 16.

^b Maimon. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 8. Cap. 5. §. 14.

^c For this, and what follows from *Barnabas*, see *Repartit.* I. Chap. X. §. II. Lit. d. Pag. 278.

^d *חַיָּטָן* is taken by the Scholiasts, *Salomon* and *Abenezra*, to be a *Hill*; so called from its *Hard Ground*: and to be compounded of *חַיָּט*, [in *Arabic* *عزاز*, *Terra Dura*,] and of *טָן*, in the *Auxetic* Sense.

Some of the *Greek* Interpreters, whom our Translation has followed, have included the *Goat* in the Signification of the Word; and have rendered it by *Τετράς ἀπεχρήματος*, and *Τετράς ἀπελυσμένης*: in which Case it is presumed to be compounded of *τετράς*, *Caper*, (for this Word by the *Septuagint* is sometimes taken Masculinely,) and of *τῆς*, *Abiit*, or *عزل*, *Remotus est*.

Both those Ways are disliked by *Bockart*, who therefore supposes the Word to signify *ἀπεχρήματος*, or *Χωρομῆτος*: taking it to be *عزاز*, from the Root just now cited; and understanding the Text concerning the Lots in this manner, that *One* was for the Lord, [or his Altar,] and the *Other* for the Separation, or Removing away; and in this manner the *Septuagint's* *ἀποπεμπῆς* may be taken.

But still it seems to others more proper to understand some *Person* for the other Lot, and who may be opposed to the Lord. And so *Origen* takes the *ἀποπεμπῆς* of the *Septuagint* to be *Satan*: not as if he were like one of the *Dii Averrunci*; (which is indeed the Signification of *عاز*, a Word though, it may be, regarded here by those Translators, who content themselves often with any Signification of the Original, be it suitable to the Place, or no;) but that he was *Averruncandus*, and *Depellendus ab Hominum consortio*, (under a *Niddui*, see Pag. 220. Lit. b.) whose Place therefore is in the *Wilderness*. And *Azazel*, in this Sense, may also be derived from *عزل*, *Removere*, *Abdicare*.

And it may be observed that, though the *Jewish* Scholiasts take no notice here of any Evil Spirit, yet their Traditions mention one *Sammael*, particularly for the Expiation-Day, [*Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 26.*] to whom a Present, they say, was then to be given, that he might not hinder their Reconciliation. This *Sammael* they take to be the Chief of the Evil Spirits, and the Prince of this World, [*Lightf. in Joh. 12. 31.*] that is, *Satan* himself [*Maimon. More Nevoc. Part. 2. Cap. 30.*]: And so the *Egyptian Typhon*, who was *Βίαιος*, *Καλυπτός*, and *Εναυπνός*, was called *Seth*, and *Bebon*, and also *Smu* [*Plut. de Isid. & Osir.*]. Thus the *Jews* seem to have retained a Memory of something done to the Devil on that Day, though they conceive it under a false Notion: and still, when the Service of the Day is over, they sound their Horn, for Joy, they tell us, of the Victory they have then obtained over *Satan* [*Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. eod.*].

Dr. *Spencer* therefore understands *Satan* here; but makes the Name to be *טָן* *טָן*, *Fortis Abiens*, or *Fugiens*; *ἀπεχρήματος*: [if the above-mentioned *עז* would not have served better, one of whose Significations is *Descivit*.] And the *Goat*, which he says was used for the Depelling of Evil, as the other was for Procuring Favour, he supposes

of them he bound about with two narrow Pieces of Scarlet*. With the Blood of that which was offered to the Lord, he entered into the House, and within the Vail; to sprinkle it before the Mercy-Seat: and while he was in the House, no one else was to be there; [no, not in the Space between the Altar and the House, as the Rabbins say^b. On the other Goat he laid both his hands, and confessed over him all the Iniquities of the Children of Israel, and all their Transgressions in all their Sins; [in a Form the *Mishnah* pretends to give^c;] putting them on the Head of the Goat: and then he delivered him, bearing all those Iniquities, and Accursed, as the Traditions of Barnabas call him, into the hand of a Fit Man, [Ready and Bold, I suppose^d; or an Executioner; who was to be a Stranger, not an Israelite, says Maimonides^e,] to be carried into the Wilderness: [the People therefore spitting upon him, and goading him on, as Barnabas tells us they were bid to do; and the *Mishnah* says^f there were those who were ready to pluck him by the Hair, and cry, Away, Be gone; though they were kept off from so doing by the contrivance of a narrow Passage.] In this manner he was led into the land not inhabited, [to a Rock called *Zuk*^g, where his Leader, they say, dividing the Piece of Scarlet, put half of it on some Point of the Rock; [on a Thorn^h, says Barnabas;] and tied again the other half between the Horns of the Goat, and so pushed him down headlong, to be broke to pieces by the Fall.]

§. II. SUCH an Annual Expiation-Day was appointed for the Jews: and its Sacrifice, whereby the Atonement was made for the Sins of

supposes to be sent to Satan: not for an Offering to him; but to shew the Merit, and End of Sin; to reproach him of his own Wickedness, by what was so sent to him; and to make it appear, that not he, but God, to whom the other Lot fell, was the Averter of Evil.

This Account has been suspected by some, and much opposed: but still the same Evil Spirit may be allowed to be meant, in another more convenient, and very safe Sense. For, as Wicked Men are said sometimes to be delivered to Satan; so might that Goat also, in the place of those Men, whose Sins he bore: and by that Delivery the Accuser, and Tormenter, might be made to know, that God's People were now discharged of their Transgressions; and that only that Beast, on whom they were all laid, was to answer his Accusations, and to be exposed to his Vengeance. This Reason of the Action seems to be agreeable to the Circumstances of it, reported both by the Scripture and the Talmudists; and may stand with any of the fore-mentioned Derivations: though it may too have one of its own. For from the Arabick *عزل*, which signifies *Reprehendit*, *Culpavit*, *Azazel* may be likewise formed, either by Doubling the second Radical, or by Preposing *ty*; and signify one who finds fault much and vehemently, *Διαβάλλων*.

a Maimon. de Cult. Divin. Tract. 8. Cap. 3. §. 4.

b Idem, ibid. Tract. 6. Cap. 3. §. 3.

c Codex *Joma*, *Sheringhami*, Cap. 6. §. 2.

d *ענין* is rendered *Fit*, in a large Sense. But it may, I suppose, mean one that was more particularly Fit for that Business, and would not spare to strike in the way, or to kill in the end, from *عانت*, and *عاب*, *Itus inflixit*, *Noxam intulit*.

e De Cultu Divin. Tract. 8. Cap. 3. §. 7.

f *Joma*, Cap. 6. §. 4.

g *צוק* is *Mons altus & præruptus*: and so is *شيف*, and *صوح*, in Arabick; from the Fissures of it, I conceive. And *גזרה* may also signify a Piece of Ground, so Broken and Cut, (for so *R. Salom.* seems to understand it,) as well as Land Separated, and otherwise Cut off, an Island, or a Desert.

h *פזין* signifies not only *Spina*, (as Barnabas understands it, *cujus Edulis*;) but also *Rupes excurrens in mare*, *Mons*, *Littus*, & *Recessus Maris*: and therefore appears to answer to *צוק*, and to express all the Significations of the Words of that Family; in which *شيف* is *Mons*, & *Difficillimus & Altissimus in eo locus*; *صوح* the same, as also *Ripa*, *Latus fluminis*; and, lastly, *شوك* is *Spina*. And it may likewise be observed, of the Words relating to the above-mentioned *גזרה*, that *جزر* has under it the Signification not only of *Insula*, but also of *Recessus, seu Decrementum Aquæ, vel Maris*: and that *جدر*, as well as *גדר*, signifies a Hedge now, and might the Thorns heretofore; and withall expresses the *Βλαστη*, or Buds, which are mentioned by Barnabas.

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that Year, was so Performed. There was, in like manner, a certain Day appointed, to come in its due time, when an Atonement should be made for the Sins of the whole World; not of one Nation only, or of one Year, or Age; by a Priest, supereminently High; and with a Sacrifice, truly singular and extraordinary, and of itself deserving to be accepted.

The Day of *our Saviour's Passion*, every good Christian believes to have been the Day of the *Expiation of Mankind*. And that He, in that Sacrificial Action, was both the *Priest*, and the *Sacrifice*, the whole Tenor of the Epistle to the *Hebrews* positively avows. He is there said to be *a merciful and faithful High-Priest, making Reconciliation for the Sins of the People^a: The High-Priest of our Profession^b: Our great High-Priest, that is passed into the Heavens^c: Called of God, as was Aaron: after the Order of Melchisedek^d: Invested with an unchangeable Priesthood^e: An High-Priest, who is set on the right hand of the Throne of the Majesty in the Heavens^f.*

And this *High-Priest* was of necessity to have somewhat to offer, says the Apostle^g. *He therefore entered once into the Holy Place, not by the Blood of Goats, and of Calves, but by his own Blood, having obtained eternal Redemption for us^h: — and, through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to Godⁱ. For Christ is not entered into the Holy Places made with hands, which are the Figures of the True; but into Heaven itself, now to appear in the Presence of God for us. Nor yet was He to offer himself often, as the High-Priest entereth into the Holy Place every year with the Blood of others: — but now once in the end of the World, hath he appeared to put away Sin, by the Sacrifice of Himself: — being once offered, to bear the Sins of many^k. So are we sanctified, through the Offering of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all^l: — who, after he had offered one Sacrifice for Sins, for ever sat down on the right hand of God^m. For by one Offering He hath perfected for ever them that are Sanctifiedⁿ.*

Thus exactly adequate is the Correspondence between the *Propitiations* of the Old and New Covenant, as it stands proposed to us by the Divine Writer to the *Hebrews*. Our *Saviour* is asserted to have been the *High-Priest*, and on his *Passion-Day* to have officiated for us; to have offered the Sacrifice of Himself; to have bore our Sins in his own Body; and with his own Blood to have entered into the Holy Place not made with hands; and to have appeared (as before the Mercy-Seat) in the Presence of God. Thus much of the Analogy the Apostle has expressly laid down: and it may very naturally be carried further. The Author therefore of the Epistle ascribed to *Barnabas*^o, and *Tertullian* after him^p, have both took notice, that the *Two Kids of the Goats* were chosen alike, in as much as both of them

^a Hebr. 2. 17.

^e Chap. 7. 24.

ⁱ Verse 14.

ⁿ Verse 14.

^o Barnab. Epist. Cap. 7.

^p See Repartit. I. Chap. X. §. III. Lit. e.

^b Chap. 3. 1.

^f Chap. 8. 1.

^k Verses 24, 25, &c.

^c Chap. 4. 14.

^g Verse 3.

^l Chap. 10. 10.

^d Chap. 5. 4, 10.

^h Chap. 9. 12.

^m Verse 12.

were

were equal Representatives of our Blessed Lord: and that he was as that clean unspotted one, which was offered to God, and whose Blood was carried into the Holy Place; and also as that other, laden with the Sins of the People, and so sent away; that he likewise wore the Scarlet; he was, as it were, Accursed; was reviled, spit upon, and buffeted; gave his Back to the Smilers, and his Cheek to them that pulled off the Hair. And to this, after their Example, I may add from the same Traditions, that He was *sent away*, by the hands of a *Fit Man*, *Pontius Pilate*, a *Stranger*; goaded to his Execution; led to Mount *Calvary*, the Place *Abrupt* and *Cut off*; Himself there *Cut off* from the Land of the Living, and as it were *delivered up to the Prince of this World*, (who came, though he had^a nothing in Him,) and into the seeming *Power* of the *Devil*, to suffer Death in appearance, but indeed to *destroy him that had the Power of Death*^b.

Thus did our Faithful and Merciful *High-Priest* both *Act*, and *Suffer*, for us, in that Great Day of Atonement; answerably to the *Sacrificial* Part of a like Day's Office with the *Jews*. It remains, that we now see, What was the *Devotional* Part, to be performed by the *People*.

C H A P. III.

§. I. *The Devotional Duty of the Jews on their Expiation-Day,*

§. II. *Practised by Christians, on the Passion-Day.*

§. III. *Some Circumstances of the Eves of those Days, compared.*

WHILE this Reconciliation was making in the *Temple* at *Jerusalem*, the *People*, even those who were not present at it, had their Parts to perform, and were to join with it, wheresoever they resided; Fasting that whole Day, and *afflicting their Souls from Evening to Evening*^c. For *whatsoever Soul it was, that was not afflicted in that same Day, he should be cut off from among his People*^d.

Now, that they might be sure not to be defective in so necessary a Duty, they took care to begin the Office of that Day earlier than the Sunset of the first Evening; and to conclude it later than that of the second. The *Affliction* also of their Souls they shewed, not by *Fasting* only, but by all other Demonstrations of *Penitence*, and Grief for Sin.

And therefore, for the better performing that Duty, as they prepare themselves some considerable time before, (of which we are to speak in the following Chapter,) so more particularly on the Ninth Day, the Day immediately preceding. For then they repair to their *Synagogues* before day, and continue long at their Devotion there;

^a Joh. 14. 30.

^b Hebr. 2. 14.

^c Lev. 23. 32.

^d Verse 29.

going afterwards to their Burying-places, for their greater Humiliation: and in the Afternoon they wash themselves, *confessing their Sins*; make ready their *Candles*, which they are presently to use; and particularly take care to *ask Pardon* of those they have injured, and to *make Satisfaction*. Then in the Synagogue, with other Prayers, they make a *solemn Confession* of their *Sins*; and sometimes receive from one another their *Forty Stripes save one*: and afterwards they return home, and eat a Formal *Supper*, thereby to distinguish that Day from the following, in which they are neither to eat nor drink^a.

And now before the Night, beginning that *Great Day*, is come; they return to the *Synagogue*; set up and *light their Candles*, for each, one; (and sometimes two, as both for their Soul and their Body;) and, after Proclamation is made of *Leave for the Excommunicate* to join with them, they begin their solemn *Prayers* of the Day, which they continue towards Midnight; some spending the whole Night, and repeating the whole *Psalter*. However, before Sunrising they come thither again, and stay there all the rest of the Day; Reading out of the Scriptures, and Praying: in which Prayers they take care that their second Service, the Sacrificial Service for the Day, be said before Noon. After Noon they begin the Service of the Evening, continuing their Devotions till the Sun is ready to set; when they subjoin another Office, for the Close of the Day, and peculiar to that Day: and then, when the Night of the next Day is come, they have the solemn Blessing pronounced by the Priests that are present, and so are dismissed.

After this manner, while the *Temple* stood, the *Jews* heretofore are presumed to have employed the Day of *Expiation*; and not otherwise to have expected any Benefit from the Sacrifice, which was then offered, and by which all their Sins were to be entirely remitted.

And since the *Destruction* of their *Temple*, and Ceasing of their *Sacrifices*, this their own Office the *Jews* still continue; and impute so much to their due Performance of it, as to think^b, that the Punishment of many Offences is entirely forgiven, and of the rest at least suspended, by that alone, and without the help of the Expiatory *Goats*, which are now wanting.

§. II. Now as it is certain, what was laid down in the Chapter foregoing, that the *Day* of our Saviour's *Passion*, was the Great and Last *Day* of *Expiation*; when that one *Propitiatory Sacrifice* was made for the Sins of the *whole World*, and of *all Ages*, by that our Great and *Catholick High-Priest*^c: so is it not to be questioned but that the whole World, had it then known what Propitiation our Blessed Lord was making for them, would have joined the Affliction of their own Souls with that his bitter *Passion*; and would, in their fe-

^a For this, and what follows, see *Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 25.*

^b *Repartit. I. Chap. VIII. §. II.*

^c *Tertull. advers. Marcion. Lib. 4. Cap. 9.*

veral Habitations, have accompanied his Oblation for their Sins with their own Confession of them, with bitter Grief for their Commission, and strong and earnest Supplication for their Pardon.

This All *Mankind* could not have failed to have done on that Day, had they but known what our *Saviour* was then doing for them. But That then was hid from the Eyes of the Apostles themselves.

When therefore the *Mystery* of his Death came to be revealed, and the Propitiation of that Day was made known; if his Disciples thought fit to keep an *Annual Memorial* of it, (and that Duty the *Paschal Season* of the *Jews*, so solemnly kept, could not but suggest to *Christians*,) they could not neither fail of Solemnizing the *Return* of that Day, with that Profound Veneration of our Suffering Lord, and that Penitential Supplicatory Devotion to the Father, which the *Original Day* itself would have required from them.

Now, that such a Day was kept Yearly, in Memory of the *Passion of our Lord*, in the First and Apostolical Age, is a Truth, which the Former Part of this Discourse may have cleared to us^a: and that it was all along observed with as great a strictness of Fasting and Humiliation, as the *Jews* themselves used on their Day of *Propitiation*, is likewise manifest: as it is also most certain, that the Grief and Affliction, they then were under, was not for the Death and Loss of their Lord and Master; but for the Guilt of their Sins, and the Sins of the World, for which their Lord and Master had that Day suffered. So much Correspondence there was, most evidently, between the Practice of the *Jews* and of the *Christians* on their two Great *Fast-Days*.

Thus should our *Saviour's* Expiatory Sacrifice, which completed and superseded the *Jewish*, have been attended answerably: and thus actually was the Annual Memory of it afterwards celebrated with a suitable Devotion. And this, though not done by the Primitive Church, in virtue of any such strict Injunction, as that under the Old Covenant, might yet be well taken up, upon the cogent Reason of so just a Congruity. And as the *Jews* continue their *Devotional Office*, now when by the Judgment of God an End is put to the *Sacrificial*: so might the *Christians* think fit to keep up a Yearly *Memory* of that their *Sacrifice*, whose Offering was once made, and never to be reiterated, but its Efficacy is to endure for ever: they likewise observing this Solemnity, not with any Ritual Form, but with such eternal Duties of Penitence and Supplication, as are always incumbent upon us miserable Sinners, which the Justice of God will perpetually require, and his Goodness in our Saviour accept.

§. III. THERE seems therefore to be Reason enough, from the Nature of the Thing, from that Mystrious Suffering of our Lord,

^a Part I. Chap. III.

and the consequent Practice of his Primitive Servants, to found the continued Solemnity of the *Passion-Day*, upon its Correspondence with the *Levitical Day of Propitiation*. Neither is it to be expected that I should justify the Parallel, by producing any like Opinion of the First *Christians*, to that we have seen of the *Jews*, concerning the Necessity and Merit of the Observation of the Day: when the one was observed only as Proper and Expedient, (though in the *Judgment* probably of those who had *the Spirit of God*,) and the other, as Positively commanded by God *Himself*. And yet so far did the First *Christians* seem to regard the Virtue of a *Jewish Expiation-Day*, in their Practice about their own, that they still determined the ordinary stated *Period* of the *Penances* of ejected Brethren, with the *Penitence* of *Good Friday*, and the following *Saturday*, (both which were the Days of our *Lord's Passion*,) as if by that their Conversion was consummated, and the Pardon of the Church entirely gained.

And when they readmitted *Penitents* on *Maundy-Thurs day*, as was the Antient Usage of the Church of *Rome*, and, it may be, of all others, they did not therefore depart from this their Parallel with the *Expiation-Day*, but rather confirmed it. For the *Jews*, as we have seen^a, on the *Eve* of their *Expiation*, relax their Sentences of *Excommunication*, and admit all to the Office of the next Day: and for the same reason the *Christians* might admit their Excommunicates to the Offices of both *Passion Days*; and even those, whom they did not afterwards suffer to continue in their Communion. The Office of the *Passion Day*, or Days, I mean; which consisted in Confession and Supplication: for it is very probable, that in the earlier Times the Reconciled *Penitents* were not admitted to the Sacrament of our *Lord's Body and Blood*, until *Easter-Day*.

The *Supper* likewise, which was used to be held solemnly on that *Thurs day*, though it is said to be in Imitation only of our *Lord's Supper*; yet it may also have proceeded from the Practice of the *Jews* on their *Expiation-Eve*, which we mentioned above. For they, in the Conclusion of their Penitential Preparation towards the *Propitiation-Day*, do always make a *Solemn Supper*: and think it as much their Duty to eat well on that Evening, as on the Sabbath: that being, in their Opinion, a Duty of the Afternoon; as strict Fasting is the Duty of the following Day.

So agreeable was the *Supper* of *Passion-Thurs day* to the *Supper* of the *Jews* on the *Eve* of their *Expiation*: and more agreeable, than to the *Last Supper* of our Blessed Lord; which (if we go by *Jewish Custom*) was held after Night; and, in their reckoning therefore, rather on the *Friday*, than on the *Thurs day*: Agreeable, I say, as to the Time; for as to the Freedom of Eating, I suppose it differed much from that *Jewish Meal*.

^a *Repartit. I. Chap. IV. §. III.*

But those *Asiatics*^a, who differed from the other Churches, both in their observing the 14th Day with the *Jews*, (whatever Day of the Week it should be,) and also in breaking off their Fast that Day, might possibly in this Point have as much followed the *Custom of the Jews* for one Season, as they did their *Calculation* for the other. For those of *Asia* seem to be of the Opinion, of which their Followers in *Epiphanius*^b certainly were, and which many other Churches have also embraced, that our Saviour Suffered on the 15th Day of *Nisan*: neither is it likely, that they did not Fast on that Day; notwithstanding they are said to have broke it off before: for such a Neglect, no doubt, could not have been passed over unobserved by their Adversaries, and would have drawn upon them the Censure of *Victor*, more than either of the other Differences; and besides, we know, their now mentioned Followers did actually so Fast. I suppose therefore, that their Breaking off the Fast was not a Determination of it, but an Interruption by such a *Supper*; and that this their Meal was Formal, and Full; and in the nature of a Feast, and so reputed: whereas the Supper, if any, of the rest of the Christians was a sparing Refreshment; and such as, in comparison with the other Meal, did not seem to Discontinue the Abstinence of the Season; as since it has not been thought to do.

To these lesser Particulars, by which some Indications of a *Propitiation-Day* may appear, I shall, lastly, add another Custom, to be read in the *Ordo Romanus*; their Custom of striking of Fire, and lighting up their *Candles* very solemnly, in the Evening of the same *Passion-Thursd.* For, whatever other Reason it may have had for its Institution, it does also very well Correspond with the Usage of the *Jews*, who take, as we have observed, very particular Care to have their *Candles* ready against their *Propitiation-Eve*, with which that Night their *Synagogues* are more than ordinarily enlightened.

And thus I have offered to shew the Resemblance our *Passion-Day* bears to the *Jew's Expiation-Day*, both in itself, and some Rites of the Day immediately preceding it. I am now to go higher, and to consider at large the whole Previous Season, called commonly *Lent*; how well it agrees with the like Preparatory Season of the *Jews*, before their *Day of Expiation*.

^a Part I. Chap. I. §. III.

^b Part I. Chap. V. §. III. Pag. 175. Lit. b.

C H A P. IV.

- §. I. *A Penitential Season with the Jews, Preparatory to their Expiation-Day: Some certain Days next before it, kept Uniformly by All; More also, generally, though in various Numbers; and Forty, by many; but the First of the Forty, Universally observed.*
- §. II. *Forty Days, a solemn Space of Penitence in the Jewish Discipline.*
- §. III. *The Christian Lent, compared with the Jewish.*

§. I. **T**HAT the *Jews* had an *Ante-Paschal* Season, if not of a Fortnight, yet of a Week; and particularly, that the Sabbath of that Week was called the *Great Sabbath*; we have observed before^a: whence appeared a Conformity between *Them* and the *Christians* (those especially, who reckoned by the Days of the *Month*, and not of the *Week*) in point of Holy Time; though the Devotions of the one were generally *Festival*, and of the others altogether *Penitential*. But when we once suppose the Day of our Lord's *Passion*, to have been the Day of *Expiation*; and come to consider the *Preparatory* Time that ushered in this solemn Day: we then begin to find a fuller, and a higher Correspondence; not only in a *Weekly*, but in a *Forty Season*; and that likewise of *Penitential Duty*.

For first, the *Jews* prepare themselves for the Day of *Propitiation*, more particularly the *Week* before it. They rise before Light, assist at Publick Prayers, confess their Sins thrice every Day, Fast, and give Alms^b. And as the *People* fit themselves in a more especial manner, by the Devotions of those Seven Days, for the solemn Act of Humiliation commanded them by *Moses*: so, they tell us, the *High-Priest* heretofore employed the same *Week* in a continual Exercise of his Office, that he might be the better able to discharge the difficult Duty of the Great Day^c. The *Sabbath* also of that *Week* they distinguish by a peculiar Title, and call it the *Sabbath of Repentance*.

Thus the *Jews* pass the Seven preceding Days: and so *Leo de Modena*^d distinguishes them from the rest. For though all the Ten of that Seventh Month are called the Ten Days of Repentance, reckoning the Day of *Expiation* for one: yet the Two First are in some manner Festival, being the First of their Political Year, and on them they abstain not from Dinner and Supper; for which reason they may not be esteemed as Penitential, as the Seven that follow.

These *Ten Days* are constantly so observed by all *Jews*: the Last, the Tenth, by Scriptural Precept; and the Others, by Universal Cus-

^a Part I. Chap. V. §. III.

^b For this whole Section, see *Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 26.*

^c *Toma*, Cap. 1.

^d *Cerem. des Juifs*, Part 3. Chap. 6.

tom. And further, to these are added, out of the foregoing Month, ordinarily a *Week* at least, says *Leo de Modena*. For even the *German Jews* begin their Humiliation as early; according to a particular Rule they have^a. But other Nations generally take more Time to that solemn Office: and frequently devout Persons begin from the First Day, even of this preceding Month, to Fast, to make Prayers and Confessions, to repeat the Penitential Psalms, and to give Alms; continuing so to do the whole *Forty Days*. However, all *Jews* begin their Penitential Devotion the First Day of that Month, the *Fortieth Day* before the *Expiation*; though they may afterwards discontinue, in the intermediate Time. On that Day also they begin to blow the Horn in their Synagogues, which they do every Day that Month: for an Alarm, they say; that they may Repent, and be ready to meet the Judgment of God; who, according to their Tradition, sits in *Judgment* the *Ten Days* of the Next Month.

§. II. I have mentioned their Opinion of God's Judging the World, in the Beginning of their Seventh Month: and it may seem thence, that their Custom of giving Notice by the sound of the Horn, may rather respect the *Beginning* of the Month *Tisri*, than the *Tenth Day* of it; and be rather the Warning of *Thirty*, than of *Forty Days*. But this Suspicion, if it should arise, will receive easy Satisfaction from another concurrent Tradition of the *Jews*, universally received by them; that *Moses* went up upon the *Mount*, the Last Time, on the *First Day* of their *Sixth Month*, and returned again to them, with the Second Copy of the Law, on the *Fortieth* after, the *Tenth* of the *Seventh*, their *Expiation-Day*^b. Now when he went up, he commanded a Horn, as they say, to be sounded thorough the Camp; to give Notice to the People on what Errand he was going; that they might not again commit the like Abominations; in Memory of which, they now still sound it: and we besides know, from better Authority^c, that *Moses* spent these *Forty Days* and *Forty Nights* in Fasting and Supplication, for the Sins of the Children of *Israel*. So that we are rather to think, that they have since in some measure followed his pious Example; and that, on the Day of his Ascent, they begin to prepare for that of his *Descent*: which in their Opinion is the *Tenth* of *Tisri*; and on which they have been since commanded, always to *Afflict themselves before the Lord*, at least, *one Day and Night*.

The *Forty Days* therefore here are not to be looked upon as an accidental Number, and the bare Aggregate of *Thirty* and *Ten*: but as they make up directly a full *Penitential Season*. And indeed that *Number* seems to have been very antiently appropriated to *Penance* and Humiliation. For, not to reckon up the *Forty Days*, by which

^a *Morin*. de Penit. Lib. 10. Cap. 34. §. 3.

^b *Rab. Salom.* in Locum Deuter. proxime citand.

^c Deut. 9. 18.

likewise, in complying with the *Ceremony* consequent to it, and undertaking the Form of *Humiliation* for Sin: He entering upon a *solemn Fast*, as the Rest were to do: though performing it in an extraordinary Manner.

But, to return to my Subject; whatever the fortune of this last Conjecture may be; the Reader, I hope, will not be unwilling to allow that *Forty Days* might have been always with the *Jews* a *Penitential Space* of Time; that it is so looked upon by them now, and has been time out of mind; and that the *Forty Days*, ending in the Day of *Expiation*, are of the same nature.

§. III. AND now I come to trace the *Parallel*: which yet the Reader must have been drawing to himself before. For if we do but consider their *Propitiation-Day*, as the Great commanded Fast, determined by *Moses*; and the *Seven*, or Nine before it, as Days sometime after generally agreed on, to *prepare* and predispose for That; and also some *other Days*, afterwards *added* to those, for the same purpose, by the Devotion of succeeding Times, but in a *various Number*, at the Discretion of several Persons and Places; and all these severally added out of the *Forty*, which are to be reckoned backwards from the Radical Fast, and which comprehended a *solemn Space* of *Penitential Time*: This, I say, if we do but recollect; we cannot at the same time but think, that we have here an exact Pattern of our *Christian Lent*.

For when the *Passion-Day* was once put for our *Expiation-Day*; as indeed such it was, and I presume in the Beginning was so esteemed universally; some Few *Days before* it were then judged fit to be taken in for a *Preparation*^a: and those were most naturally taken, which make up the *Holy Week*, and which also in a little while absolutely obtained^b. At the same time, to these *Others* were also *added*, but discretionally, as several Persons thought fit, and several Churches directed; and so many added by some, as to make up the Number *Forty*: a Number of Days, that was always looked upon as the most *solemn for a Fast*; which those therefore *reckoned*, who did not altogether *keep* them; and which gave *Denomination* consequently, even to the Lesser Spaces, that were fasted within them^c.

That is, I suppose the *Holy Week*, as soon as it came to be observed Universally, to have answered the *Seven*, or *Ten Days of the Jews*. For it was not necessary that the Days should be precisely of the same Number, though they were of the same Nature: for that the Particular Considerations of Christianity might otherwise determine; as when they resolved to keep the *Passion-Day*, not upon the Day of the *Month*, but of the *Week*. That *Passion-Week* therefore was kept with more than ordinary strictness of Penitential Devotion: and if the *Sunday* of it was *exempted* from Fasting, it was because it

^a Part I. Chap. III.^b Ibid. Chap. V.^c Ibid. Chap. X.

had with us the Privilege of a *Sabbath*; for the *Jews* Fast not their *Sabbath of Penitence*. As there was too another apparent Conformity between the *Jews* and *Eastern Christians*, in the Observation of the *Holy Saturday*: for whereas those Christians never Fasted on any *Saturday* or *Sabbath*, no more than the *Jews*; yet on the *Passion-Saturday* they always Fasted; as the *Jews* do likewise on that single *Sabbath*, upon which their *Expiation-Day* may fall.

Now this *Holy Week*, which, with the following *Festival* one, was a Time of *Vacation* in *Courts of Justice*, by the Imperial Law^a, under the Christian Emperours; and might have had the same Immunity before, by Private Custom of the Church; was in this too not unlike to that Penitential Time of the *Jews*, in which they Hear no *Causes*, nor Administer any *Oaths*^b. And it is observable, that when a *Larger Lent* came to be formally kept; as that of *Forty Days* was; at least, after the Council of *Nice*, either by the Determination or Agreement of the Catholick Church: that then, in a little time, the same *Vacation* was enlarged too; and it became unlawful to give any *Oaths*, during the whole *Quadragesimal* Season; a Privilege that was after extended to other Times of Publick Fasting, as also of Festivity.

Such is the Correspondence between the *Ante-Paschal Fast* of the *Christians* and the *Ante-Propitiation Fast* of the *Jews*: and by that, if I mistake not, a good and rational Account is given of the *Practice* of the *Antient Church*: why they first chose to keep such a *Fast* in general, and yet notwithstanding differed in the Particular of its Length; every Church, if not Person, being left to their liberty therein: why one Portion of its Time, the *Passion-Week*, came in a little while to be commonly observed, and reputed more *Holy*: as also, why all the while there was such a Regard to *Forty Days*; as that some Fasted them in the Beginning; others afterwards used their *Name*; and all in some time endeavoured to come as near the *Number* on either hand, as the Repetition of *Weekly Periods* would allow them.

C H A P. V.

- §. I. *This Origination of Lent, very Probable: and its Observation, a Testimony to our Lord's Expiatory Sacrifice. However,*
- §. II. *The Consideration of that Expiatory Sacrifice, is a good Reason for our Observing the Passion-Day; and likewise*
- §. III. *Some Preparatory Time before it.*

- §. I. **A** Very great Resemblance, if I mistake not, has appeared between the *Christian Fast* of *Good-Friday* and the *Jewish*

^a Part I. Chap. V. §. III.

^b Buxtorf. Synag. Jud. Cap. 25.

of their *Propitiation-Day*, in the Ground and Reason of the Observation, in the Manner of the Abstinence, and in the other Penitential Duties. And likewise no less Similitude has been discovered between the respective *Preparatory Seasons*, in their Reason also, and Manner, and in the Space of Time.

And this so near a Resemblance might of itself have persuaded us, that it could not have arisen by Chance; and, that if both the Pieces were not Copies, the one was drawn by the other: and it would have been as plain also in ordinary Presumption, if one Observation must have been the Copy, that the *Jewish* was the *Original*. But all this grows more undeniable, when we come to reflect, that Our Church itself was derived from Theirs; and most of its Offices, Discipline, and Ceremonies borrowed thence. For why should not their *Expiation-Day* be imitated by our *Passion-Day*; when our *Sundays*, and *Wednesdays*, and *Fridays*, and the old *Stationary Days*, our *Easter*, and our *Pentecost*, are all after the like Example? And if we have followed the *Jews* in their Methods of *Humiliation*, and Ways of *Abstinence* and *Penance*; why not in the Solemnity of a *Season* for such Duties?

And now if this Derivation, I have proposed, might be taken for granted; I might then observe against the Followers of *Socinus*, that an Anniversary, and very Remarkable Testimony has been all along given, by the whole Church of God, to the Expiatory Sacrifice of our Blessed Lord: as possibly the Discontinuance of that antient and laudable Practice may have given too much way to the late Revival, and modern Increase, of that great Error in Belief. But I will not offer to found a Truth so sacred, and which is otherwise so well grounded, upon any Conjecture, however probable it may appear.

§. II. BUT, though I do not, after all, affirm positively, that the First *Christians* had this Correspondence in their View, at the Institution of that Holy Time; for I shall leave it as probable only, and to the Judgment of the Reader: yet this, I think, I may securely assert, that such a *Respect*, if they had it, was very *Just*, and *Proper*; and that the same Consideration is a very good Reason for the *Continuance* of the *Observation* by all True and Orthodox *Christians*.

For our Saviour's *Passion*, the Expiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, and of all Ages, was indeed once offered in the Fullness of Time, and by Him never to be Repeated; but eternally therefore to be Commemorated, by the Believing Redeemed part of Mankind, in all their Generations to come. And if the *Resurrection* of our Lord was always thought fit to be recognized with a Weekly, and therefore certainly with an Annual Solemnity; his *Death* also, as surely as it was fixed in Time, and known to have come to pass the *Friday* before; so, as necessarily did it demand its Anniversary also, if not Weekly, Memorial. For, though his *Resurrection*, indeed, was exceedingly glorious and triumphant; yet his *Passion* was, no

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doubt, much the more mighty, and more remarkable Work: in as much as the Death of the Eternal Son of God was far more wonderful, than his Rising from it; and it was yet more wonderful, that he should submit to the ineffable Condescension for our sakes. For the *Cause* of his *Passion* it was, our *Saviour* tells us, that *he came into the World*^a: as if all the Discourses, remembered in the Gospel, were but as Prefaces to it; and all the Miracles of his Life served only to signalize it. It was the Basis and Groundwork of the Church, on which our Salvation stands; a mighty Foundation, and deeply laid.

Had we therefore no constant Need of this Expiation of our Lord, for our repeated continual Transgressions; and had we been absolutely Innocent, ever since our first Regeneration by Baptism: yet the *Death*, in which we were Baptized, and by which we had been once Redeemed, could not have failed of a pious and grateful *Commemoration*, once at least in the *Year*; and this *Day*, if any other, would have had its place in the Christian *Calendar*.

In that Case, indeed, the Day would have been kept *Eucharistically*, and as the Sacrament of our Lord's Death is now to be celebrated; in a sad and astonishing Remembrance of his bitter *Passion*, intermixed though and tempered with Joy and Thanks for the Propitiation it made. But though our Intervening Offences have necessarily changed the Manner of the Celebration, and turned our Joy into Mourning; yet the Commemoration itself is far from being superseded by them, and is rather enforced by greater Reason; for we are now to be called to the Remembrance of our Sins, as well as of our Lord's *Passion*.

And if we now counterchange the Supposition; and, as before we regarded only the Death of our Lord, abstractly from our Sins after Baptism; so here we regard those only, and take no Notice of any Anniversary of the *Passion*: yet even the *separate Consideration* of those *Sins* might well have challenged to them some *One Day* in the *Year*; wherein, after an extraordinary Manner, we should confess and lament their Guilt, humbly beseech their Pardon, and entreat the Benefit of that Expiation for them. For, though the Sacrifices for Sin have ceased, by that one Propitiation of Our Saviour; yet by deplorable Experience we know, that our Sins cease not: they are generally as numerous and frequent, as they were before the Covenant; and much more heinous, having now become exceeding Sinful, as committed against greater Light, and higher Obligations. If therefore we will understand ourselves aright, *Confession* of *Sins* and *Supplication* for *Forgiveness* continue to be the daily Duty of *Christians*, as well as of *Jews*; make a no less proper and necessary Part of our ordinary Publick Devotions; and are still as fit to be the express Business and peculiar Office of some Extraordinary Time.

^a John 18. 37.

And if such an Appointment should be made, by the Governours of the Church, that we should meet together for this Purpose *Annually* on a *Solemn Day*, to take the more publick Shame to ourselves, and to give the greater Glory to God; no good Christian, sure, would refuse to concur in so common and necessary a Work: but, as he is ready to meet and celebrate any other *Fast*, indicted on the Occasion of Temporary Calamities, so he would never decline to join in a *Humiliation* assigned for much more weighty Spiritual Reasons, for the saving of Immortal Souls, and averting of Eternal Vengeance. He only, that is *without Sin*, might seem unconcerned in such an Order: but he then would not be without Charity; and would be, in this also, like our *Saviour*, that he would condescend to humble himself for the Sins of his Brethren.

And were there now such a General and Solemn *Christian Fast* to be appointed; and were we to find it a *Proper Season*: it could not undoubtedly be more congruously placed in the whole Circle of the Year, than on the *Day* of our Lord's *Passion*; were there any such Day already observed. For, as all the Refuge of our Supplications must be in that Expiation; and by it only, God can be entreated: so a lively Remembrance of that Death would best give us the due Sense of the Guilt and Demerit of all Sins; but most bitterly reproach us with our own, those bold and ungrateful Transgressions of a most gracious Covenant, that was sealed in such precious Blood.

So fitly and naturally do *both* those *Duties*, of Celebrating the *Memory* of our *Lord's Death*, and *Mourning* for our own *Sins*, concur on the *same Day*: the Recognition of that our Expiation, and the Affliction of our Souls, being as closely joined together by Eternal Reason, as ever they were by the Law of *Moses*: the Duties also heightening each other; our Humiliation increased, by the consideration of our Saviour's; and the Mercy of his Expiation more sensibly adored, in the consideration of those Sins, whose Pardon we implore.

For that *Double Reason*, and with this *Double Duty*, has *Good Friday* been always observed: Nor will the devout Practice be blamed by any Regular Church, or Christian. Regular, I say; not speaking of those, who will not keep the Day, because the *Papists* do; for by the same reason they may refuse to keep *Sunday*: or because it is enjoined, to the Prejudice, they say, of their Christian Liberty; for so they may refuse to yield to an Argument, because it convinces them.

§. III. Now these two great Duties, when they are once fixed upon their proper Day, (which they will fully employ,) will also require, that we should come in some measure *Fit* for so weighty an Office, and should be *Prepared*, in a more than Ordinary Manner, for the Extraordinary Performance.

For, (according to the Supposition I now used,) were we to celebrate the Anniversary of our *Lord's Passion* only, and with *no respect to our Sins* since our Baptism: yet we should come upon the solemn Day too rashly and unworthily, if we did not appoint some others to go before it, and usher it in; and should seem to have too low Thoughts of the sacred Mystery, if we did not take care to rise up to the high Consideration, by the steps and ascents of some previous Meditations. To the keeping of the great Memorial rightly, such Preparatory Remembrances would be wanting; that we may bring to it a fuller and livelier Preception of the *Mercies of God in Christ*; may the better comprehend, *with all Saints*, the Dimensions of that *surpassing*, inestimable *Love*; may more profoundly adore, more gratefully thank, and more zealously devote ourselves and our Service; having before-hand endeavoured to confirm and actuate our Faith, to raise and quicken our Hope, and to oblige and inflame our Charity.

But such a *Preparatory* Season is still more needful for the other, the *Penitential* Part; that we should afore begin to recollect our past Transgressions, to reflect upon their Guilt, and to dispose our Minds to an Abhorrence of them; that we should beseech God humbly for his Grace, to promote this Holy Work; should review our Baptismal Covenant, bewail its Breaches, and repair them, by Confession to God, and Restitution to Men; renewing our Vows, and mortifying our Lusts, and recovering and improving our virtuous Habits; against that *Friday*, when we are solemnly to appear in the Divine Presence, contrite and truly sorrowful for our Sins, stedfastly resolved to forsake them, and, as much as in us lies, qualified for their Pardon.

Thus would a *Preparation* have been necessary, to *either* of those Two Offices *apart*: but much more justly will they expect it, when *joined together*; when we are to be provided both fitly to Contemplate the *Mystery*, and effectually to be Benefited by its *Expiation*.

For these holy and important Purposes *Lent* is instituted: a solemn and large Space of Time; to be Religiously employed by each private Christian, at his Discretion; as the Condition of his Soul shall require, and the Circumstances of his worldly Affairs permit. Accordingly, the *First Day* of it gives Warning of the, then distant, Propitiation-Day, and calls us early to our Duty; actually entering us on the Godly Work, by Reflection on our Sins, and Acknowledgment of Divine Justice; by Fasting and Prayer: and engaging us to go on, and to make use of the following Intermediate Season, for the perfecting our Repentance, and for our Increase in the Knowledge of the *Cross of Christ*, that *Wisdom and Power of God*. A Notice, very necessary to those who want a solemn Monitor; and which, by the Grace of God, may sometime or other serve to awaken and reclaim them: but always acceptable and welcome to the Good Christian; who, the more sensible he is of his own Offences, and of the
Mercy

Mercy of God in Christ, the more ready he will be to comply with the Advice, and the more glad of the Occasion. Some Days therefore, of those many that follow, are presumed to be set apart for such Preparatory Thoughts and Actions; *Wednesdays*, we may suppose, and *Fridays*, those Weekly Passion Days: when also Opportunities of Publick Devotion are every where presented; and, in our Great City, Exhortations likewise and Instructions are administered, by the wise and pious Order of the present *Diocesan*. But the *Last Week* is more particularly dedicated to this Office: and then the Church expects its devout Members daily to appear before God together, to meditate on the Passion of their Lord, and, with penitent Hearts, and earnest Resolutions of *Dying likewise unto Sin*, to attend thenceforth upon him to his Cross, and wait till his Resurrection: and also directs us to pass the time, not in such rigorous Austerities, as unprofitably afflict the Body, but in such an Abstinence from divertive Pleasures, and even from common Liberties of Food, and Pursuits of Business, as may speak our Thoughts and Affections to be otherwise employed, and, freeing them from Avocation and Distraction, may cherish and improve them.

By this orderly and natural Method, we are designed to be brought at last to the Memorial of our Expiation, with such a Sense of our Sins, and of the Mercy of our Suffering Saviour, as may procure from God the Pardon of what is past, and his Grace and Assistance for the future: that the *following Years* may have reason to bless those *Forty Days*; and, still successively advancing, may every *Lent* find fewer and lighter Sins to confess, and be still more ready to lament them.

This is the innocent and Godly Intention of that Time: which those of us who understand, will certainly commend; and those who commend, should take care to pursue.

F I N I S.



H h h h

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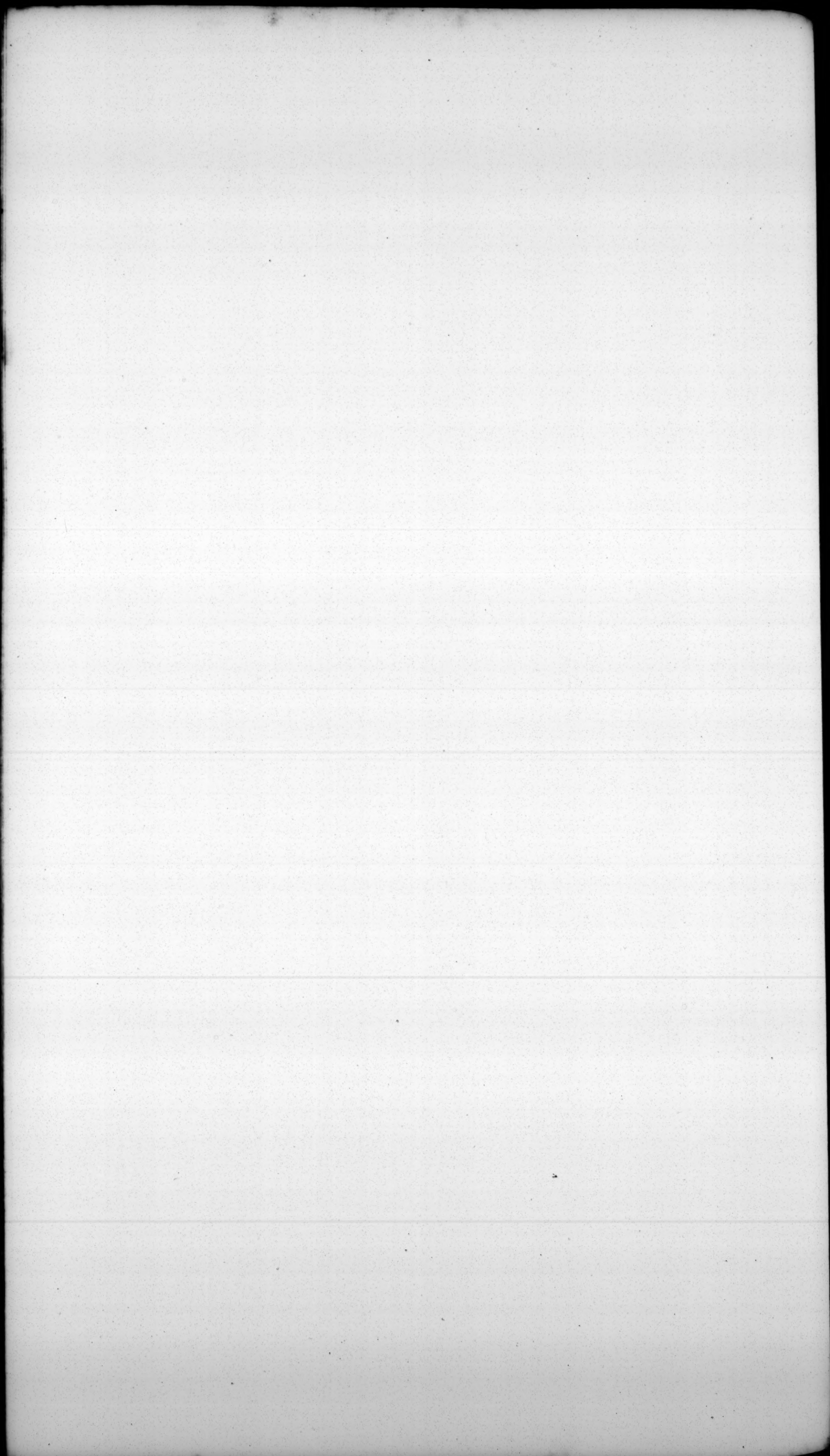
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F I N I S.



H h h h



DE
VALENTINIANORUM
HÆRESI
CONJECTURÆ,
QUIBUS ILLIUS
ORIGO
EX
Ægyptiaca Theologia
DEDUCITUR.

VIRO ERUDITISSIMO

Et Omnis

CHRISTIANÆ ARCHÆOLOGICÆ PERITISSIMO,

JOH. ERNESTO GRABE, S. Th. Prof.

H Æ

DE IRENÆI SUI VALENTINIANIS

C O N J E C T U R Æ

Commendatæ fint.

D E
V A L E N T I N I A N O R U M
H Æ R E S I
C O N J E C T U R Æ.

§. 1. **Q**UI Ecclesiæ Catholicæ scriptores antiquos evolvunt, inciduntque in loca, ubi veterum Hæreticorum infani errores recensentur, vix possunt non admirari, unde talia illis dogmatum portenta in mentem venissent; quique fieri potuisset, ut à quopiam non prorsus stupido reciperentur, aut verò à viris gravibus & sapientibus digna essent habita, quæ revincerentur serìò. Hujusmodi ergo scripta, licet à Patribus doctissimis elaborata, præteriri solent, aut currente oculo inspicere; Veritatesque Catholicæ Hæresibus istis oppositæ minùs animadverti, quòd sine illis bene intelligi nequeant, quibus intelligendis operam impendisse pigeat. Interim verò, si constaret deliramenta ista, quanquam vana absurdaque, non ex unius alteriusve Hæresiarchæ malè sano cerebro profecta, sed è Populorum nobiliorum, & si hæc labes abesset, non pessimè moratorum, placitis hausta fuisse; crederem Theologiæ studiosos animo æquiori tædium hoc devoratu- ros; nec defuturos, quos juvaret ista curiosius rimari, quique eorum cognitionem in aliquâ liberalium scientiarum parte ponerent.

§. 2. Et verò uti constat veram Dei notitiam, *Noachi* filiis commissam, diversimodè postea à posteris mutatam; gentesque post discessum è *Babele* non magis linguis, quàm religionibus varias fuisse: ita credibile est, doctrinam Christianam, cum per populos tradi cœpisset, non purè ubique & simpliciter communicatam; sed ad eorum mores & superstitiones receptas accommodatam ab aliquibus fuisse, qui sua, non quæ Christi, quærerent. Inde ortos *Judaizantium* Christianorum errores nòrunt omnes: & initium ejusmodi habuisse *Gnostico- rum* priorum Hæreses, *Marcionitarum* deinde, & *Valentinianorum*, ne dicam *Manichæorum*, facile credas.

§. 3. *Mosaicam* certè Veritatem ad eundem modum contaminatam olim & corruptam fuisse à novis *Samaritæ* incolis, testatur sacra Scriptura^a. Hæresiumque istarum *Samaritanarum*, quas memorat *Epiphanius*^b, una, quamque ille *Sebuæorum* appellat, (unde fortè *Masbu-*

^a 2 Reg. Cap. 17.

^b *Epiphanius*, Lib. I. Tom. I. Hæres. 11

thæi Simoniani,) à Sabiis, nî fallor, illis Maimonidi toties memoratis, & apud antiquiores frustra adhuc quæsitis, derivata est. Uti enim vocabula *Sebuæi* & *Sabii* non longè à se distant, ita nec ritus eorum institutaque videntur multum variâsse. ^a *Sebuæi* nempe *Samaritæ* solennia *Judæorum* Festa transposuisse dicuntur, alienisque & contrariis mensibus celebrâsse: mense quidem *Tisri*, *Azuma*; & *Scenopegia*, *Nisan* mense, cujus ergo die decimo Jejunium solenne expiatorium illis absolutum est. Idem autem ferme erat *Sabiis* Jejunii solennioris tempus; quod per triginta dies observabant, & circa octavum ejusdem *Nisanis* diem finiebant ^b.

§. 4. Hæreses autem Christianorum quod attinet, quarum modò mentionem fecimus, illa quidem *Manichæorum* dicta, autorem suum *Perfam* apertè fatetur. Quin & manifestum est, *Marcionis* Hæresim ab illâ persuasione manâsse, quæ, *Plutarcho* teste ^c, *Orientales* plerisque infederat, Duo nimirum esse contraria rerum Principia, bonum, malumque; & ab his contrariis Numinibus Repugnantias illas omnes, quæ mundum distrahunt turbantque, oriri. Similiter enim ille Deos duos induxit, Veteris Novique Testamenti autores; institutorum, ut voluit ille, sibi mutuò adversantium: quorum iste malus Deus, *Judæis* leges tulerit, qui hominum nempe generi aliàs semper invisus, tum verò temporis, cum *Marcion* floreret, maximè odio erant, & ubique pro hostibus publicis habebantur; Deus autem bonus, everfurus alterius imperium, Christum miserit; qui homines melioribus legibus informaret, eosque in libertatem assertos sub suam reciperet tutelam, securos jam & beatos.

§. 5. Atque sic *Valentini* quoque dogmata, (ad quæ jam propero,) licet monstrosa planè, primâ saltem facie, nobisque meliora edoctis, videantur; at non ita *Ægyptiis*, puto: inter quos natus dicitur ille, & ad quorum captum Christianam doctrinam inflexisse eum conjecerim. Ea scilicet suspicio, in quam alios incidisse, summos viros ^d, postea comperi, è lectione *Irenæi* mihi quidem primùm oborta est; fecitque, ut in librum non minùs utilem, quàm antiquum venerandumque, attentius altiùsque inquirerem. Eam autem Conjecturam si viris studiosis hætenus tantùm approbare potuerim, ut ad sanctissimi illius eruditissimique Martyris scripta perlegenda alacriùs accedant, operam non inutilem, mihi saltem non ingratam, fecero. Quod ut commodiùs præstem, Hæreseos *Valentinianæ* Conspectus brevis exhibendus est: deinde videndum, ut illi *Ægyptiaca* Superstitio præve-rit. Quibus demum ulteriùs elucidandis, *Tertulliani* de *Valentinianis* Tractatum, elegantissimam nempe synopsis eorum, quæ ab *Irenæo* fusiùs enarrantur, subnectam.

§. 6. * *Valentinus* Deum summum statuit æternum invisibilemque, quem *Βούρι* appellavit. Illi comitem adjunxit *Silentium*, aut *Εἴρηνη*,

^a Epiphanius, Lib. I. Tom. I. Hæres. 11.

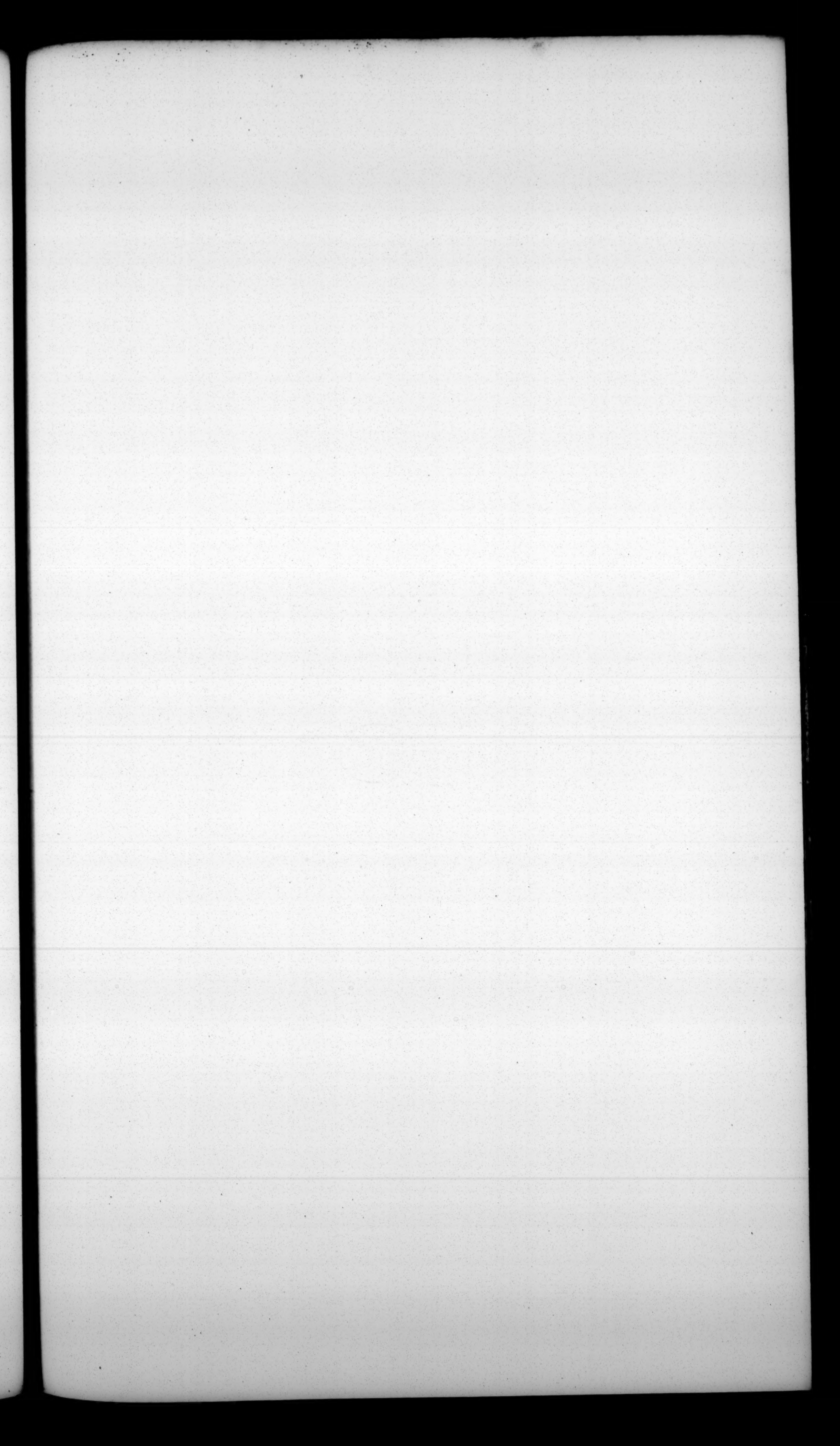
^b Abulfar. Pocockii, Latin. pag. 184.

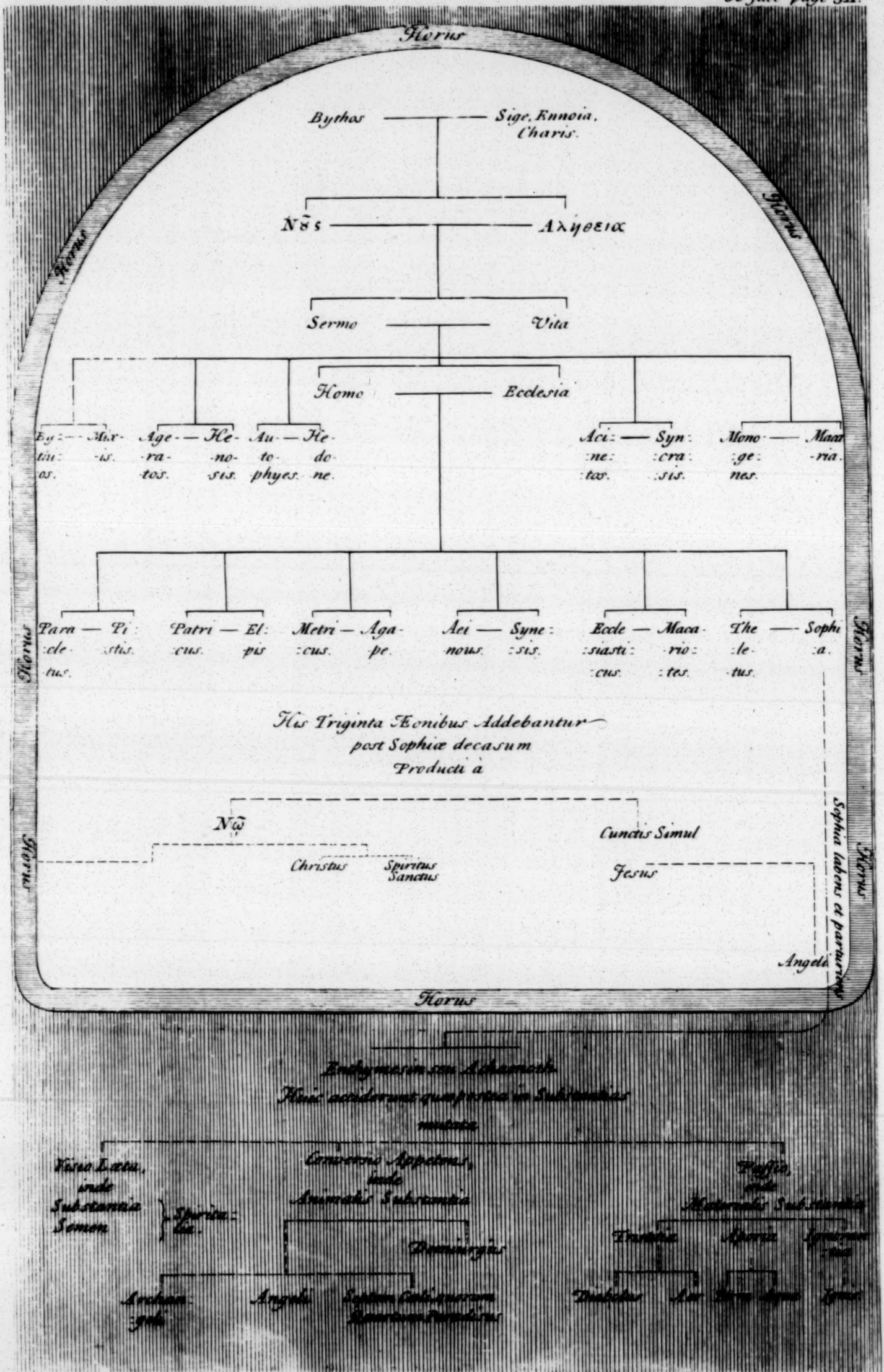
^c De Isid. & Osir. Edit. H. Steph. p. 658.

^d Dodwell de Sanchoniath. Galeus in Jamblichum.

* Consule Tabulam Genealogicam.

quam





quam ille videtur ut coæternam Affectionem aut Potestatem concepisse: quanquam ipsius affectu eam postea Personam induerint, Substantiamque fuisse statuerint. Ex hoc Deo, & istâ illius Potestate seu, ut alii, Coniuge Substantiâ (quod discrimen deinceps etiam intelligendum) processit aliud Par, (hoc enim huic Superstitioni proprium, ut nullum Numen statuunt sine Compare seu Coniuge suâ,) *Nûs* & *Veritas*. Atque hic est ille primus Numinum *Quaternio*, Numerus celebratissimus sanctissimusque. Sic verò producti *Nûs* & *Αληθεια* simili modo aliud progeneravêre Par, *Sermonem* & *Vitam*: quomodo deinde *Sermo* ille & *Vita* *Hominem* ediderunt & *Ecclesiam*. Qui quatuor posteriores novum jam *Quaternionem* faciunt, aliisque quatuor accensiti *Ogdoadem* constituunt, sobole reliquâ, quæ jam sequetur, honoratorem. Tum verò demum hujus secundi *Quaternionis* primum Par, quod prius emiserat ex se *Hominem* & *Ecclesiam*, quinque jam alia Paria emittit, *Bythion* & *Mixin*, *Ageraton* & *Henosin*, *Autophyen* & *Hedonen*, *Αδωντων* & *Σύγκρασις*, *Μονογενῆς* & *Μαχέριαν*. Aliud autem Par, *Homo* & *Ecclesia*, sex item procreavit Paria, & quidem eodem nisu, *Paracleton* & *Pislin*, *Πατερικόν* & *Ελπίδα*, *Μητρικόν* & *Αγάπην*, *Αέινον* & *Συνέσιν*, *Ecclesiasticum* & *Μαχερίτητα*, *Θελιπὸν* postremò & *Sophiam*. Sic igitur è primo Pari, Par aliud; ex isto, alterum; rursus & ex hoc, aliud: donec tandem è Parium horum penultimo, quinque alia Paria; ex ultimo, sex prodierunt: ut quindecim demum Numinum horum Paria exurgerent, & numerum efficerent *Tricenarium*. Atque hic tandem emissionum finis factus; & *Pleroma*, quod ab iis vocabatur, constitutum est: Dii autem illi *Æones* ipsis dicebantur.

§. 7. Cæterum quod extra *Pleroma* hoc, & Numinum istorum Census, remansit, *Vacuum* prorsus erat, & inane: nec aliud quicquam postea prodiit, quàm quod casu consecutum est. Contigit enim, cum summum Numen invisibile & incognitum esset omni huic Propagini, nisi *Nûs* soli, ut *Sophia*, Triginta *Æonum* omnium ultima, illum simul cognoscere valde cuperet, & conaretur, nec tamen posset. Conatu tamen illo concepit, & parturiit *Achamothe*, sive *Enthymesin*; nec sine gravi angore doloreque: quibus ita afflicta & mutata fuit, ut è *Pleromate* excidisset, aut id profanâset; nisi *Nûs* ille, post Patrem *Æon* Primarius, alium jam non *Æona*, sed *Æonum* stabilitorem & excubitozem, produxisset *Horum*. *Hori* enim illius ope & reducta, & restaurata est ipsa *Sophia*; ita ut cum reliquis *Æonibus* intus contineretur. Ejus autem partus, quem diximus, monstrosus, *Enthymesis*, cum totâ *Passionum* suarum turbâ, ejecta est foras, & eliminata. Neque tamen adhuc satis fecisse sibi visus *Nûs*, alios genuit duos, *Christum* & *Spiritum Sanctum*. Horum igitur ministerio *Æones* omnes, qui ab *Horo* prius cohibiti, ne quis amplius esset desiderio & æmulationi locus, omnes, inquam, deinde, excepto summo illo, sive omnium primo, inter se peræquabantur, & quasi alteri iidem evadebant: Mares omnes, ceu totidem *Mentes* aut *Sermones*; Fæminæ omnes, ceu *Veritates* aut *Vitæ* totidem. Tum autem & in id consenserunt cuncti, ut unus aliquis alius efformaretur ab omnibus, quasi pignus ejus

peræquationis, perfectionumque communium exemplar. Is erat *Jesus* five *Soter*; atque in hujus quasi satellitium ac ministerium *Angeli* effingebantur.

§. 8. Hæc intra *Pleroma* agebantur. Extrâ autem miserè jaçtatur exposita *Enthymesis* seu *Achamoth*: eo enim nomine, neque hoc satis intellecto, vocabatur. Ejus verò tandem misertum est, & emissus per *Horum Christus*, qui Substantiam istam abortivam & confirmaret & solidaret. Hoc autem officio functus cùm rediisset *Christus*, illa jam corroborata & validior effecta, ejus desiderio angi cœpit; & matris *Sophiæ* instar infelicissima fuisset, nisi placuisset *Pleromati*, *Jesum* seu *Soterem* legare, cum suo *Angelorum* comitatu, qui eam solaretur reficeretque. Tum demum illa à Passionibus jam suis liberata est: & ex iis Passionibus ea, quæ sunt extra *Pleroma*, cuncta sunt efformata. Ex ipsius enim Passione lætâ, quam viso *Christo* conceperat, *Substantia Spiritualis* orta est, & istius generis Semen: ex ejusdem Desiderio, seu Conversione simplici, quâ erga *Pleroma* ferebatur, productus est *Demiurgus*; & inde à *Demiurgo Angeli*, *Animæque* omnes vulgares. Et verò Passiones alias quod attinet, ex illarum aliquâ tristiori *Diabolus*, *Dæmonesque* omnes prodierunt: quomodo è gravioribus earum & crassioribus, in Substantias mutatis, omnia hæc Corporalia ortum traxerunt.

§. 9. Hominum autem *Animas* in duplici sorte ponebant: alias bonas è Visione lætâ, alias non bonas quidem, sed Seminis *Spiritualis* capaces, ab *Achamoth* ipsis inferendi. Illas porro bonas è Substantiâ *Spirituali*, *Valentinianorum* puta, tandem in *Pleroma* cum *Achamoth* ipsâ transferendas fore statuebant: dum aliæ *Animæ*, bonæ quidem ex aliquâ Seminis *Spiritualis* particulâ, sed non totæ bonæ, cum *Demiurgo* Deo suo extrâ relinquerentur, ad ipsius tamen Cælum tandem evehendæ, & ibi, ut & ipse, quadantenus beatæ futuræ.

§. 10. Hanc *Valentinianæ* Hypotheseos five Hæreseos formam delineavimus, brevi, quâ licuit, tabellâ; ut cum *Ægyptiacâ*, quam statuimus, Origine comparari jam possit: accuratiorem enim ejus notitiam *Tertullianus* subjungendus dabit. Præmonendum autem, ne cujus expectationem fallam, non istud hîc à me agi, ut omnes *Valentinianorum* næniæ *Ægyptiis* examussum respondeant; sed ut pateat, Hæresiarcham ad eas respexisse, cùm doctrinam Christianam demutaret. Neque enim placitorum *Ægyptiacorum* ea mihi comparata est notitia, ut in eorum censu ostendere me posse sperem permulta, quæ tamen Hæresis ista protulit: neque fieri potuit, ut Religio nostra cum illâ portentosissimâ Superstitione in omnibus conveniret.

§. 11. *Valentinum*, hominem ingenio & eruditione pollentem, *Platonicum* fuisse monet *Tertullianus*: atque ideo pro Numinibus dedisse *Ideas* totidem supercælestes; ad quarum exempla res nostræ mundanæ formarentur. *Platonicum*^a hoc fateor: sed & illud altius repeten-

^a *Tertull. de Animâ, Cap. 18. Vult enim Plato esse quasdam Substantias invisibiles, incorporeales, supermundiales, divinas & æternas; quas appellat Ideas, id est, formas, exempla, & causas naturalium istorum manifestorum & subjacentium corporalibus sensibus: & illas quidem esse Veritates, hæc autem Imagines earum. Relucentne jam Hæretica semina Gnosticorum & Valentinianorum?*

dum.

dum. Est enim Theologiæ *Ægyptiacæ* scitum, docente nos *Jamblichus*^a, quod ἡ τῶν θεῶν δημιουργία ἡ ἀλήθεια τῶν εἰδῶν ἀπὸ τῶν φθαρτῶν εἰκόνων ὑπερέ-
 ξατο. Quo, inquit, exemplo Sacerdotes ii Hieroglyphicum & Symbolicum suum scribendi modum usurpârunt. Neque hoc tantum dogma ab *Ægypto* haustum propono; sed & alia pleraque quæ *Platonis Pythagoræque* propria. Hoc nimirum est, quod sectæ *Platonice* exprobratur à *Xenophonte*, magistrum suum *Socratem* pressius, uti sibi visus est, secuto, — Τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἄρα, Αἰγυπτίως ἠραδοῦσαν, καὶ τὸ Πυθαγόρειον περὶ τῶν σοφίας, *Xenoph.* apud *Euseb.* de Præpar. Evangel. p. 435^b. Imò de ipso *Platone* testatur *Diog. Laertius*, in Vitâ ejus, Lib. III. quod accesserit τῶν τῶν Πυθαγορείων, Φιλόλαον καὶ Εὐρύκτορα ἐνθεν τε εἰς Αἰγυπτίον ὡς τὰς τῶν φήτας. De *Pythagora* autem & *Ægyptiis* Sacerdotibus sic scribit *Plutarchus*^c: Μάλιστα ὃ ἔπος θαυμασθεὶς τε καὶ θαυμάσας τὸν ἄνδρα, ἀπεμνήσκατο τὸ συμβολικὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ μυσηλεύσας. Et *Isocrates*, in *Busiride*, pag. 227^d. de eodem ait: Αφικόμενος εἰς Αἰγυπτίον, καὶ μαθητὴς ἐκείνων γενόμενος, τίω τε ἄλλῃ φιλοσοφίᾳ πρῶτος εἰς τὴν Ἑλλήναι ἐκώμισε. Quin ad omnium consensum hâc in re provocat *Josephus*, Lib. I. contra *Apionem*^e, his verbis: Ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ οὗτοι πρὶν τῶν ἑσθίων τε καὶ θείων πρῶτος παρ' Ἑλλήσι φιλοσοφῆσαι, οἱ Φερικίδης τε καὶ Σύριον καὶ Πυθαγόραν καὶ Θάλητα, πάντες συμφώνως ὁμολογοῦσιν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων γενόμενος μαθητάς. Iisdemque *Ægyptiis Pythagoram* simul & *Platonem* Philosophica sua accepta retulisse, testatur pariter *Jamblichus* de Myster. Sect. I. Cap. 2. & de Vitâ *Pythagoræ*, Cap. 3. & seq. nec non *Lactantius*, Lib. 4. Cap. 2.

§. 12. Philosophia verò *Ægyptiaca* non solum Ideas admisit in rerum causas, sed voluit ut Numina illa varia, quæ coluit, mortalia Imagines essent aliorum, quæ suprà, *Æternorum*. Sic enim *Celsus* apud *Originem*^f: Ἰδεὼν αἰδίων, καὶ οὐχ ὡς δοκῶσιν ὅτι πολλοὶ ζῶων ἐφημερίων, πῶς εἰ τὰ τοιαῦτα διδάσκουσιν. Quas verò *Celsus* Ideas dicit, per *Αἰῶνας* interpretor. Nimirum *Αἰὼν*, uti *seculum* absolutè sonat, ita hîc in eâ significatione fumi autumo, quâ apud *Lucretium*^g *secla ferarum* pro earundem generibus & speciebus diversis ponuntur. Quin *Αἰὼν* per γενεάν redditur, quæ parum abest à γένος; uti & *Εἶδος* non multum distat ab *Ιδέα*. Quo sensu & ἡλικία ab *Hesychio* fumi existimatur in voce Ζῶρ. Similiter *Arab.* * *لهم* †, quod idem cum *Hebraico* *להם*, non modò *Ævum* redditur; sed in plurali pro omnibus rebus, quæ in Mundo, accipitur, seu pro omnium rerum generibus.

§. 13. A *Platonicis* similiter, eorumque duce *Pythagora*, poterant deduci illæ Numerorum, *Quaternarii*, *Octonarii*, *Denarii*, *Duodenarii*, & *Tricenarii* prærogativæ, quibus ideo constaret *Æonum Pleroma*. Nimirum celeberrima illis erat *Τετρακτύς*: eaque erat aut Unitatum

^a De Mysteriis, Sect. VII. Cap. 1.

^b Edit. R. Steph.

^c De *Isid.* & *Osir.* p. 632.

^d Edit. H. Steph.

^e Sub init. Libri.

^f Edit. Cant. p. 121.

^g Lib. II. v. 994.

† Hoc perinde ut sequentia in hâc Dissertatione verba Arabica Hebræo caractere excudi curavimus; stellulis tamen notata, ut Hebraicarum tantum literarum periti, ea legere queant. Eam autem scribendi rationem secuti sumus, quâ usus est Pocockius in Porta sua Moïsi.

tum simplex *Quaternio*, & Numerorum Quadratorum primus; aut numerus è quatuor primis sibi additis collectus, *Denarius* scilicet; qui ideo *Pythagorice* eo nomine vocabatur^a: aut verò conjugationes quatuor è numeris primis imparibus quatuor, combinatis cum suis quatuor paribus^b; qui sic combinati, bis nempe quatuor, *Ogdoadem* simplicem constituunt, Numerum pariter perfectum, & *Cubum Primum*, dictum ideo *Macrobio* singulariter plenum^c. *Duodenarius* autem fit è Tetradibus illis duabus, 4 & 8: & tandem ex illo & Denario, & Octonario, *Tricenarius*. Nec eatenus tantum hæc Arithmetica Myſteria, quæ ab *Ægyptiis* manasse credas, *Valentinianis* respondent Myſteriis, ut *Æonas* sic per gradus recenseant; sed sunt illis Numeri similiter sexu discreti, Imparesque omnes pro Maribus, Pares pro Fœminis habentur^d: ut *Plutarchi* Τετρακτύς^e combinata, sive *Ogdoas Prima*, fuerit planè Conjugiorum *Tetras*, qualis illa *Valentinianorum*.

14. Neque verò ductâ solum à *Platonice* placitis conjecturâ probatum imus, easdem rationes apud *Ægyptios* obtinuisse: siquidem eæ nobis ex ipsis illis rectâ peti possunt. Ut enim taceam Numerum *Duodenarium* illis solennem fuisse, quod totidem Menses Annum conficerent; *Tricenarium* item, quod eo numero Dies Mensem facerent, & quidem semper plenum; atque non Menses modo, sed Mensium Dies quosque Diis suis sacros fuisse^f: abunde constat, (quod rem nostram rectâ tangit,) Deos eorum Priores & Majores Octo fuisse; Secundi Ordinis, Duodecim; aliosque fuisse hisce proximos, Inferiores^g; qui quidem Decem esse debuerant, ne cuique Mensis Diei Deus suus deesset. Ita eodem numero erant, & in classes similes distributi, *Æones Valentiniani* & Diis *Ægyptiis*. Pro more *Ægyptiorum* sunt etiam *Æonum* Connubia. Quod enim singuli singulis junguntur, secundum *Ægyptios* factum; apud quos Sacerdotes non nisi unam uxorem duxerunt; uti nec *Ægypti Palustris* incolæ reliqui^h. Quod etiam Proximis juncti sunt, & Sororibus, iisque Uterinis, & illud à gente istâ frequentatum; *Isidis*, uti aiebant, & *Osiridis* exemplo. Hoc enim constat ex *Diodoro Siculo*, ac *Philone Judæo*ⁱ, & è *Ptolemæorum* Regum Conjugiis clarè perspicitur.

§. 15. Satis fuerat, ad propositum nostrum quod spectat, monstrasse Deos istos duos, per totam *Ægyptum* celeberrimos, (neque enim alii universè colebantur,) tali inter se Connubio junctos: nec dubitasset quis, quin *Valentini* *Æones* eorum exemplum secuti sint, non minus quàm reliqua *Ægyptus*. At insuper ex *Jamblicho* colligere est, Theologiam *Ægyptiacam* ejusmodi Conjugia inter Deos suos aliàs conciliasse. Cum enim de Diis agit, qui catholicis Generationis, seu Creationis elementis præsidebant, quosque *Soli* subjicit; eosdem *Octo* esse statuit, *Quatuorque* Mares, & *Quatuor* Fœminas: nec alios illos

^a Ἀριθμὸς ὁ δὲ καὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων τετρακτύς ἐστίν. *Athenagoras*, p. 25. Edit. Oxon. novissimæ.

^b *Plut.* de *Isid.* & *Osir.* p. 679, 680.

^c *Macrobius* in *Somn. Scip.* Lib. I. Cap. 5.

^d *Ibid.* Lib. I. Cap. 6. *Plut.* Κεφάλ. Καταρχῆς. p. 514.

^e De *Isid.* & *Osir.* p. 679.

^f *Herodotus*. Lib. II. Cap. 82.

^g *Ibid.* Cap. 145.

^h *Ibid.* Cap. 92.

ⁱ *Phil.* de *Legibus Specialibus*, p. 779. seq. Edit. *Turneb.* & *Hoeschel.*

neranda. Inde fortassis *Saturnus*, qui *Græcis* Κεραυνός, tanquam Αἰὼν præcipuus, & eâ de causâ כִּיֹן *Syris* dictus, (significatione ab *Arabico* verbo * כָּאן petendâ,) à voce * סתר, quæ *abdi* & ab aliis *tegi* connotat, appellationem suam traxit: uti & alteram apud *Ægyptios* fortitus videtur sensu eodem, cum *Interpretibus Septuaginta* כִּיֹן illud per Περὶ redditur. Hoc enim, pro more *Ægyptiorum*, *mem* epenthético auctum [quæ nempe epenthesis aliquando omittitur, ut in *Versione Arabica* Act. Ap. Cap. 7mo. v. 43tio.] à * רפן provenit, significante (Conjug. IV.) *Longè à suis fugit, & commodè quietèque vixit*; uti *fugam*, quæ à *Theologiâ Græcanicâ* in deteriore partem sumpta est, pro *recessu* potius, suique *semotione* accipere liceat.

§. 19. *Æonem* hunc, quem *Græcè* Βυθὸν vocat *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, tanquam nomine primigenio, Αμύθος appellat: quod eruditissimus *Crocius*^a ab הַמְצִיאוֹת, *Existentiâ*, deducit. Cum autem notio hæc, licet cum voce *Jehovah* vel *Jao* conveniat, nihil tamen habeat quod sit τὸ Βυθὸν commune; ego potius ab *Amasa*, * עַמַּס, peterem, cujus derivatum * עַמִּים *rem obscuram* significat, & de industriâ occultatam; ejus autem cognatum * נָמִים non modò *rem invisibilem* & nondum apparentem connotat, sed à radice venit, quæ est *demergi, profundum petere*. Quin & *Coptitis* αβωμὸς idem est quod *submersi sunt*, apud *Kircherum*, in *Grammaticâ Elsamenuidi*^b. Nescio autem an non huc trahenda vox Αμύθς apud *Plutarchum*, quam ille κεκρυμμένον interpretatur, cum de *Ammone* ibidem agat^c: quanquam item fieri potuerit, ut *figma* finale addititium fuerit; & origo ejus potius petenda sit ab * עַמִּי, quod est *obscurum esse, & opertum, & ἀνιγμὰ τῶν δὲς*. Nisi verò *Epiphanius* istud *Ampsiu* nobis, tanquam à *Valentino* tradidisset, putâssem ego, per Βυθὸν significationem nomen aliquod sacro illi παραγεγραμμένον vicinum affectatum fuisse; ut derivativum aliquod ab * הַי, unde est * הַיָּה, *Locus valdè depressus & profundus*, sacrosancto illi ab הַיָּה opponeretur.

§. 20. *Bytho*, Numini (ut vidimus) planè *Ægyptio*, à *Valentinianis* iis, qui eum maritum faciunt, Conjux datur *SIGE*. Nec quidem *Bytho* illi, si talis conditio placeret, aliud aptius consortium, quàm alti *Silentii*, ab *Ægyptiis* conciliari poterat. Ne memorem enim *quinquennale Silentium*, quod *Pythagoras* Αἰχμητιάδων discipulis suis, ad Intellectum ceu Νῦν in ipsorum animis formandum injunxerat; aut *Harpocratem*, seu *Sigalionam*, notum apud illos *Silentii Deum*; ex *Jamblichō*, juxta eorum placita Θεολογῶντι, discimus, τὸ πρῶτον Νοῦτον Ἄλφ. σιγῆς μόνως περιέχεται^d. rationemque insuper, cur Σιγή, non modò θεοδρῆμων oraculo *Chaldaicè* diceretur, sed etiam Θεῶν μήτηρ appellari possit: nimirum ἐν τῇ φυλακῇ τῶν ἀπορρήτων μυστικῶν συνέχεσθαι ἢ ἐν τῇ σιγῇ τῇ ἀγκύρωσιν, & ἔχειν τὴν σωτηρίαν τὰ ὅλα, ἐν τῇ τῶν ἀπορρήτων κεκρυμμένα ἀεὶ ἀφ' ἡμῶν^e. His autem omninò gemina sunt ea quæ ex *Valentino* profert *Irenæus*^f, &

^a In Specim. Conjecturarum *Græciæ Irenæi* Editioni subject. p. 16.

^b Fol. 10.

^c De *Isid. & Osir.* p. 631.

^d Sect. VIII. Cap. 3.

^e Lib. I. Cap. 1. §. 3.

^f Sect. VI. Cap. 7.

deinde

deinde *Tertullianus* : *Causam* nimirum *Perpetuitatis Æonum esse Incomprehensibile Patris*. Addit *Tertullianus* : *Et Comprehensibile ejus, Generationis illorum & Formationis esse rationem*. Quod quidem dictum Σιλω Custodem ponit, non Matrem. At aliter fortè *Irenæi* verba, quæ hîc interpretatur *Tertullianus*, reddi debuerant & secundum mentem veteris Interpretis ; ut *Causa Generationis eorum & Formationis, sit Comprehensibile*, non *Patris*, sed *Filii*, seu Νος de quibus postea ad *Tertullianum* videbimus. Ita patet Σιλω, secundum *Ægyptios*, individuum saltem comitem *Bytho* fuisse ; ejusque certè curâ *Æonas* usque conservatos.

§. 21. Illius nomen proprium *Auraan* seu *Auran* fuisse tradit *Epiphanius* : quod doctissimus *Croius*, qui solos hâc in re *Rabbinos* consulit, per חברניה, *sociam*, interpretatur^b, ut tantum *Conjugem* repræsentet. At * ורה *Arabice* est *rem celare, occultare, nuntium non proferre* : ac *Coptice* Χαρηφ est *silentium* ; unde *Harpocrates*, vox illa mixta, facilè derivetur. Et verò si φ finalem literam, addititiam & formativam esse intelligamus, qualem fuisse ex aliis exemplis probabile est ; & *Coptorum* X liquefcere ponamus in A, quod *Croius* suæ η concedi petiit, ipsam rem, non vocem tantum, habebimus.

§. 22. Proximum Par, è *Bytho* & Σιλω enatum, est ΝΟΥΣ & ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑ. ΝΟΥΣ *Valentino*, si *Epiphanium* editum consulamus, Βυζα dicebatur. At, si *Croium* audiamus^c, ille rescribendum dictat Βυθ ; & deinde deducit, à בהו וחרו, quod *vacuum & inane* : violenter sanè, nec ad propositum. Et verò idem in *Pari* sequenti, ubi pro *Sermone* Βυζα poni autumat, vocem illam in בה כוח non magis aptè resolvit. Ego potius Βυζα, quod est ε Νε nomen, à * פקה peterem, verbo *Mahumedanis* notissimo, quod significat *sapiens*, rerumque divinarum & humanarum intelligens. Nec litera פ obstat, utpote quæ in *labialem* alteram ב facillimè mutetur. Venia autem mihi sit, denominationes *Æonum Valentinianas* cum *Croio* hucusque persecuto : eas enim deinceps omittam ; cum nec *Croius* mihi satisfaciât, nec ipse habeam quæ vel mihimet valdè placeant. Ex iis verò, quæ protuli, patet, nî fallor, voces eas *Ægyptiacas* fuisse, & ab *Arabibus* agnosci. At facilè fieri potuit, ut reliquarum origines nos lateant ; vel quòd ipsæ à librariis mutatae sint, vel quòd *Ægyptiaca* dialecto peculiares, ab aliis usurpatæ non fuerint, aut iis hodiè saltem in usu esse defierint. Fortassis etiam ipse *Valentinus* res utcunque notas prisca Superstitionis Nominibus non insignivit, quò meliùs Doctrinam suam Christianæ conformem comprobaret.

§. 23. Ut igitur ad rem ipsam veniam, apud *Jamblichum*, juxta *Ægyptios* Θεολογόντα, habemus, proximè post summum illum Deum Θεὸς πάντων πηλῶ, hunc *Valentinianorum* Νεῦ. Ita enim ille : Ἀπὸ τοῦ εἰς ἑνὸς τῶν οὐκ αὐτάρχεις Θεὸς ἑαυτὸν ἐξέλεμψεν, Ἀρχή, καὶ Θεὸς Θεῶν, νοητάρχης^d. Et hic quidem Deus juxta illum omnium primum proximè Primus, & cæteris

^a Advers. Valent. Cap. 11.

^b Specim. Conject. p. 17.

^c Sect. VIII. Cap. 2.

^d Ibid. p. 18.

Deorum Ordinibus longè superior ponitur: quo nimirum loco habetur *Valentini* Νῆς. At in Ordine Cœlestium Deorum proximo, apud *Jamblichum*, primum item locum obtinet alius Νῆς, quem *Valentinus* fortè à superiori isto distinctum noluit; *Emeph*, ut ait ille, *Ægyptiis* vocatus. De *Mercurio* enim, eorum scriptore loquens, τὸν Ημῆφ, inquit, ἢ ἐπερμήων Θεῶν ἡγούμενον θεωροῦσιν, νῦν αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν νοῦν^a. *Emeph* autem hic appellabatur fortè à vocabulo Coptico Εμ, quod *scientiam* significat: si modò finalis ejus litera φ servilis fuerit & addititia, qualem modò in voce Χαρωφ posuimus. Hoc certè de Νῆ constat, illum *Pythagoræ* & *Platoni*, eorumque sectatoribus, atque inter eos *Philoni*, maximo in loco habitum semper fuisse. Pergit *Jamblichus*: τὸτε δὲ τὸ ἐν ἀμερῆς, καὶ ὁ φησι θεωρεῖται μάγευμα θεωροῦσιν· ὃν καὶ Εἰκτὸν ἐπονομάζει^b. *Arabicum* certè * 𐤒𐤓 significat *impressit*, & inde fortè Εἰκτὸν in μάγευμα· & si loco θεωροῦσιν legere liceret, τὸτε θεωροῦσιν, istud μάγευμα pro *Veritate*, quasi pro impresso à τῷ Νῷ figillo, acciperem.

§. 24. ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ hanc τῷ Νοῖ sociam dat & Germanam *Plato*: è doctrinā credo *Ægyptiacā*. Ait enim: μὲν τῷ ὄντι φιλομαθὲς Νοῦ γενεῇ καὶ Αλήθειαν^c. Ejusdem etiam Imagunculā (tanquam τῷ τῆ Νῆ μαγεύματι) è collo pendente ornatum fuisse scimus *Ægyptiorum* Ἀρχιδιῶ, cū pro tribunali federet^d. Insigne autem hoc jamdudum observârunt viri docti simile illi fuisse, quod, ex Divino instituto, in pectore gerebat Summus *Hebræorum* Pontifex. Et hoc magis credas; quoniam *Alexandrini* Interpretes *Hebræam* vocem *Thummim* per Αλήθειαν reddiderunt: rectissimè credo; sed & ex vi vocis apud suos *Ægyptios*, quibus hodiè *Methmi Veritatem* significat, uti *Hebraicè* כהן *Integritatem* sonat. In eodem autem Pectorali sacrum illud *Urim*, iidem Interpretes Δίλωσιν appellârunt: ut hîc etiam sociarentur Νῆς & Αλήθεια. Quemadmodum autem illos constat ex אור, *Luce*, Δίλωσιν suam deduxisse; ita *Orum*, *Ægyptiorum* *Apollinem*, indidem appellatum fuisse manifestum est. Et Oculum etiam *Ægyptiacè* dictum *Iri*, autor est *Plutarchus*^e; eâdem credas ab origine: nec longè distat *Copticum* Ρ, quod *Solem* significat, ex 𐤓𐤓 puto; unde * 𐤓 *Arabibus* est, quod oculis patet placetque.

§. 25. Ab his Νῷ & Αλήθεια prognati sunt Conjuges, ΛΟΓΟΣ & ΖΩΗ. E Νῷ nempe & *Veritate Sermonem* manare oportuit, licet non & *Vitam*. At quanquam ΛΟΓΟΣ rectè per *Sermonem* & *Verbum* exponitur; pro eo tamen Verbo hîc præcipuè fumi existimarem, quod mandat jubetque: cū * אמר & * קל apud *Arabes* in eâ significatione, non minùs quàm apud *Hebræos* מדר, frequenter inveniantur: adeo ut sit Λόγος quasi *Emîr* quis *Arabum*; aut *Latinorum* veluti *Dictator*, qualis *Varroni* derivatur à dicto seu jussu. Hoc enim sensu Λόγον & Δημιουργόν pro eodem frequenter à *Platonis*, à *Philone* præsertim, accipi autumo, qui τὸν Λόγον omnium Conditorum Moderatoremque constituit. Hæc duo ἢ Λόγος significata simul conjunxit *Ægyptiorum*

^a Sect. VIII. Cap. 3.

^b Ibid.

^c De Repub. Edit. Serran. Tom. II. p. 490.

^d Diod. Sic. Edit. Steph. p. 31, 32.

^e De Isid. & Ofir. p. 632. Vid. hujus Dissert. §. 27.

Theologia. Sic enim *Jamblicus*^a: Ο δημηργικός Νῦς, ἡ δὲ Ἀληθείας πρῶτης, ἡ δὲ ἀφανὴς καὶ κεκρυμμένη λόγων δύναμις εἰς φῶς ἄγων, Ἀμὲν καὶ τὸ Αἰγυπτίων γλῶσσαν λέγει· συνελθὼν δὲ ἀφανδῶς ἔχεται, ἡ τεχνικῶς μετ' ἀληθείας, Φθὰ. Ἐλλήνες δὲ εἰς Ηφαίστον μεταλαμβάνουσι τὸν Φθὰ, καὶ τεχνικῶς μόνον πρῶτον ἀλλοιῶντες. Ἀγαθὸν δὲ πικτικὸς ἄν, Οσίρις κέκληται. Καὶ ἄλλαι δὲ ἄλλαι δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐνεργείαι ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει. Ἐστὶ δὲ οὗτω καὶ ἄλλη, &c. Ita Λόγῳ, veluti λόγων Αὐτορ, seu *Hammon* ille, si ad *Veritatem* enuntiatam attendas, Ἀμὲν audit ab *Arabico* * ٲٲٲٲ, quod est *Veritas*, aut *Coptico Amen*, quod est *Verum*: si ad ἀφανὴ καὶ κεκρυμμένην respicias, Ἀμὲς denominatur, juxta id, quod suprā nos docuit *Plutarchus*^b: at quatenus idem ad *Operandum* & faciendum procedit, Φθὰ appellabatur; à verbo, opinor, cui cognatum *Arabicum* * ٲٲ, quod est rei *Principium* esse & *Conditorem*. Et verò vel hoc nomen Φθὰ, quatenus ab *Ægyptiis* intelligebatur, non πρῶτον τεχνικῶς μόνον, (quod quidem nunc *Coptis* hodiernis pro Deo absolute ponitur,) *Oraculi* etiam *Editorem* (Veridicum scilicet) connotabat: cū * ٲٲ significet *Responsum reddere*; & inde fit *Mahumedanorum Muphti*, * ٲٲٲ, quasi (ut *Jamblicus* utar verbis) ἀληθείας καὶ σοφίας πρῶτης.

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a Sect. VIII. Cap. 3.

b Vid. §. 19.

c Sect. VI. Cap. 7.

d De *Isid.* & *Osir.* p. 668.

e De *Præp.* Evang. p. 25.

f Vid. §. præced.

Deorum Ordinibus longè superior ponitur: quo nimirum loco habetur *Valentini* Νῆς. At in Ordine Cælestium Deorum proximo, apud *Jamblichum*, primum item locum obtinet alius Νῆς, quem *Valentinus* fortè à superiori isto distinctum noluit; *Emeph*, ut ait ille, *Ægyptiis* vocatus. De *Mercurio* enim, eorum scriptore loquens, τὸν Ἡμῆφ, inquit, ἧ ἐπερὶ τῶν Θεῶν ἡ γέφυρα τῶν ἀτάπει, νῦν αὐτὸν ἑαυτὸν νοῦν^a. *Emeph* autem hic appellabatur fortè à vocabulo Coptico Εμ, quod scientiam significat: si modò finalis ejus litera φ servilis fuerit & addititia, qualem modò in voce Χαμφ posuimus. Hoc certè de Νῆ constat, illum *Pythagoræ* & *Platoni*, eorumque sectatoribus, atque inter eos *Philoni*, maximo in loco habitum semper fuisse. Pergit *Jamblichus*: τὸ τε δὲ τὸ ἐν αἰσῶσι, καὶ ὃ φησι τῶν μαγείων τῶν ἀτάπει· ὃν καὶ Εἰκτὸν ἐπονομάζει^b. *Arabicum* certè *כח significat *impressit*, & inde fortè Εἰκτὸν in μάγευμα· & si loco τῶν ἀτάπει legere liceret, τὸ τῶν τῶν ἀτάπει, istud μάγευμα pro *Veritate*, quasi pro impresso à τῶ Νῶ figillo, acciperem.

§. 24. ΑΛΗΘΕΙΑΝ hanc τῶ Νοῦ sociam dat & Germanam *Plato*: è doctrinā credo *Ægyptiacā*. Ait enim: μαγεία τῶ ὄντος ὅτι φιλομαθὴς Νοῦ γενεὰ καὶ Αλήθεια^c. Ejusdem etiam Imagunculā (tanquam τῶ τῆ Νῆ μαγεύματι) è collo pendente ornatum fuisse scimus *Ægyptiorum* Ἀρχιδιαιῶν, cū pro tribunali federet^d. Insigne autem hoc jamdudum observârunt viri docti simile illi fuisse, quod, ex Divino instituto, in pectore gerebat Summus *Hebræorum* Pontifex. Et hoc magis credas; quoniam *Alexandrini* Interpretes *Hebræam* vocem *Thummim* per Αλήθεια reddiderunt: rectissimè credo; sed & ex vi vocis apud suos *Ægyptios*, quibus hodiè *Methmi Veritatem* significat, uti *Hebraicè* כחם *Integritatem* sonat. In eodem autem Pectorali sacrum illud *Urim*, iidem Interpretes Δήλων appellârunt: ut hîc etiam sociarentur Νῆς & Αλήθεια. Quemadmodum autem illos constat ex אור, *Luce*, Δήλων suam deduxisse; ita *Orum*, *Ægyptiorum Apollinem*, indidem appellatum fuisse manifestum est. Et Oculum etiam *Ægyptiacè* dictum *Iri*, autor est *Plutarchus*^e; eâdem credas ab origine: nec longè distat *Copticum* פ, quod *Solem* significat, ex כח puto; unde *ח Arabibus est, quod oculis patet placetque.

§. 25. Ab his Νῶ & Αληθεία prognati sunt Conjuges, ΛΟΓΟΣ & ΖΩΗ. Ε Νῶ nempe & *Veritate Sermonem* manare oportuit, licet non & *Vitam*. At quanquam ΛΟΓΟΣ rectè per *Sermonem* & *Verbum* exponitur; pro eo tamen Verbo hîc præcipuè sumi existimarem, quod mandat jubetque: cū *אמר & *קח apud *Arabes* in eâ significatione, non minùs quàm apud *Hebræos* מרבר, frequenter inveniantur: adeo ut sit Λόγος quasi *Emîr* quis *Arabum*; aut *Latinorum* veluti *Dictator*, qualis *Varroni* derivatur à dicto seu jussu. Hoc enim sensu Λόγον & Διακρίνον pro eodem frequenter à *Platonis*, à *Philone* præsertim, accipi autumo, qui τὸν Λόγον omnium Conditorum Moderatoremque constituit. Hæc duo ἑ Λόγος significata simul conjunxit *Ægyptiorum*

^a Sect. VIII. Cap. 3.

^b Ibid.

^c De Repub. Edit. Serran. Tom. II. p. 490.

^d Diod. Sic. Edit. Steph. p. 31, 32.

^e De Isid. & Osir. p. 632. Vid. hujus Dissert. §. 27.

Theologia. Sic enim *Jamblichus*^a: Ο δημηργικός Νῦς, ὃ ἔστι Ἀληθείας προστάτης, ὃ ἔστι ἀφ' ἧς ἡ κεκρυμμένη λόγων δύναμις εἰς φῶς ἄγει, Ἀμὲν χεῖρ ἡ Αἰγυπτίων γλῶσσαν λέγει· συνελθὼν ὃ ἀφ' οὗτος ἔχεται, ὃ τεχνικῶς μετ' ἀληθείας, Φθᾶ. Ἕλληνες ὃ εἰς Ἡρακλῆα μεταλαμβάνουσι τὸν Φθᾶ, τῷ τεχνικῷ μόνον προσβάλλοντες. Ἀραβῶν δὲ πικτικὸς ἄν, Οσίρις κέκληται. Καὶ ἄλλαι δι' ἄλλας δυνάμεις τε ὃ ἐνεργείας ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει. Ἐπὶ δὲ οὗτω καὶ ἄλλαι, &c. Ita Λόγῳ, veluti λόγων Autor, seu *Hammon* ille, si ad *Veritatem* enuntiatam attendas, Ἀμὲν audit ab *Arabico* * אָמֵן, quod est *Veritas*, aut *Coptico Amen*, quod est *Verum*: si ad ἀφ' ἧς & κεκρυμμένην respicias, Ἀμὲν denominatur, juxta id, quod suprà nos docuit *Plutarchus*^b: at quatenus idem ad *Operandum* & faciendum procedit, Φθᾶ appellabatur; à verbo, opinor, cui cognatum *Arabicum* * بَرَأ, quod est rei *Principium* esse & Conditorem. Et verò vel hoc nomen Φθᾶ, quatenus ab *Ægyptiis* intelligebatur, non προσβάλλουσι τεχνικῷ μόνῳ, (quod quidem nunc *Coptis* hodiernis pro Deo absolute ponitur,) *Oraculi* etiam *Editorem* (Veridicum scilicet) connotabat: cùm * פָּתָה significet *Responsum reddere*; & inde fit *Mahumedanorum Muphti*, * מִפְּתִי, quasi (ut *Jamblichi* utar verbis) ἀληθείας ὃ σοφίας προστάτης.

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^a Sect. VIII. Cap. 3.

^b Vid. §. 19.

^c Sect. VI. Cap. 7.

^d De *Isid.* & *Osir.* p. 668.

^e De Præp. Evang. p. 25.

^f Vid. §. præced.

jungi ponetur: præsertim cùm vox *Arabica* * *ע*י, alteri * *ע*יγ cognata, ὁ σπέρμα significet. Notissimum certè est, *Græcorum Terrenam Venerem* Maritum sortitam esse *Ηφαιστον*, Demiurgum *Technicum*. *Logum* autem, si ita dicere liceat, magis *λογικόν*, seu *Νῦν δὲν δημιουργικόν*, ad *Ofiridem* apertè refert *Jamblichus*. Ait enim: *Αγαθῶν δὲ ποιητικὸς ὢν, Οσείας χέλειται*^a. *Plutarchus* quidem, qui de nomine hoc fusiùs agit, aliquibus idem esse dicit ac *πολύφθαλμος*^b. quatenus, inquit, σημαίνει τὸ μὲν *Ος*, ὁ πολὺ, τὸ δὲ *Ιει*, ὀφθαλμός^b. Et quidem vidimus^c *Ιει* à *יה* seu * *יא* non longè abesse: novimus etiam & *Ος* non modò à *Coptis* in eadem significatione retineri, apud quos *Ashe* idem est quod *Multus*; sed ab *Arabibus* etiam usurpari, quibus *שׁוה*, ipsum *Ως*, est *Multitudo*, *Numerus magnus*. At pergit *Plutarchus*^d congruè ad *ετυμολογίαν Jamblichi*: *τὸνομα*, inquit ille, *πολλὰ φέρει*, (intelligo simpliciter & ex vi suâ,) ἔχ' ἡμέτερον ἢ ἀρχαῖος ἐνέργειαν καὶ ἀγαθοποιον. Loquitur enim de *Ofiri*, ut oppositus est *Typhoni*, qui *malignè potens*. Nominis autem interpretationi, ab his autoribus consonanter traditæ, succinunt *Arabes*. His enim est & * *רוח* *Robur*, *Potentia*, & peculiariter *Adjuvans*, *Opitulans*: è quâ significatione magnum illum *Mahumedanorum* *Adjuvam* five *Vicarium*, *Vezirum*, seu * *רוי*, dictum credas; quanquam communiter à notione alterâ radicis * *רו* derivetur, quæ est *Onus portare*. Inde scilicet *Plutarcho*^e *Βασιλεὺς καὶ Κύριος, Οσείας, & πάντων Κύριος*. quomodo apud *Syros* idem, *Αδωνις* ab *אדוני*. Eam *Potentiam* patet *Ægyptios* cogitasse, cùm *Ofirim* dicerent: *Philoni* verò *Λόγον* eo sensu acceptum fuisse, extra dubium est. Ut enim alia multa ab eo dicta præteream, ex quibus id confici potest; unum hoc sufficiat: ubi de omnibus in mundo ait^f, quòd ea, ὡς ποιμὴν καὶ βασιλεὺς, θεὸς ἄνδ' καὶ δίκην καὶ νόμον, ἀποστασάμενος τ' ὀρθὸν αὐτῷ Λόγον, ἀφωτόγονον ἦν, ὅς τιν' ἐπιμέλειαν τ' ἱερῆς ταύτης ἀγέλης, οἱά τις μεγάλου βασιλέως ὑπαρχος, ἀφδεύεται.

§. 28. Hanc autem ὁ Λόγος personalem Substantiam, summamque à Deo in res omnes præfecturam, par est credere, non ex *Ægyptiis Platonici*ve dogmatis à *Philone* derivatam, sed è Gentilium suorum arcana doctrinâ acceptam fuisse. Neque doctrina ea ideo minùs apud *Judeos* probabilis, (quicquid contra suggestum voluit *Celsus*, *ἡ ἀπάλλα των τ' πίστεως ἡμῶν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχαῖοις*^g;) quòd ejusmodi aliquid ab *Ægyptiis* illis, hominibus utcunque superstitiosis, traderetur. Licet enim vera de Deo doctrina infidis infincerisque traditionibus obscurata multum fuerit corruptaque, ab *Ægyptiis* præsertim, qui absurda multa, nec sibi satis convenientia adinvenerant & immiscuerant; non mirum tamen, si nonnulla ab iis conservata fuerint vera sanaque, & in quibus convenirent *Judei*, utcunque aliàs ipsis contrarii: neque ex eâ populorum tam discrepantium consensione communium placitorum fides imminui debuit apud *Judeos*, sed confirmari. Hanc ergò verita-

^a Vid. §. 25.

^b De *Isid.* & *Ofir.* p. 632.

^c §. 24.

^d De *Isid.* & *Ofir.* p. 656.

^e Ibid. p. 632, 633.

^f De *Agriculturâ*, p. 195.

^g *Orig. contra Cels.* Edit. *Cant.* p. 120.

tem, *Judæorum Ægyptiorumque* Magistris non ignotam, probavit explicuitque S. *Johannes*, Evangelii sui initio, primis verbis: *Εν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὁ λόγος ἦν πρὸς τὸ θεόν, καὶ θεὸς ἦν ὁ λόγος*. ὅτος ἦν ἐν ἀρχῇ πρὸς τὸ θεόν πάντα δι' αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο, καὶ χωρὶς αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο ὃ ἐν ὁ γέγονεν. *Εν αὐτῇ ζωῇ ἦν καὶ ἡ ζωὴ ἦν τὸ φῶς τῶν ἀνθρώπων* — ἦν ὁ φῶς τὸ ἀληθινόν, ὃ φωτίζει πάντα ἄνθρωπον — *Καὶ λόγος* — πλήρης χάριτος καὶ ἀληθείας. Jamque nobis *Christianis* innotuit, Dominum nostrum, eundem & Νῦν & Λόγον, quos nec *Philo* distinxerat, à Patre processisse; simulque & Spiritum Sanctum, *Vitæ* pariter & *Veritatis* autorem, emissum: quas singulas *Valentinus* & *Ægyptii*, illis alteris malè separatis, seorsim attribuerant spurcis Nuptiis conjungendas.

§. 29. E *Sermone Vitæque* statuit idem Hæresiarcha HOMINEM & ECCLESIAM prodiisse; deinde autem numerosiore sobolem, alios *decem*, Mares *quinque*, & *quinque* Fœminas, ut essent εἰκόνες Rerum aliarum creandarum, quæque non adeo spiritales, ac prius nati, *Homo* & *Ecclesia*: ut vel exinde constet, *Valentinum* per *Sermonem* suum non *Loquelam* solam intellexisse. His autem *Homini* & *Ecclesiæ* relictum est, ut *Sex* alia *Paria* procrearent *Æonum*, qui ad ipsorum propriè familiam pertinerent, & essent sui: quò sic tandem Numerus eorum *Trigesimus* compleretur, & *Pleroma* confieret. In Conjugiis porro illis conciliandis Fratres inter & Sorores, *Αἰγυπιάζων* pergit *Valentinus*: nec mihi dubium est, eum & in his Conjugiis fingendis secutum similes Hierophantarum rationes; quæ, cùm ab iis studiosè occultarentur, non mirum si ad nos haud emanârint, atque adeo deinceps comparari nequeant. Sufficit quod in principio diximus, Numina *Ægyptiorum*, rerum Ideas fuisse; & Numerum eorum TRIGESIMUM, Numerum perfectum; Deos etiam *Octo* primos, Majores fuisse & Primarios. Illorum ergo Par licet nobis nunc non occurrat, quod *Homini* & *Ecclesiæ* respondeat; & licet visus sit *Valentinus* Par suum è *Paulinis* dictis de *Christo*, qui *Homo* appellatur 1 *Timoth. II. 5.* & *Filius Hominis* sæpiissimè, atque de *Ecclesiâ* ipsi desponsatâ arripuisse; verisimile est tamen, mysterium hoc, unde argumentatur Apostolus, à *Judæorum* saltem Magistris agnitum fuisse: quod etiam testantur quæ ex eorum libris ab aliis producta sunt.

§. 30. Nimirum sicut *Homo Jesus Christus*, *Adamus* ille secundus, in illo priore, ὡς ἐν τύπῳ, delineabatur; ita & *Ecclesia* ei desponsa *Evam* sui imaginem habebat: nec fortè eatenus tantum, quâ *Eva*, *viventium Mater*, à מרת denominata est; sed quatenus etiam, à נקבה, conventum & congregationem significabat. Bonum enim non erat ut *Homo*, animal sociale, solus viveret; maneretque aut ἀζευξ, aut verò ἀπολλίς maximumque ii beneficium, vel Ethnicis, visi sunt Hominum generi contulisse, qui eos in conventus primi urbesque coegerunt. *Plato* utique *Ægyptiorum* Mystarum sectarius, qui *Idealem Hominem* in cœlis statuit, posuit inibi & ejusmodi *Civitatem*. De *Homine* quidem certum est, eum aliquibus *Ægyptiis* pro Numine cultum: at quam ei Conjugem attribuerint, me latet. Constat item & *Panem*, Pastorum Deum, inter *Octo primarios* eorum *Deos* recensitum^a, licet

^a Herod. Lib. II. Cap. 46.

haud pateat, an illi ἀλλω conjunxerint. Attamen *Faunus Latinorum*, certè *Faunam* sororem suam habuit in Conjugem. Imo & ipse *Pan* erat *Ægyptiis Mendes*, autore *Herodoto*^a, atque is *Capriformis*: & hodiè *μενδς* est *Coptis Caper*; & ea vox in *Arabica* * *مى* (quæ *Hebræis* *ע*) planè comparet. Hic verò gregis *caprini* vir à *Valentino* fortè mutatus est in gregis *Humani* Principem, *Adamum*. Ut enim taceam, * *אדם* *corium*, peculiariter *caprinum*, denotare: * *עור*, à * *ע* deductum, non modò *pullum dorcadis fæmineum*, atque etiam *mulierem*, significat: sed, per *z* lenem scriptum, *cætum* & *hominum sectam*; uti *ע* *Hebræum*, in *Hiphil*, est *coire, congregari*. Ipsum etiam nomen *Græcum Pan* *Arabicas* habet voces sibi consonantes, ad eundem sensum. Est enim * *פן* *cætus*, & * *פנא* *multitudo*. Certè *Chemmis*^b, quod erat *Ægyptiis* superioribus alterum *Panis* nomen, à * *כ* peti potest, *cætum* istum & *multitudinem* significante, non minùs quàm * *כמע*.

§. 31. Quod Numinum postremorum *Decada* attinet: illa Dīs γαυε-
σισσῶν respondet, quorum apud *Jamblichum*^c mentio, quique inferioris Classis habebantur. *Duodecas* autem, quæ ab *Homine* & *Cœlesti Civitate* est Familia altera, ejusmodi constat Numinibus, quæ Parentum suorum statum ornant augentque. Notissimum verò est, ejusmodi Affectus Facultatesque animi, quales ad res five domesticas, five publicas facerent, vel à *Romanis* cultum accepisse; FIDEMQUE & SPEM atque CARITATEM ab Ethnicis inter Numina memorari, ac præcipuo haberi loco. Et verò nec *Jamblichus*^d de his tribus tacet, ubi de Sacrificiis & Precibus agit, *Hominis* nempe & *Ecclesiæ* assiduo negotio. Precum enim fructum esse has Affectiones ponit: & quidem *Spei* ejusdem sacræ antea meminerat^e.

§. 32. Harum ex *Homine* & *Ecclesiâ* Conjugationum *Sex*, Fœmina post illas tres proxima est *Σωείς*, seu PRUDENTIA, Numen quo præsentem nullum abest, teste *Juvenale*^f, quodque ab Hominum Concilio & Conventu oritur. Hæc autem, si *Noctuam* respiciamus, quam illi aliquando apponunt Nummi^g, pro *Pallade* haberi potest: quæ quidem *Ægyptiis Neith* vocabatur^h, & colebatur maximè in Νό-
μοι *Saite*. Tum verò nomen illud *Neith* facile deduci potest à verbo * *נא*, quod idem explicatur per * *ע* seu * *נאע*, (unde *Sain* petas,) & significat *Curam habere, Solitudinem longè protendere*ⁱ. Adde-
rem, nî vererem ne nimium argutari videar, noctis avem, quæ *Pallada* monstrârat, monere, ut ne diei immemor sim; *Apollinemque* seu *Orum Ægyptium* loco *Αεω* ponam, & *Σωείς* tradam in Maritum.

^a Herod. Lib. II. Cap. 46.

^b Vid. Diodor. Sicul. Lib. I.

^c Jamb. de Myster. Sect. V. Cap. 19.

^d Sect. V. Cap. 26.

^e Sect. II. Cap. 6.

^f Sat. X. 365.

^g Oisseli Tabulæ LXII. Nummo 5to inscribitur, PRINCIPIS PROVIDENTISSIMI SAPIENTIA; in quo visitur Columnæ infidens *Noctua*. Et vid. Spanh. de Numism. Vol. I. p. 167. ubi ex Philostrato observatur, *Minervam* apud *Ægyptios* sub *Noctua* specie depictam fuisse.

^h Plato in *Timæo*, Tom. III. p. 21.

ⁱ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Πυθίας, καὶ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καὶ Ἀντι, καὶ ἈΘΗΝΑ ΠΡΟΝΟΙΑ. Αἰγύπτου. Edit. H. Steph. p. 69.

§. 33. Fœminarum earundem Quinta est Μαχαρίτης hæcque Ecclesiastico conjuncta; fortè Mercurio, si ex Caduceo, Felicitatis noto in Nummis symbolo^a, liceat conjicere. SOPHIA autem Sexta, quæ Æonum ab Homine & Ecclesiâ ultima ponitur, quæque maxima turbarum omnium causa, non, credo, pro eâ est habenda Sapientiâ rerum divinarum & humanarum gnarâ, quam Philosophi primo loco statuunt, quâque Νῶν pollere jam diximus; neque verò pro Σωῶσι istâ Æωνῶν sociatâ, quam Prudentiam modò nominavimus: sed pro curiosiore Γνώσι illâ, quæ inflare apta, quæque Apostolo, cum vana arrogansque esse inciperet, ὑδανυμος dicta est, & erat postea in Gnosticis infamis; sicuti Sapiencia ficta in Sophistis.

§. 34. Istarum autem Æonum Maritos quod attinet: cum ipsorum quartus, Ainous, & quintus, Ecclesiasticus, Νοὶ & Sermoni apertè respondeant; deputaverim ergo priores tres Paracletum, Patricum, & Metricum, repræsentando Bytho; qui Valentinianorum aliquibus & Pater dicebatur, & Mater. Tum verò eorum postremum Theletum, ad Hominem, ultimum Ogdoadis Marem, retulerim: ut Θελητός sit Adamus quis, quem appetere deberet sua Eva; sit etiam Sophia Ecclesiæ, five Evæ εὐαὶ, è pravo scilicet sciendi Appetitu fere pereuntis.

§. 35. Porro ex Sophiæ istius, seu Γνώσεως, inani frustraneoque nisu Ενθυμησις, seu ACHAMOTH illa, exclusa est. Hoc autem Nomen solum Tertulliano Inenarrabile ponitur, pollicito aliorum omnium interpretationes se daturum. Eam ergò per Ενθυμησιν non tam significari, quam indigitari voluit. Neque idem postea Sophiam appellavit propriè, & quasi ipsa חכמה esset, sed à Matris nomine; & non aliter, quàm eandem etiam Spiritum Sanctum vocavit; ab illius alterius nimirum nomine, qui Christo sociatur. Ενθυμησις verò, licet Achamoth non plenè expresse, aliquatenus tamen, uti credo, adumbravit. Neque enim pro Mentis conceptu Cogitatione solâ accipio; sed pro ejus Appetitione, & quasi ὀπιθυμησις. Quo sensu certè sumebatur ab Interpretibus, qui vocantur LXX, Ægyptiique erant, uti par est credere; cum voces חכמה & חשך eâ redderent: uti Deuter. XXI. 11. ὅταν ἴδῃς χυαῖνα καλὴν, & ὀπιθυμηθῇς habemus pro חשך: & Jos. VII. 21. & ὀπιθυμηθῇς αὐτῶν ἔλαβον pro חכמה וואקחם. Appetitionem autem talem significat, nî fallor, vocabulum Achamoth; quam puduit Valentinum palàm exponere. Est enim * חמ Appetentia quævis vebemens, aliquando prava, peculiariter Appetentia gravidæ; atque verbum cognatum חמה, quod non nisi in Psalmo LXIII. 2. legitur, & à Judæorum Magistris plerisque intelligitur Desiderium connotare, inde aptissimè explicatur.

§. 36. Ifidis (quæ etiam Cognitionem seu γινῶσιν, uti vidimus, sonat) Luctus & Desideria decantatissima, licet sub Cereris nomine Græcis celebrata, annon huc etiam faciant; Proserpinaque à Dite rapta, & à luce supernâ exclusa, cum Achamoth hâc conveniat; non operosè

^a Oïfel. Tab. LVI. Numm. 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. Tab. LVII. Numm. 3, 4.
^b 1 Tim. VI. 20.

quæro. Erat illa communis *Ægyptiorum* Dea, πολυώνυμος, simul ac πολύεργος & ejus sine dubio fabula, à tot diversis variantibusque populis, non uno modo ornata est: ut *Valentinus* se illorum uni alicui, etiam hâc in parte, accommodare potuerit.

§. 37. Cæterum *HORUS* ille, qui *Pleroma* fixit sepsitque, per quem *Sophia* in illud reducta, & *Achamoth* ab illo prohibita, quis alius erit, quàm *Mercurius Romanorum*, *Græcorum Hermes*, & *Ægyptiorum Taautus*? Ille enim apud *Athenienses* Deus erat *Terminus*: ille communis Cælo Orcoque μεταγωγέως in Inferos & ab Inferis; ille etiam *Ægyptiis Crux*. *Taautum* enim quod attinet, seu *Toth*, seu *Soth*; ejus officia varia videntur nomine suo significari. Est ille ὅσος, à תורה, quod est *determinare & definire*: unde תורה (Coptice σιν, Arabicè *ش) *Terminus*: & inde fortè תו literarum *Hebræarum* Ultima. A תורה, quod, præter illud *terminandi*, habet aliam significationem *describendi & signandi*, Literarum venit scribendique Artificium, cujus Inventor *Tautes*. Voces autem illas, seu *Hebræas* seu *Arabicas*, duces nobis non infidas fuisse ad eruendam hanc *Ægyptiacæ* vocis notionem, patebit ex illâ ipsâ, qualem eam, nî fallor, lingua *Copta* nunc exhibet. *Thoth* enim vox *Coptica*, quæ ab antiquâ *Thoth* adeo parum differt, ut eandem fuisse jure arbitremur, in Grammaticâ *Elfamenudi* à *Kirchero* editâ (f. 15.) per *הר & *רסס exponitur. Arabicè autem *הר est *Limes, Terminus*; & *רסס est *signare, & scribere*. Ut igitur redeam ad verbum illud תורה; inde deductum תו, *Signum* notat: & quidem *Crucis* formâ, in illo *Ezekielis* loco, Cap. IX. v. 4. si *Hieronymum* sequamur. *Arabicum* certè *תו id planè significat; favebitque opinantibus literam istam Ultimam fuisse olim *Crucis* formâ depictam: an ad instar *Crucis* erectæ *Unicruris*, prout nunc apud *Coptos*; an *Bicruris*, quali pingebant *Phœnices*, non multum refert. His etiam addi poterit, *palos terminales* seu *scolopas* hujus formæ plerumque fuisse; ipsosque *Athenarum Hermas* similiter effectos. His autem vocibus alia cognata *טו adjicit insuper aliam *replicandi, & in se volvendi* notationem: atque inde alteram *eundi veniendique, & ultrò citròque ambulandi*: quarum postrema Deo *Internuntio* convenit; altera *Periodum* illam *Sothicam* describet, dabitque *Thoth Mensum primum*, quòd, uti ab eo incipit, ita in eundem revolutus & replicatus definit, Ενιαυτός.

§. 38. Sic deductus *Taautus* varia *Mercurii* simul & *Hori Valentiniani* Officia connotat. Ulterius autem notandum, *Mercurium Ægyptium* canino capite fuisse, & *Anubim* dictum; eodemque fungentem munere, quo *Horus* noster, *Deos custodiisse*. Sic enim de eo *Plutarchus*^a, Ἀνὴρ ὁ πρῶτος ἀρετὴν καὶ λεγόμενον οὗ θεὸς φέρειν. Idem etiam *Anubis* pro communi *Finitore* rerum supernarum infernarumque *Ægyptiis* habebatur. Postquam enim dixisset *Plutarchus*, ea, quæ subter terram inconspicua, *Nephtbyn* vocari^b; quæ autem suprâ apparent, *Isn*; addit: Ο ὃ τέταρτον καὶ χαλόμενος Ορίζων κύκλος, ὁπποῦντος ὡς αἰ-

^a De *Isid.* & *Osir.* p. 635

^b Ibid. p. 657.

φοῖν, Ἀνέβις κάλκται, ἡ καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἐπεαυξέσεται, subjungitque quæ ad *Hermen*, κοινὸν Cœli Hadique, faciunt: καὶ ταύτῃ ἔχει δεκά πρ' Αἰγυπτίους τὴν δύναμιν ὁ Ἀνέβις, οἷαν ἡ Ἐχέτη παρ' Ἑλλήσι, χθονίος ὢν ὁμοῦ καὶ ὀλύμπιῳ. Qui autem *Ægyptiis Anubis*, erat & *Syris*, idem *Mercurius*, non absimiliter *Nebo* dictus; uti nos docet *Abulfaragius*^a, exponens *Nebuchadnezzarii* nomen. Nimirum *Arabicum* *נבי, quod est *propheta* & *præco*, uti & *Hebræum* נבי, habet inter derivata sua *נבאה, quod est *vox canum*, *latratus*; significatque insuper *recedere*, *distare*, *de loco in locum migrare*. Verbum etiam *ני, quod à *נבי non multum potestate differt, sub eadem *distantiâ* & *discessûs* notione accipitur; & præterea sub illâ *servandi* & *custodiendi*: quin nominaliter sumptum connotat *foveam circa tentorium ductam*, ad prohibendum scilicet aquæ affluxum; quasi illum κύκλον ἐκείνον. Tum verò *ני, cujus litera initialis *Gnain* cum alterâ istâ *Nun* faciliè commutatur, rursus est *latrare*: & *נו, vox cum *Waw* *teshdidato* seu *dagesbato*, est *canis*; & ultra producta, cum vocali post *Eliph* mobili, multum *latrans*, planè ut ille apud *Virgilium Latrator Anubis*. Similiter de vocabulis Νέφες & Ισις, hîc expositis, observandum est, quòd *Arabibus* *עבט fit *abesse*, *latere*, quò referas res istas *inconspicuas*; & *עבט maris *profunditas*, unde forsan *Neptunum* petas: quòdque *apparentia* ista & *conspicua* pertineant ad τὸ θεῖον illud *Isidis* supra productum^b. Atque hæc de *Horo* sufficiant.

§. 39. Ultra Triginta Αἰῶνας Primigenios adduntur *Pleromati* *CHRISTUS* & *SPIRITUS SANCTUS*; quorum operâ reliqui *COÆQUABANTUR*: tum deinde accessit *JESUS*, ex omnibus decerpitus & compactus. Hi sine dubio *Æones* novi *Christianæ* fidei gratiâ affingebantur; à quâ *Christus*, & *Jesus*, & *Spiritus Sanctus* abesse non poterant: nec tamen rationibus fortè *Ægyptiacis* carebant. *Coæquationem* enim quod spectat, isti *Superstitioni* novum non erat, ut *Deorum* unus aliorum *Ornamentis* instrueretur. Tum verò *Jesum Collectitium Valentinus*, planè pro *Superstitionis* sibi gentilis genio, quasi Πάνθεον quendam componebat: de quibus *Numinibus* videatur *Sponius* in *Miscellaneis*. His autem *Tribus* intra *Pleroma* habitantibus, *Christo*, & *Spiritui Sancto*, & *Jesu*, si *Horum* annumeres, qui ad illud proximè pertinet, & *Achamoth* insuper addas, quæ in illo concepta; quinque habes Αἰῶνας ἐπαχτός, quot apud *Ægyptios* diebus quinque supra annum πλήρη extantibus præsidebant.

§. 40. Hucusque de *Æonibus* in *Pleromate* constitutis. Quæ deinceps sequuntur de *Achamoth* extra illud regnante in suo *Inani*, tanquam *Bytho Inferni*; ejusque filio *Demiurgo*, ipsius quasi *Nō* vel *Logo Vicario*; & rerum deinde harum *Mundanarum*, ad *Æonum* superiorum similitudinem, productione è variâ *Materiæ Achamothianæ* copiâ; non ulterius persequor: quanquam & hîc non deficit, quod afferri possit de *Demiurgo* altero *Inferiori*, & de *Dīs Inferioribus* *Ge-*

^a Edit. *Arab. Pocockii*, p. 73.

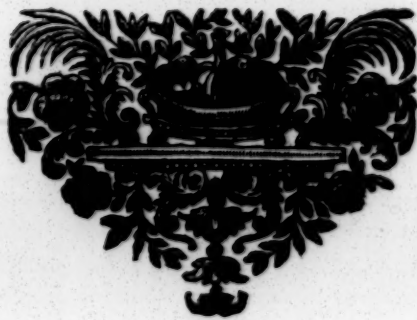
^b Sect. 26.

resurgis, & veteres generibus variis, ex Jamblichæ, Philone, aliisque. Quæ enim hætenus sunt dicta, suffecerint ad Consensum illum, quem proposui, Hæreseos Valentinianæ cum Superstitione Ægyptiacâ demonstrandum: & si qua addi mereantur, commodius annotari poterunt ad Tertullianum, prout ipse iis locum fecerit.

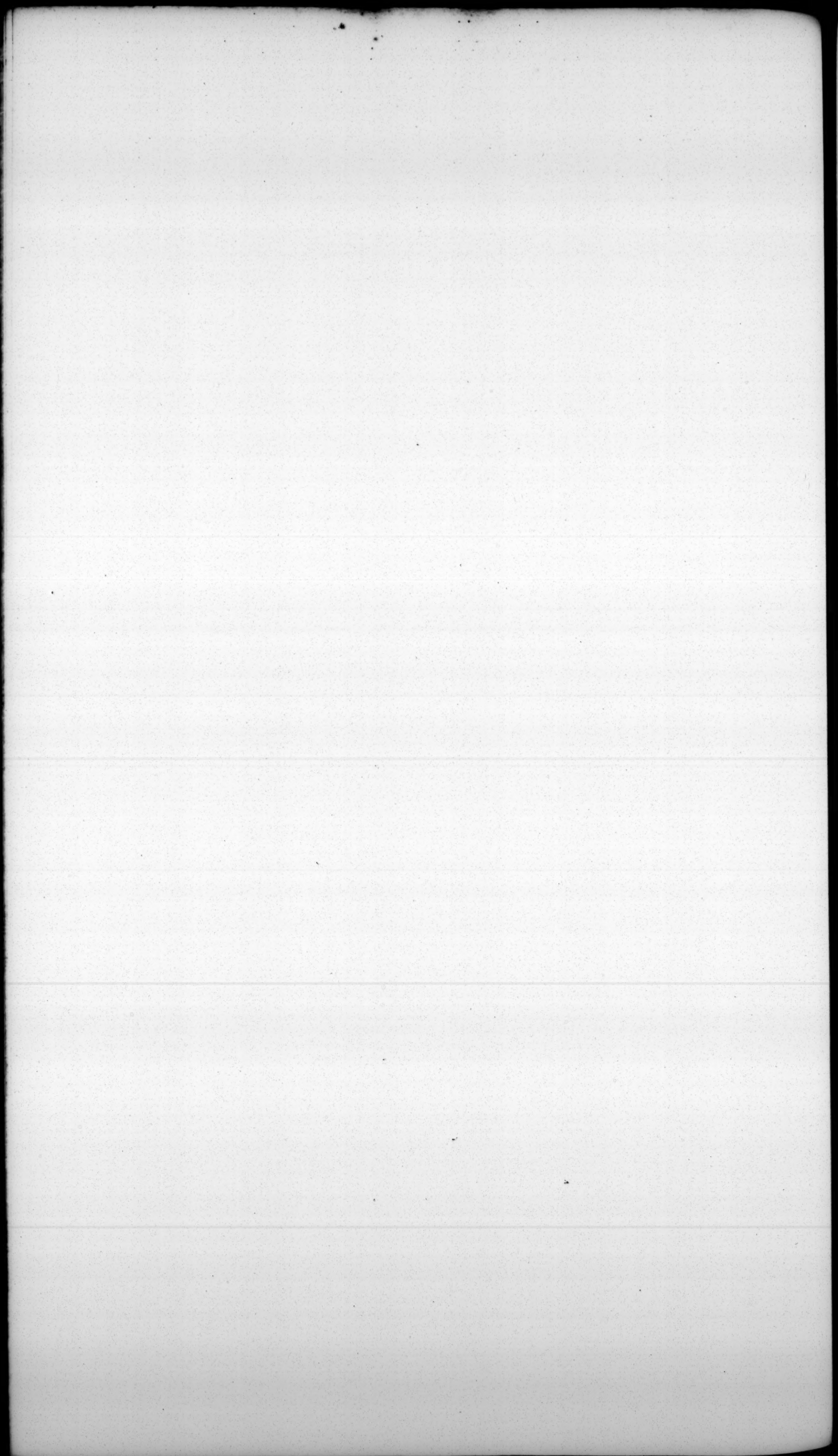
CUM Authori, longè à domo suâ posito, ad manum non essent
** Emendationes & Observationes quædam, quibus comitatus pro-*
diret memoratus modò Tertulliani Tractatus; optimum factu visum est,
Dissertationis hujus, ex se facillè intelligendæ, jam parata Exemplaria
curiosorum Virorum, quibus destinantur, judicio sine morâ ulteriori
exponere.

* Hæ Emendationes & Observationes, quas Author eruditissimus dicit ad manum non fuisse eo tempore, quo Conjecturæ superiores prodibant, quæque lucem exinde publicam nunquam viderunt, proximum jam locum sibi vindicant; utpote quæ Conjecturas ipsas multum illustrant, nec parum invicem ab iis illustrantur. Quod si dubitet Lector, utrum hæ Notæ, quas Antistes venerandus tam diu apud se presserat, dignæ tandem ab ipso essent habitæ, quæ demum aliquando publicarentur; liceat novissimam ejus hæc de re sententiam breviter aperire. Rumor erat, paulò ante ejus obitum, Monachos Benedictinos, qui orbem Christianum multis præclaris Scriptorum veterum Ecclesiasticorum Editionibus jam tum demeruerant, in animo etiam habere, Tertulliani Opera edere. Quod cum Præfui humanissimo nuntiatum esset, volebat ille, pro benefico eo, quo in bonas literas semper propendebat, animo, Notas suas cum doctissimis hisce Viris communicare, eorum Operi (si ipsis ita placuerit) inferendas. Quem in finem, eas exscribendas curavit, & docto cuidam Peregrino, Oxoniæ tum agenti, mittendas; qui pollicebatur se eas Monachis in manus traditurum. Quod utrum fecerit, necne, haud liquet, cum Benedictini Tertullianum suum, cui hoc beneficium destinabatur, nondum, quod scimus, typis vulgârunt. Interim ex dictis colligi potest, quid Præfui ipse de hoc suo opusculo senserit. Quod verò ad ipsum Tertulliani adversus Valentinianos Tractatum, quocum hæ Notæ in publicum erant proditura, attinet; eum omittendum censuimus, cum nullum ejus exemplar in beatissimi Patris scriniis invenire licuerit, cui ipse corrigendo, prælove ullo modo parando, manum admoverat. Notæ enim in separatis quibusdam, & solutis chartis erant conscriptæ. Tuum erit, erudite Lector, Tractatum utilissimum adire, & singulas Notas, prout eas in sequentibus paginis habebis, cum textibus suis conferre.

F I N I S.



EMENDATIONES
ET
OBSERVATIONES
AD
TERTULLIANI
ADVERSUS
VALENTINIANOS
TRACTATUM.



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CAP. I.

FACILI *charitate*. Hi, quibus ista *lenocinia* parabantur, haud erant, credo, ex *fidelium* numero, nec *charitatis* nomine dignandi; potius ex iis, qui de *Hellenismo* rejiciendo, & Christi nomine amplectendo cogitarent modò. Legerem ergo, *facili varietate*, eâ nimirum, quâ *Valentiniani* locutiones quasdam sacras ad suos errores explicandos transferrent. Hoc autem ex *Irenæo*^a expressum, qui simili arte regis imaginem, ex gemmis contextam, posse, ab iisdem resolutis, in simiam recomponi notat; & phrasin *Homericam* ad argumentum longè diversum traduci. Et verò, cùm Author noster *Valentiniana lenocinia* ex *sanctis nominibus* & *titulis* facta dicit, ad *centonem* fortè obscœnum ex *Virgilio*, poeta castissimo, deformatum respexisse credas. Certè in Libro de *Præscript. Hæretic.*^b de *Valentino* agens, hujusmodi *centonarii moris* disertè meminit, & *facilitatis*, quâ talia componuntur. Ibi etiam observat eam *fecunditatem divinæ literaturæ ad facultatem cujusque materiæ*, quæ per verba hæc, *ex divinæ copię occasione*, hìc denotatur, quæque istis *Irenæi*^c, ἡ δὲ πλῆθος εἰρημένων ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς.

Succedere. Ex voto, scilicet: propositum assequi.

Concreto vultu. Similia dixerat *Irenæus*, Lib. IV. Cap. XXXV. §. 3.

^a Lib. I. Cap. VIII. §. 1. Edit. *Parif.* 1710. Vid. & ejusdem Libri Cap. IX. §. 4.
^b Cap. XXXIX. Edit. *Parif.* 1675.
^c Lib. I. Cap. I. §. 3.

Communem fidem affirmant. Et hoc juxta *Irenæum*. Vid. Proëm. §. 2.

Suâ cæde dispergunt. Pro *dispergunt* vellem *dispungunt*, & pro *suâ*, *sine*; ut sensus sit, Recusare eos in certamen venire cum fatuis, & dimittere sine pugná.

Prius persuadent. *Irenæus* hanc artem *suasoriam* sæpe animadvertit. Vid. Proëm. §. 1 & 2.

C A P. II.

Pueros vocem —? Siquidem *pueri* fuisse non memorentur, qui *Jesum* crucifigi postulaverant, dubito an non scriptum primò fuerit, *Quos vocem*, —? Nimirum, cùm *infantes* fuerint, qui primi ob *Christum* mortem subierant, quinam erant illi, qui eum ad mortem deposcebant? *Nec pueri erant, nec infantes*, &c.

C A P. III.

Primamque hanc victoriam auspicamur —. Fortè, *hinc*.

C A P. IV.

Semen nactus, Colarbaso. Cùm vetera exemplaria hìc haberent *semini actu colubroso*, videtur omninò retineri debere *actu colubroso*; sed & *semita* pro *semini* reponi. Quâ ratione metaphora, cui hoc in loco infistit *Tertullianus*, altiùs incipiet, & pericope sic formabitur, *ultionis accendi*; & ad expugnandam conversus veritatem, è cujusdam veteris opinionis *semita actu colubroso viam deliniavit*. *Colarbasus* enim ille, à *Latinio* hìc positus pro *colubroso*, nec loco suo memoratur, utpote *Ptolemæo* inferior, nec alibi in opusculo hoc ejus mentio habetur; ne dicam, eum alium ab *Heracleone* forsan non fuisse.

Suadere permissum est. Pro *suadere* fortè legendum *suabere*, aut *suavere*, antiquum aliquod verbum, cùm apud etymologos videam *suavium* pro *labium* haberi posse; ut mens *Tertulliani* hæc fuerit, Tantùm permissum est huic Hæresi se suosque lambendo fingere, quantùm solenne est, apud *Romuli* progeniem, *Martis* filios infantes à lupâ sic fingi; immò quantùm solenne est lupis aliis, *Veneris* affecclis, sic formam suam supparare, lingendo scilicet. Crederem enim à *Tertulliano* allusum hìc ad *Virgilianum* illud de clypei lupâ, octavo *Æneidos*.

Si aliquid novi, usque ad *ingenium*, parenthesi includi possunt, ut sequentia ad *recenseant* referantur. Si autem absolutè accipiantur, tum per voces duas* —

Nec unitatem. Verbum hìc deest; quale *amant*, aut *crepant*.

* Aliquid forsan hìc desideratur.

Plerosque dividi. An *dividue*, quasi separatim? Verba enim ista, *sepositâ solenni dissimulatione*, & *bonâ fide dicturos*, proximè conjungi deberent.

C A P. V.

Adfectatis. An non *adfectatis*?

Aut. Fortè pro *Et*.

C A P. VI.

Quorundam enim de Græco interpretatio, &c. Vel ex hoc loco constat, *Tertullianum* in *Græcis* istis scriptoribus exponendis se usum interprete; quin nec alium priùs de *Hæresi* hâc *Latine* scripsisse.

Expugnatio. Fortè, *expunctio*. Hoc enim vult, Transfunctoriè delibati non abibunt.

Congressioni. Hoc est, *Congressionem* hanc sic habe, quasi lusionem ante pugnam.

Sic indigna *. Fortè, *sic digna*.

C A P. VII.

Quæ hinc sequuntur de *Valentinianorum* doctrinâ, ex *Irenæi* Libro primo traduntur ferè omnia. Exponitur enim non modò eâdem methodo, nimirum, secundum *Ptolemæi* systema primò, deinde ut ab eo varient alii; sed & eodem plerumque locutionis genere.

De lati. Fortè, de *elati* fitûs nomine.

Insulam Fæliculam. Lege *Fæliculæ*. Eo nomine Insula erat *Romæ*, Regione Nonâ. Vid. *Labbæi* Notitiam Dignitat. p. 137.

Nescio ubi. Non necesse est ut hæc expungantur; quod voluit *Rigaltius*. Ita fortè vocabantur *Insulæ* illius cubicula longè remota ad superas partes, quæ ab incolis honestioribus sub alio titulo non noscebantur.

Hunc substantialiter, &c. Cùm jam in eo est *Tertullianus*, ut *Valentinianam* Hæresim secundum *Ptolemæum* exponat, *Irenæi* vestigia pressius sequi incipit, uti patebit conferenti hoc Caput cum Capite *Irenæi* primo, Lib. I. §. 1. Nec enim in sequentibus aliud dicit, quàm quod habet *Irenæus*, acumina aliqua derisorio si excipias; quæ tamen ipsa aliquando idem Author suggererat.

Et parit, &c. Hæc ita distinguenda sunt, & *parit*, utique silentio Sige; & *quem parit*, Nus est, *simillimum patri* & *parem* —.

Defenditur. Quadriga *factionis* rectiùs dicetur *defundi*, quasi ex carceribus.

* Sic legitur in Editione *Parisiensi*, 1664. Aliæ verò Editiones habent *digna*.

C A P. VIII.

Capiti huic *Octavo* respondet *Irenæi*, nuperrimè *Parisiis* editi, Lib. I. Cap. I. Sect. 2.

Hinc numero. Sic fortè construenda: *Ecce enim secunda Tetras—fruticâset hoc numero: gestientes & ipsi* (pro numeri fui Quaternarii dignitate & potestate, scilicet) *tale aliquid* —.

Cogor hic. Scommati huic, licet Comico, & è scholis *Latinis Carthagine* petito, occasionem tamen dederunt *Schettiasmi*, seu Exclamationes istæ Tragicæ poetarum *Græcorum*, ἰδ & φῶ, in quas hoc in argumento prorumpit *Irenæus*.

Et quinquaginta & centum. Fortè, aut scribendum hîc pro *et*, uti frequenter in *Irenæo Latino*.

C A P. IX.

Hoc Capite continentur, quæ habet *Irenæus*, Lib. I. Cap. II. Sect. 1, 2.

Phileti. Hoc nomine deinceps à *Tertulliano* appellatur, qui *Irenæo* constanter *Theletus*; utriusque enim nominis eadem fere significatio.

Æmulatio. Sic πολλῶν *Irenæi* ad ejus mentem redditur. *Temeritas* enim apud Interpretem *Latinum* non ita aptè dicitur. Πάθος enim erat ἀγάπης, ἀφρασύ; reverà autem, *æmulationis*; quomodò apud *Homerum* de *Patrocli* ancillis, Πάτροκλον ἀφρασύ, σφῶν δ' αὐτῶν καὶ δὲ ἑκάστη^a.

Frustrarat. Fortè, *frustrà erat*.

Quædam & huic vis est. Fortè, *hic*. *Vis* autem hoc in loco idem est quod *virtus*, seu *potestas*; *Irenæi* δύναμις. *Hic* enim est *fundamentum universitatis*, & illius — quem & *crucem* appellant, &c.

Totam animationem. Totum quod in animo habuit. Ita in genere loquitur *Tertullianus* de *Sophiæ* conatu. At *Irenæus* dixerat τὸ ἀποπνεῖν ἐν ὁμήμοισιν. Et cùm reddat ejus Interpres per *pristinam intentionem*, videri potest *appetitionem* subintellexisse, quam non modò ab *Ενθυμήσει*, sed & ab *Achamothe* significari diximus: præsertim cùm verbum idem reddat per *concupiscentiam*, Sect. 4tâ ejusdem Capituli.

C A P. X.

Caput hoc ex *Irenæi* Sect. 3. Cap. II. Lib. I. planè exprimitur. Neque ibi apertius significantur alii hi, qui *Sophiæ* labores molestissimos, ei accidere voluerunt post exclusam *Enthymesin*: neque verò ad rei summam multùm refert, cùm hi *Sophiæ* exitus planè vacent in iis quæ post sequentur, Cap. XV. ubi *Materiæ* origo non *Sophiæ*, sed *Enthymeseos* *Passionibus* deputatur.

^a *Iliad*, T. 302.

Deformatam eam. Rectissime notat *Grabius*, *Tertullianum Irenæi* informem filiam in matrem deformem mutasse. Hoc certè non fecisset, si *Irenæum Latinum* fuisset secutus. *Græcè* ergo legit, & haud dubiè aliter, quàm olim *Interpres* in suo exemplari, aut in *Epiphanio* nos; ἔσαν nimirum, pro ἑσάν.

Inconsummationem. Siquidem eodem verbo utitur *Irenæus Latinus*, inde *Rigaltio* manifestum videtur, Interpretationem illam *Tertulliani* manibus versatam. At si necesse sit, ut Interpretum duorum unus, qui voces paucas *Græcas* iisdem aliquando *Latinis* expresse-rint, alterum expresse-rit; quæ ratio coget secundas illas partes *Tertulliano* dare?

Ne finis quoque infisteret. *Latinus Irenæus*, *Ne hoc ipsum finem* habeat: *Græca* autem ex *Epiphanio*, μηδὲ αὐτὸ τὸ εἶναι τελείως ἔχει. Pro τελείως legisse utrosque τέλος agnoscit nuperus Editor. Nec mihi quidem videtur eos hic perperam de *fine* cogitasse, & non de *perfectio- ne*. Neque enim novum est, ut metuat mater ne fœtus vel deformis pereat.

Fœmina-mare, — quia de Patris sexu ita variant. *Irenæum* præ oculis habuit, Cap. hujus §. 4. qui sic *Græcè* nunc legitur, ὡς ἑτέροις ἐν εἰκότι ἰδίᾳ ἀσύζυγον, ἀφύλων. Τὸν γὰρ Πατέρα ποτὲ μὲ μὲ σύζυγος ὁ Σιγῆς, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἄρρεν, καὶ ὑπὲρ θήλυ ἐστὶ λέγουσι: quod etiam dicitur Cap. XI. §. 5. at- que etiam esse, qui Βύθον ἀρρενόθλυον faciunt, [*Latino Int. et masculum & fœminam*,] ἑρμαφροδίτη γένεσιν ei donantes. Ita imagines varias *Bythi* sui sibi finxerunt *Valentiniani*; nec mihi incommodum videtur dici, *Horon*, prout eum reddit *Interpres*, productum fuisse secundum ea- rum unam, quæ erat *sine conjuge*, nec ullâ ex parte *fœminilis*. At- que ea ἰδία, seu *propria*, dici ergo possit, quia *Æones* reliqui omnes erant constanter conjugati. Et *Tertullianus* pariter poterat de *immagine fœmina-mari* loqui, cum de Patris, uti ait, sexu ita variatum esset; modò ea *Horo* conveniret, qui nunquam, nî fallor, utriusque generis ponitur. Atque in istiusmodi imaginis acceptionem ita hic inclinatur animus, ut addubitem, annon ad eam reformandus sit *Tertulliani* textus; & olim scriptum fuerit, in *immagine suâ sine fœminâ mare*. Suprà enim ex *suâ cæde* factum conjecerim *sine cæde*, & hîc, si prius *suâ* mutatum fortè fuisset in *sine*, facile omitti poterat posterius *sine*, ut supervacuè repetitum.

Adjiciunt, &c. Quatuor *Hori* nominibus suprà editis, Cap. IX. hæc addita sex efficiunt, quæ hâc §. 4. simul recenset *Irenæus*; nu- merum ipsi alibi observatum, qui *Hori* σύμπληξιν, quam pro *complexu* ejus toto, seu *circuitu* sumo, *Exagoniam* inde facit^a, tanquam è favi cellis unam.

Appendicem Passionem. Sic ἐπιγινωσκόμεν reddidit *Latinus Interpres*; & inde hoc *Tertullianum* habuisse dicit *Rigaltius*. At potius crediderim,

^a Lib. I. Cap. III. §. 1.

uti suprà, habuisse ex *Tertulliano* Interpretem. *Appendicis* enim vocabulum longiùs abest à *Græco*, quod strictiùs redditum suprà *Tertulliano* per *insuper* acciderat; & sic loqui potius licuerat *Tertulliano*, qui se *Irenæi* Interpretem non profitetur, & elegantius loquendi genus sectatur.

Crucifixam. Sic *Irenæus*, ἀφοριθεῖσαν, ἢ ἀπεσπασθεῖσαν, καὶ ἑκτὸς αὐτῆς γενομένην. Ubi ἀπεσπασθεῖσαν rectissime à *Grabio* accipitur pro *vallo disjungi*; ad quem sensum ut propiùs hìc accedatur, mallet legere *cruce*, seu *vallo*, *fixam*.

Spiritualem tamen. Εἶναι, seu *esse* subintelligo, quod ab *Irenæo* exprimitur.

C A P. XI.

Sic sequitur, §. 5. apud *Irenæum*.

Pleromati muniendo, jamque figendo. Vulgò notatur esse hæc *Irenæi Græci* εἰς πλῆξιν καὶ σπείρωτον τῶ πληρωματι, & tamen in *Latino* desiderari. Ubi certò liquet, *Tertullianum* ex *Interprete* Vetere non semper sapere; & unde conjicias, exemplaria *Græca*, quibus usi fuerint, non semper convenisse.

Incuteret. Fortè, *incurreret*.

Vulneratur. Offenditur, inquit *Rigaltius*, à *fæminâ pari potestate præditâ*: Dixisse poterat, *ampliore*. Sed simplicius multò fuerit, *superatur*, aut tale aliquid legi, quàm ut necesse sit sensum elicere verbo *vulneratur*.

Numen. Fortè, *Munus*.

Due scholæ. Hoc non ex *Irenæo*. Cùm verò *Valentiniani* non in hoc primùm dissentirent; [*Valentinus* enim ipse & duos *Horos* statuerat, & *Christi* ortum à *Sophiâ*, & *Spiritus Sancti* ab *Ecclesiâ* posuerat;] hoc potius pro arguto suo genio voluisse credo *Tertullianum*, Hanc officiorum divisionem inter Conjuges, atque ita ut potiores partes sequiori sexui darentur, *Valentinianorum* discrepantiis præluisse.

Inducere. *Græca Irenæi* monent legi debere, *docere*; siquidem *indocere* eo sensu sumi non liceat.

Vides quam rem planè. Hoc facit ad *Christi* officium dehonestandum, & infra illud *Spiritus Sancti* deprimendum.

Et innati conjectionem. Perioche tota apud *Irenæum* sic concipitur, τὸν ὃ Χριστὸν διδάσκει αὐτὸς συζυγίας φύσιν, καὶ ἀγενήτως κατὰ λήξιν γινώσκοντες, ἔχοντες τὴν, διαγινώσκοντες πὺρὸς αὐτοῖς τὴν τῆ Πατρὸς ἐπίγνωσιν —. Et hìc, si ἀγενήτως legas γινώσκοντες, [quod video etiam placere Editori nupero,] omnia inoffenso pede procedent: Nimirum, Docebat illos *Christus*, sufficere, si *conjugii* & *geniti* naturam nôssent; simul & declarabat apud illos eam *Patris* agnitionem, nimirum sciri eum non posse, nisi per *Monogenem*.

nem. Neque minùs perspicuum erit, si pro *innati* legas *nati* apud *Tertullianum*, quid velit ille cùm dicit, Christum *docere* *Æonas naturam conjugiorum*, & *nati conceptionem*, quarum rerum cognoscendarum capaces essent, & *idoneos ita fecisse ingenerandi* [aliqualem] *in se agnitionem Patris*, quòd [nempe] *capere eum* —. Quanquam enim hæc ab hodierno *Irenæi* exemplari aliquantulùm abeant, poterant tamen ab altero quodam proficisci, ad hunc fortè modum scripto, γεννῆται κατὰληπτον, καὶ ἰκανὸς ποιεῖν εἰς τὸ γενῆσαι αὐτὸν ἑαυτοῖς —.

Incomprehensibile. Sic etiam *Irenæus Latinus*, qui, modò dicta persecutus, ait ita edoctos à *Christo* *Æonas*, *causam æternæ perseverationis* iis omnibus *incomprehensibile Patris esse*. Ea etiam erat *Mysteriorum Ægyptiacorum doctrina*^a: Ut nullum dubium restet, quin quod nunc legitur in *Græco* τὸ πρῶτον κατὰληπτόν τοῦ Πατρὸς scriptum primùm fuerit τὸ ἀκατάληπτόν τῷ Πατρὶ, & πρῶτον enatum sit postea errore scribæ ἄλφα privativum habentis pro numerali, quomodò vicissim è *Protopathario Aspatharius* ortus esse dignoscitur^b.

C A P. XII.

Capiti huic de *Æquatis Æonibus*, & *Jesu Comproductione* respondet §. proxima (sexta Cap. II.) *Irenæi*.

Alteri omnes. Refunditur. Hæc fortè sic scribenda & distinguenda, *Nemo aliud, quia alter. Mares refunduntur in Nus*, —.

Veritate. Fortè, *varietate*.

Pleromate liberato. Ludit *Tertullianus* in significatione τῆς πληρώματος nauticâ, istaque sale conspergit, quæ simpliciter narraverat *Irenæus*.

Ambiguè enim positum —. *Græca Irenæi* hæc sunt, δρυφόρους τε αὐτῶν εἰς πῦλόν τινα αὐτῶν ὁμογενεῖς Ἀγγέλους συμπεσεβέληται. Quæ cùm *Latinus* Interpretes sic verterit, *Satellites quoque ei in honorem ipsorum ejusdem generis Angelos cum eo prolatos*, Ambiguitatem, quam memorat *Tertullianus*, in eo fitam autumat, quòd voces *cum eo* aut *cum prolatis*, aut *cum ejusdem generis* construi possint. At nec hoc mihi persuaserit, *Irenæum* in *Latinum* Interpretem inquisivisse. Præterquam enim quòd eundem verborum ordinem non servet, apparet etiam Ambiguum ipsi hoc solum fuisse, quòd referretur vox ὁμογενεῖς, quam reddit per *par genus* [si non scribendum *pares genus*]. De eâ enim dubius ait, *Si inter se, potest fieri*: non autem, si inter ipsos & *Soterem*. Ubi *Tertullianum* constat, ὁμογενεῖς pro ὁμοῦσιος, seu *Consubstantivus*, habuisse. Et quidem attentius spectanti verba illa εἰς πῦλόν τινα αὐτῶν, quæ *Tertullianus* præterit, patebit fortè, illa loqui de paribus genus Angelis, productis in honorem *Æonum* sibi pariter jam coæqualium. Ferè enim est ut suspicer scripsisse *Irenæum* εἰς μίμησιν αὐτῶν.

^a Vid. Dissert. de *Valentin.* Hæresi, §. 20.

^b Vid. *Caroli du Fresne* Glossarium ad Script. Med. & Infim. *Græc.* in voce Πρώτος.

C A P. XIII.

Cùm Caput *Irenæi* proximum (III.) in eo fit, ut doceat è quibus Scripturæ locis sua hæc de *Æonibus* commenta petant *Valentiniani*, id totum transit *Tertullianus*, & ad ea progreditur, quæ extra *Pleroma* post fiebant; Tragœdiæ interim comparatione hic utens, quam in sequenti Capite, §. 3. *Irenæus* suus suggerit.

C A P. XIV.

Achamoth. Ab hac incipit Cap. IV. *Irenæi*. De Nominis autem interpretatione videbitur Differt. de *Valentin.* Hæref. §. 35.

Ufus est rerum. Hæc sic potius distingui debent, *Ufus est, rerum ex liberalitatibus — nomina.*

Patre. Matre.

Angelo. Fortè, altero apud *Christum*. Vide Cap. XI.

Iao. *Irenæus* habet, ὅσον καλύοντα αὐτῶν ἑῖς τὸ μπεραθεῖν ὁρμῆς εἰπεῖν, *Iao*: & hoc concinit τὸ *אל* *Arabum*, quod vide apud *Golium*, col. 2771. Vide & col. 195.

Pro conditione deterius. Quod porro explicat *Irenæus*, cùm dicit, eam non modò ἐτερείωσιν ἐν τοῖς πάρεσσι habuisse, sed ἐναντιότητα.

C A P. XV.

Irenæus, Cap. IV. §. 2. doctrinam eandem *Valentinianam* exponit; quin & ei deridendæ præit, §. 3 & 4.

Duxerit. Fortè, fluxerit.

C A P. XVI.

Patre universorum. Dicit *Irenæus*, §. 5. *Præstante ei Patre omnem virtutem, & omnia sub potestate tradente, & Æonibus similiter: uti in eo omnia conderentur* —. Et hæc à *Tertulliano* non pressim redduntur; tacet enim de *Æonum* confimili Largitione. At non ille interpretis partes suscepit, & *Æonum* fortè consensus non adeo illi necessarius visus. Certè, quod illi objicitur, minimè *Æonas Soteri* subijcit. Non enim loquitur de *Soteris* potestate in *Æones*, sed de collatâ ipsi *Æonum* universorum, quæ eadem est ac totius *Pleromatis*, potestate.

Eis. Scribendum haud dubiè *ei*, non solum quòd id dixerit *Irenæus*, sed etiam quòd incredibile sit voluisse *Æonas Soteri* subjectos, non minùs quàm eosdem ab eo conditos.

Injuriis. Hic, uti alibi, *Irenæi* verba ipsa non reddit *Tertullianus*, sed suis aliis paucioribus ejus sensum fideliter refert. *Irenæus* sic Græ-

ce, ἵασι τῷ πατρὶ ποιήσαι αὐτῆς. χωρίσαντα δ' αὐτὰ αὐτῆς, μὴ ἀμελήσαντα ὃ αὐτῷ. ὃ δ' ἦν δυνατὸ ἀφαιρῆσαι, ὡς τὰ τ' ὑποτάσσας, διὰ τὸ ἐκπαρῆ ἦν, καὶ δυνατὰ εἶναι. Ἄλλ' ὅσοι κείναι χρεὶς συγγράμει καὶ πῶς — Quo in loco *Tertullianus*, licet causam non reddat cur Matris jam liberatae affectus perire finerentur, non tamen *Achamothiani*, qui validiores erant, uti solent esse impotentium mentium affectus, eos tamen sic validos fuisse ponit, & quid de illis factum plenissime explicat. *Exercitata enim vitia, & usu viriosa* factis aptè respondent verbis ἐκπαρῆ & δυνατὰ. Et, *non in exterminium discreta* significant separata ista *non in nihilum resoluta*, sed tantum seposita. Neque minus, *in Materiae*, & quæ sequuntur, quadrabunt *Græcis*. Cum enim videam *Tertullianum* hæc respexisse, eumque nec pro indiligenti lectore habeam, nec imperito; siquid hinc discrepat, malim multò illud scribarum potius, quàm Authoris errori imputare; præsertim cum adeo levis, futurus sit commissu facilis. Si enim lectio Interpretis *Latini* ad verba ἀσώματος τὴν ἑλὼν ita variat, ut plurima exemplaria habeant *Corporalem* pro *Incorporalem*, quidnò liceat similiter hinc erratum intercidisse suspicari, & unam præterea alteramve syllabam ita mutare, ut omnia aptissime congruant? Sic ergo legerem, & distinguere, *defixit seorsum; in materiae incorporalem paraturam commutans ex incorporali passione; inditâ habilitate atque naturâ, quâ pervenire.*

C A P. XVII.

Præ gaudio. *Irenæus* hæc eadem sic dicit, paulò contractiùs, τὴν τε Ἀχμοῦθ ἐκ τῶν πάντων γενομένην, καὶ συλλαβῶν τῇ χαρᾷ τῇ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀγγέλων θεωρεῖαν, &c. Et videtur *Tertullianus* præpositionem συν in composito συλλαβῶσαν pro ἅμα accepisse, eamque cum χαρᾷ construxisse ad hunc sensum, *Achamotham*, dum in gaudio esset, *Angelorum* simul conspectu fruentem, quasi ex complexu eorum peperisse, &c.

Trinitas. Hæc sequuntur apud *Irenæum*, Cap. V. §. 1.

C A P. XVIII.

Consubstantiva. *Irenæo*, ὁμοούσια.

Prolatis Soteris disciplinis. Sic *Irenæus* dicit, περὶ τῶν ἐπὶ τῷ μὶνίστῳ, — θεωρεῖν τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν Σωτῆρος μαθήματα. Et fortè θεωρεῖν hoc accepit sensu Mathematico, & significavit *fecisse Achamotham* illud quod ipsi, *Sotere* proponente, *faciendum erat*. Atque ita potest & *Tertullianus* intelligi.

Præter. Lege præterea.

Deum. Cum voce hæc construerem sequentes usque ad *hæreticorum*; ut illa vox *patrem*, non minus quàm reliquæ, in absoluto maneat.

C A P. XIX.

Et hæc ferè sunt è §. eadem 1. Cap. V.

Deberet illa. Fortè, *ab illâ.*

Nun. An scribi deberet, *in Nun*, in ejus, scilicet, exemplar?

Tantas trium. Hæc sunt ab ipso *Tertulliano* deridente quæ ex *Irenæo* narraverat; nec videntur ipsius ingenium sapere. Quare enim *tantas* imagines ita miratur? Et quænam *tres* illæ? An illarum una Angeli tot? Vellem igitur libenter hîc loci *Phantastrium* legere, & eum accipere pro *imaginum* variarum domino & monstratore; & *querere* porro, pro *rogare*, & quæ sequuntur.

Ut imagines rideam. Ad mentem meam, rectius scriberetur *imaginationes*, seu *imaginationem*.

Nus. Aut *non* reponendum pro *Nus*, aut saltem ei postponendum. Tum autem scribi deberet *Nu*.

C A P. XX.

Redit jam *Tertullianus* ad Cap. V. §. 2. *Irenæi*.

De struice. Cùm veteres libros testetur *Rigaltius destrusæ* constanter habere, proximum, ut puto, erat *detrusæ* legere, quæ nempe superius^a dicitur *massaliter solidata fuisse*, & *defixa seorsum*.

Noëros. Hoc est quod dicit *Irenæus* expressè, si legamus, ὅτι οὐ ἐπὶ τῶν ἁγίων, ὡς ἐστὶν νοερὸς φασιν, Ἀγγέλους δὲ αὐτὸς ὑποτίθενται, aut saltem implicitè, & per negationem, si vulgaris lectio retineatur, ὅτι ἐστὶν νοητὸς: ex eo enim quod Angelos eos postea dicit, sequitur νοερὸς fuisse.

Ex cujus virtute. *Potentiâ*, scilicet. Nimirum, ait *Irenæus*, τὸ Παράδεισον ὑπὲρ τοῦτον ἄραν ὄντα, τέταρτον Ἀγγέλων λέγουσι δυνάμει ὑπάρχειν, καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰ εἰληφέναι τὸ Ἀδάμ —.

Nuceta. Fortè, *ficeta*.

C A P. XXI.

Progreditur hîc ad *Irenæi* Cap. V. §. 3.

De Animalibus. Quæ hîc in causam arrogantiae istius dicuntur, è §. 4. petuntur; quæ quidem constat legisse *Tertullianum* prout nunc habentur in exemplari *Epiphaniano*, & aliter quàm in isto, quo usus est Interpres *Latinus*. Sic enim illa se habent, ἀτονώτερον αὐτὸν ὑπάρχοντα πρὸς τὸ γινώσκειν πρὸς πνευματικὰ. Ubi ἀτονώτερον manifestè respondet τὸ *Invalidus Tertulliani*; cùm *Latini* Interpretis five *superiorem*, quod sententiae non quidem non convenit, legi postulet ἀνώτερον, five *subterio-*

^a Cap. XVI.

rem, ἐνέπτερον. Ad hunc autem Irenæi locum rectè monet Fronto Du-
cæus, locum hunc Tertulliani ita corrigi debere, de animali censu in-
validus spiritalia accedere.

C A P. XXII, XXIII.

Spectant hæc ad Irenæi Cap. V. §. 4.

Nequitia. Ut sibi melius constent, quæ habet Valentinianorum
hypothesis, tenendum est, quæ à Demiurgo fiunt è Conversione, aut
Achamothæ Passionibus, ex iis inter se variè commistis fieri; atque
ita, ut Spirituale interim aliquid ab Achamothâ ipsâ aliquando insper-
gatur. Nimirum, hoc in loco Cosmocrator existimandus est fieri à
Demiurgo è principio Conversionis Animalis, non minùs quàm De-
miurgus; at non ita purè, sed constare item ex aliis duobus princi-
piis utrinque ab Animali æquè distantibus: inferiori Passionali, quod
est præcipuè Mæror, ejusque potissimùm nequitia; & superiori altero
Spirituali, quale in Achamothâ nondum purgatâ perversè & temerè
agebat. Ad eundem etiam modum aliæ Animæ è Passionibus item,
sed melioribus, conflatæ principio aliquo Spirituali, bono illo, & Æo-
num nativo, dotari ponuntur.

Sophiæ. Achamothæ.

Utilissimis. Est, qui vilissimis substitui mavult, quod Irenæus hic
dicat Elementa Mundi facta ἐκ τῆς ἐκπλήξεως καὶ τῆς ἀμνηστίας, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἀσι-
μοτέρας. At pro ἀσιμότητος habetur Latino Interpreti vesanior; qui ergo
legisse videtur ἀνοότερον. Quin, quomodocunque Irenæus se hoc in
loco habuerit, apparet Tertullianum aliorsum spectasse; nec conditio-
nem & statum Casuum horum, sed usum cogitasse.

Colasset. Si Aerem fingamus è Sophiæ Mæstitiâ colari, at non ita
Animæ, & Demiurgus colari dicentur. Putarem ergo conflasset legen-
dum; quod verbum de Aere, uti credo, tanquam è suspiriis ducto,
propriè dicetur; & de reliquis, ut solet, tralatè. Irenæus Elemento-
rum ortum sic tradit: Esse ea in genere ab ἀμνηστίας, uti suprâ; at
speciatim, γλῶσσι τῆς ἐκπλήξεως γίνονται, ὕδωρ δὲ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ φύλλου κίνησιν, αἶρα τε καὶ
τὴν τῆς λύπης πῆξιν. Cùm Tertullianus Aeris in causam attulerit Mæsti-
tiam, nescio annon πνεῦσιν legerit. Certè quid πῆξις hic faciat non vi-
deo. Suspicerer ideo, si liceret, à Scriba aliquo vel ante Tertulliani
tempora erratum hinc fuisse, & Aquæ Aerisque locos permutatos; πῆ-
ξιν, nempe, ad ὕδωρ pertinuisse, & ab Irenæo scriptum πῆξιν, Mæstitiæ,
scilicet, liquamen.

Inflabellatus est. De Igne sic Irenæus addit: Τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς
ἐμπεφυκέναι θάνατον καὶ φθορὰν, ὡς καὶ τὴν ἀγροίαν τοῖς τελοῦσι πάρεστι ἐγκλωβήσθαι διδασκᾷ.
Latinus Interpres ἐμπεφυκέναι per inesse exponit. Legisse autem videtur
Tertullianus ἐμπεφυκέναι: atque hic in Ignis origine exponendâ inge-
nio suo indulgit, Irenæo relicto, qui dicit, Ignem conditum in istis tri-
bus Elementis in rerum omnium interitum; quem scilicet in finem &

Stoicis Ignis ἐμφαλᾶν¹ universis ponebatur. Ignis enim juxta hypothesin hanc videtur ortus item ἐκ τῆς ἀπλήξεως, sed καὶ τὴν ἀγροίαν.

C A P. XXIV.

Sequuntur hæc apud *Irenæum*, Cap. eod. V. §. 5 & 6.

Imaginem. Sic εἰκὼν & ὁμοίωσις his distinguuntur apud *Irenæum*, ut *imago* sit è diverso genere, *similitudo* ex eodem.

Peculium. Ab *Irenæo* hinc discedit Noster. Ille enim Semen hoc istud esse ponit, quod *Achamothe* ex Angelorum contemplatione conceptum pepererat.

C A P. XXV.

Sermoni perfectō. Hæc de re habet *Irenæus Latinus*, §. 6. ad *susceptionem perfectæ rationis*. Græcus interim *Epiphanius*, εἰς ὑποδοχὴν τῆς τελείας, omisso λόγῳ. Et de hoc *perficiendi* Seminis modo alibi (Cap. VI. §. 1.) loquitur *Irenæus*, & facile id intellexeris de *susceptione* seu *perfecti*, seu *perfectæ rationis*, hoc est, *perfectiōis*. Sed videtur *Tertullianus* aliquid specialius in animo habuisse, & *Sermonem perfectum* voluisse eum, qui elocuturus tandem esset totum omnino Mysterium ritè & plenè μεμνημένοις.

Qui. Fortè, quia.

Speculum. In quo spectatur. Græco *Irenæo*, ἀντίτυπον, *Latino*, exemplum.

Hominis censum. Unde æstimatur Homo ille Spiritualis, Hominis item Superioris speculum.

Substantiâ ἀρχῆς. Nimirum, *materiæ illius philosophicæ*, quæ suprâ memoratur, *fluxilis & fusilis*, quæque forsan protinus accepta est è *materiæ incorporali paraturâ* antè descriptâ.

C A P. XXVI.

Irenæus, Cap. VI.

Erudiri cum eo. *Irenæus Græcus* habet, συμπαιδούμεν αὐτὸς ἐν τῇ ἀναστοφῇ, & *Latinus*, coëruditum ei in conversatione. Atque hinc apertissimè patet *Rigaltio*, *Irenæi* hæc *Latini* vidisse *Septimium*. At, uti multoties dixi, hinc potius credas, visum fuisse *Septimium* ab Interprete.

Quam. Fortè, quem, genere masculino; uti postea constructam, fœminino.

C A P. XXVII.

Hoc è Cap. VII. §. 2. petitur, & extra ordinem, quod à Nostro subindicari videtur per hæc verba, *Nunc reddo*.

C A P.

C A P. XXVIII.

Et hæc è Cap. VII. §. 3 & 4.

Dividunt. Sic dicit *Irenæus*, *Dividunt Prophetias*; aliquid quidem à *Matre dictum docentes*, aliquid à *Semine*, aliquid autem ab ipso *Demiurgo*.

C A P. XXIX.

Caput hoc cum §. 5. convenit.

Spiritalem. Hic novum sententiæ membrum inchoatur. Et in hoc fortè legendum *quod pro quos*, & è *pro in*.

Demiurgus. Hæc habentur Cap. VII. §. 3.

C A P. XXX.

Hoc argumentum tractatur Cap. VI. §. 2, 3.

Amoribus. *Sophiæ* & ejus *abortui*, soli scilicet.

C A P. XXXI.

Sic *Irenæus*, Cap. VII. §. 1.

Presserit. An *expresserit*? An potius *massarit*, cùm sic loquitur *Lucretius*?

Leges Julias, — *sicut* & *Cainam*. Pro *Cainam* non legerem *cænam* cum *Rigaltio*, sed *Papiam**. Ut sit sensus, Hic, ubi de transmigratione agitur, in quâ vagis amoribus multum licentiæ, *Leges Julias* de Maritandis Ordinibus & Matrimoniis tuendis ritè intervenire; sicut & *Papiam* (*Pappæam*) de Liberis fuscipiendis. Vide *Gravin.* de Origine Juris Civilis, *Lipsiæ* editum, pag. 550.

C A P. XXXII.

Et hoc ab eâdem §. 1, uti & 5.

Quo ascensus. Hæ voces ad sequentem periodum pertinent, & scribendæ, *quo ascensu*.

Et nulla jam fabula. Hoc est, inquit *Rigaltius*, *Suprema hæc omnia fient ad verum*. Et hoc fortè subintellexerit *Tertullianus*, sed ut idem simul significandum det, quod ab *Irenæo* nudè expressum eodem in argumento, nempe, Hunc esse hujus *mimi finem*; ac si dixisset, Atque ita fabula hæc tota conflagratione verâ finietur. Vide quod mox annotabitur ad vocem *Epicitharisma* Capitis insequentis.

* *Fr. Junius* legit *Canuleiam*.

C A P. XXXIII.

Cùm *Irenæus* hinc progrediatur ad eos S. Scripturæ locos enarrandos, super quibus strui volunt *Valentiniani* quæ extra *Pleroma* ædificaverant, quomodò suprà fecit post enarratas *Pleromatis* res; & hìc similiter eam disputationem omittit *Tertullianus*, ad ea properans, in quibus inter se dissident Hæretici, quæque ab *Irenæo* exponuntur ad demonstrandam Catholicæ Doctrinæ constantem veritatem, ex Hæreseos usque variantis incertitudine.

Epictetismus. Et hìc ab *Irenæo* non abludit *Tertullianus*; confimili enim fere figurâ usus fuerat ille, cùm dissonas inter se *Valentinianorum* sententias subinferret, quasi proximè ante scenæ dimissionem, & mimo ipso jam peracto, Cap. IX. §. 5.

Tantam etiam illa; nullâ distinctione interpositâ, quæ disjungat producam & illa.

Hunc malui. Uti suprà monui, in hoc *Irenæum* sequitur, quòd Hypothesin *Valentinianorum Ptolemaicam* diligenter exponit primò, deinde, brevi subjicit ut ab eâ reliqui variaverint. Nec verisimile est, si tunc extitisset *Irenæus Latinus*, eum hunc narrandi ordinem, tanquam ab ipso excogitatum, *Latino* orbi proponere voluisse.

Extiterunt. *Irenæus*, Lib. I. Cap. XII. §. 1.

C A P. XXXIV.

Irenæus, Lib. I. Cap. XI. §. 5, sub finem.

C A P. XXXV.

Eâdem §. 5, ab initio.

C A P. XXXVI.

Irenæus, Lib. I. Cap. XII. §. 3.

C A P. XXXVII.

Irenæus, Lib. I. Cap. XI. §. 3.

Currucæ Enniani. Ita legit *Rigaltius*, qui harum duarum vocum loco constanter scribi ait *Circuriana* in veteribus exemplaribus. Et quidem ego libenter substituendam proponerem vocem *Herculiana* seu *Herculania*, quâ *ingenia* obtusiora significantur sub *Heracleonis* nomine. Cujus enim potius inter *Valentini Sectatores* meminerit *Tertullianus*, quàm *Heracleonis* apud illos celeberrimi, quemque ipse suprà nominaverat? Atque hoc quidem locum habere potest, vel si, auctore *Pearsono*, *Tertullianum* lapsum ponamus in reddendo hoc *Irenæi* loco ad vocem proximè notandam.

Insignioris. Latinus Interpres eodem fere modo hæc dicit: *Alius* verò quidam, qui & clarus est magister ipsorum. In quo utrumque errasse suspicatur Pearsonus*, & eo authore satis certè idoneo, reliqui. Conjiciunt enim, cùm Græca in hoc Irenæi loco desiderentur, scriptum ab eo fuisse, ἄλλος δὲ τις, ὁ καὶ Επιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν, & nomen proprium ἐπιφανὸν magistri subintellectum. Ego quidem, quò minùs Viri eruditissimi simul & consultissimi sententiam sequear, Tertulliani prohibeor reverentiâ, qui in rebus his hospes non erat, & Epiphanem sub istis verbis latentem facilè vidisset; & sic saltem per simile involucrum exhibuisset. Credo eum, si Epiphanem hìc cogitasset, (puerum vix septem annos egressum,) auctoritatem Pontificalem apertius derivurum. Heracleon, interim, is erat, cui insignioris apud eos magistri appellatio jure competeat; qui nempe erat, teste Clemente Alexandrino, Strom. IV. p. 502. Edit. Paris. ὁ τῆς Οὐαλεντινῆς σχολῆς δοκιμώτατος, dicique poterat Carpocratis Epiphane magis ἐπιφανής.

C A P. XXXVIII.

Hæc occurrunt apud Irenæum, Lib. I. Cap. XI. §. 2.

C A P. XXXIX.

Habetur apud Irenæum, Lib. I. Cap. XII. §. 4.

Quanquam. Adversativa hæc particula locum hìc non habet. Dicit enim Irenæus, Soterem ideo aliquibus Filium Hominis nuncupatum, quia illis ipse Προπάτωρ Homo vocabatur. Legendum ergo, quandoquidem, aut quid simile.

Gnosticorum. Horum principis Simonis Magi, & ipsius Sectatorum monstrosa & varia commenta describit fufius Irenæus post traditam Valentinianorum Doctrinam; atque hos demum, Cap. ultimo*, dicit à talibus patribus, & matribus, & proavis ortos. Noster autem, qui Gnosticorum istorum notitiam dare sui negotii non esse duxit, satis habuit, Tractatum suum de Valentinianis istorum mentione sic claudere, ut addat, Valentini demum Sectatores posteros in tantum mutasse Hypotheseos istius formam primigeniam, ut non jam censendi sint esse ex ipsius familiâ, sed è promiscuâ Gnosticorum turbâ. Nimirum, Via, quam ille è veteris cujusdam erroris semitâ delinearat^b, in istiusmodi tandem aberrantes undique semitas definebat.

^a Vid. Dodwelli Dissert. IV. in Irenæum, §. 25.

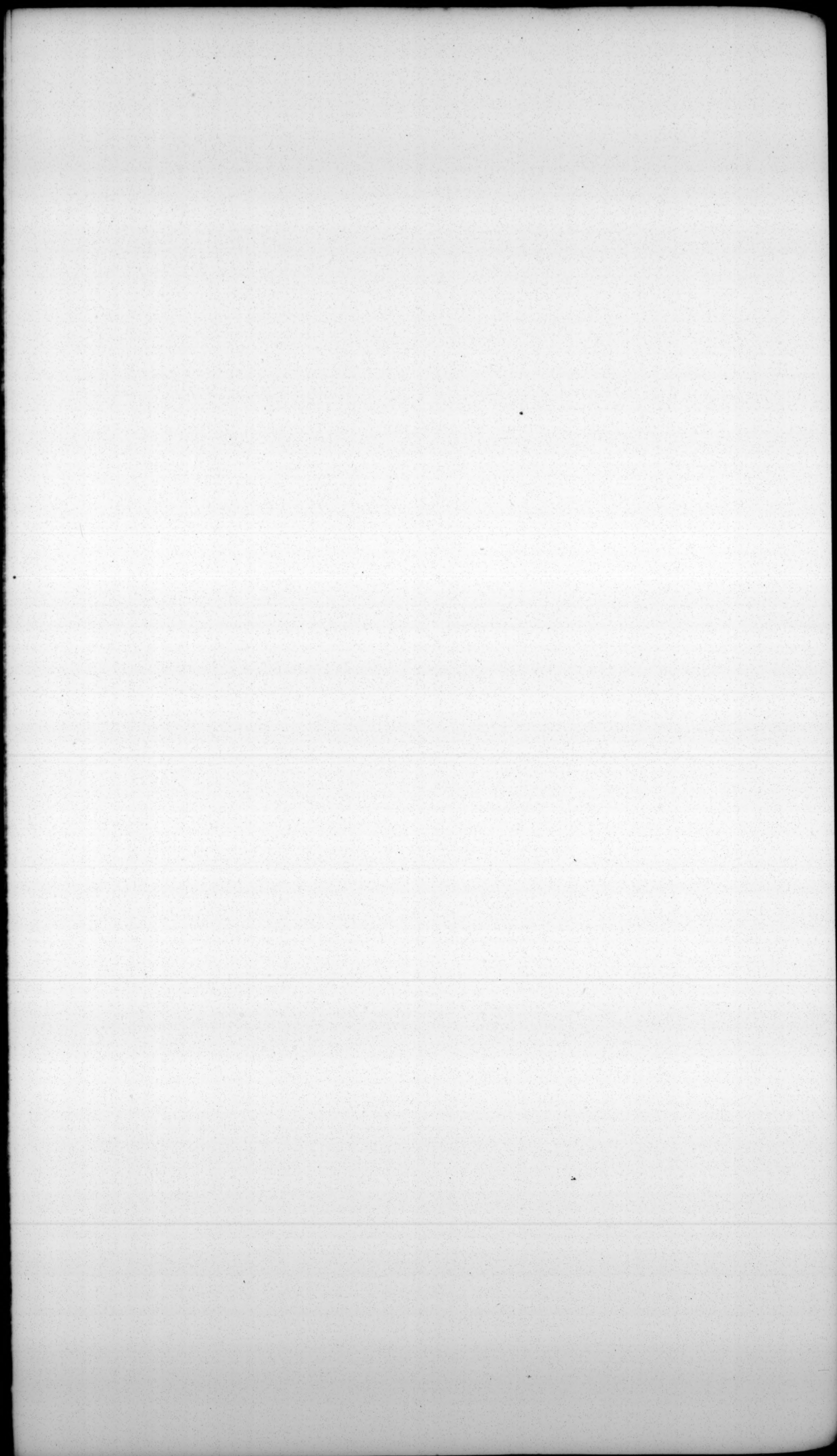
* I. e. XXXI. primi hujus Libri, §. 3.

^b Vid. Cap. IV.

F I N I S.

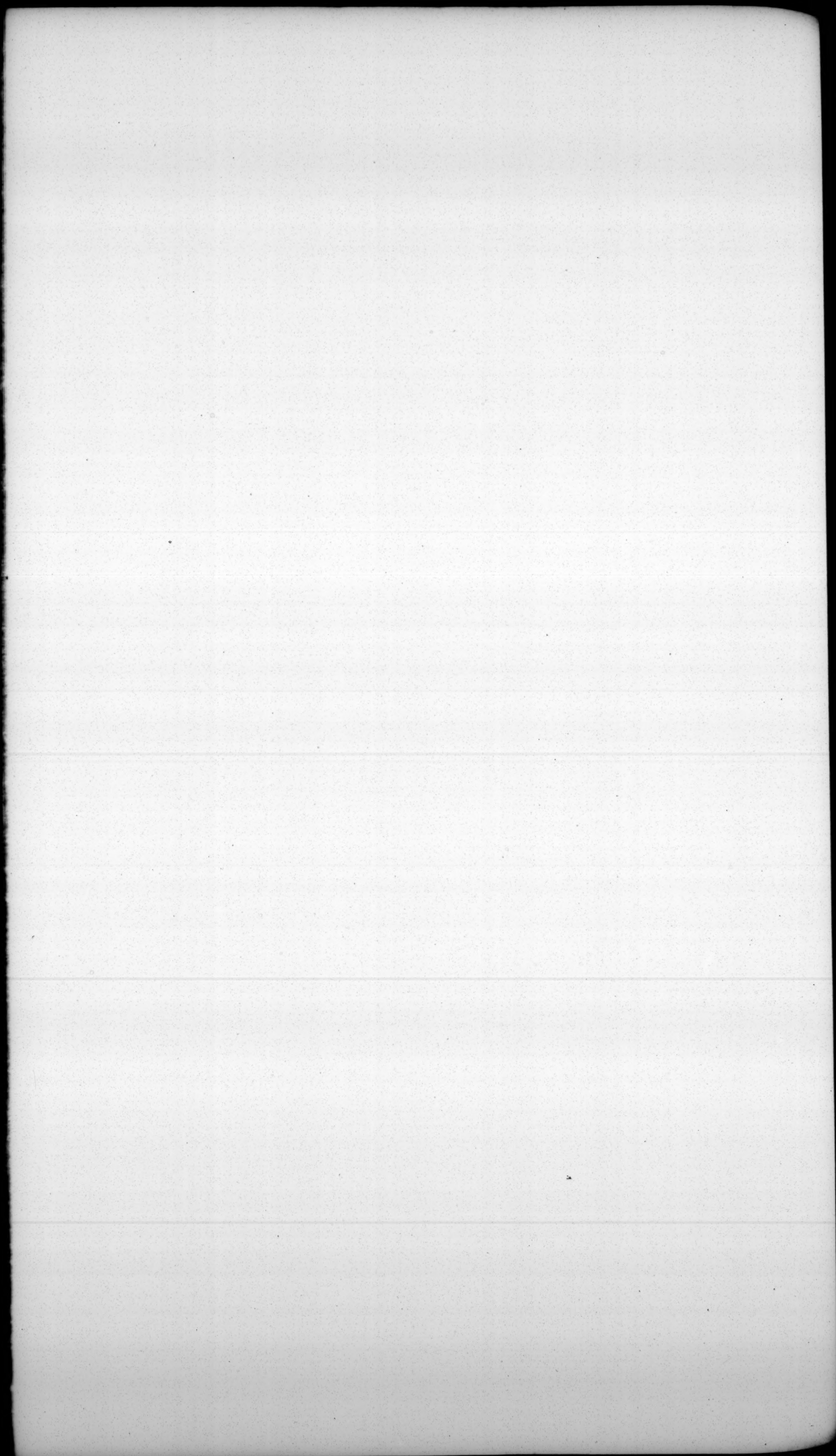


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A T T I C K, t h e R O M A N,
A n d e s p e c i a l l y t h e
J E W I S H.

With an APPENDIX, concerning our old *Engliſh Money*,
and Meafures of *Content*.



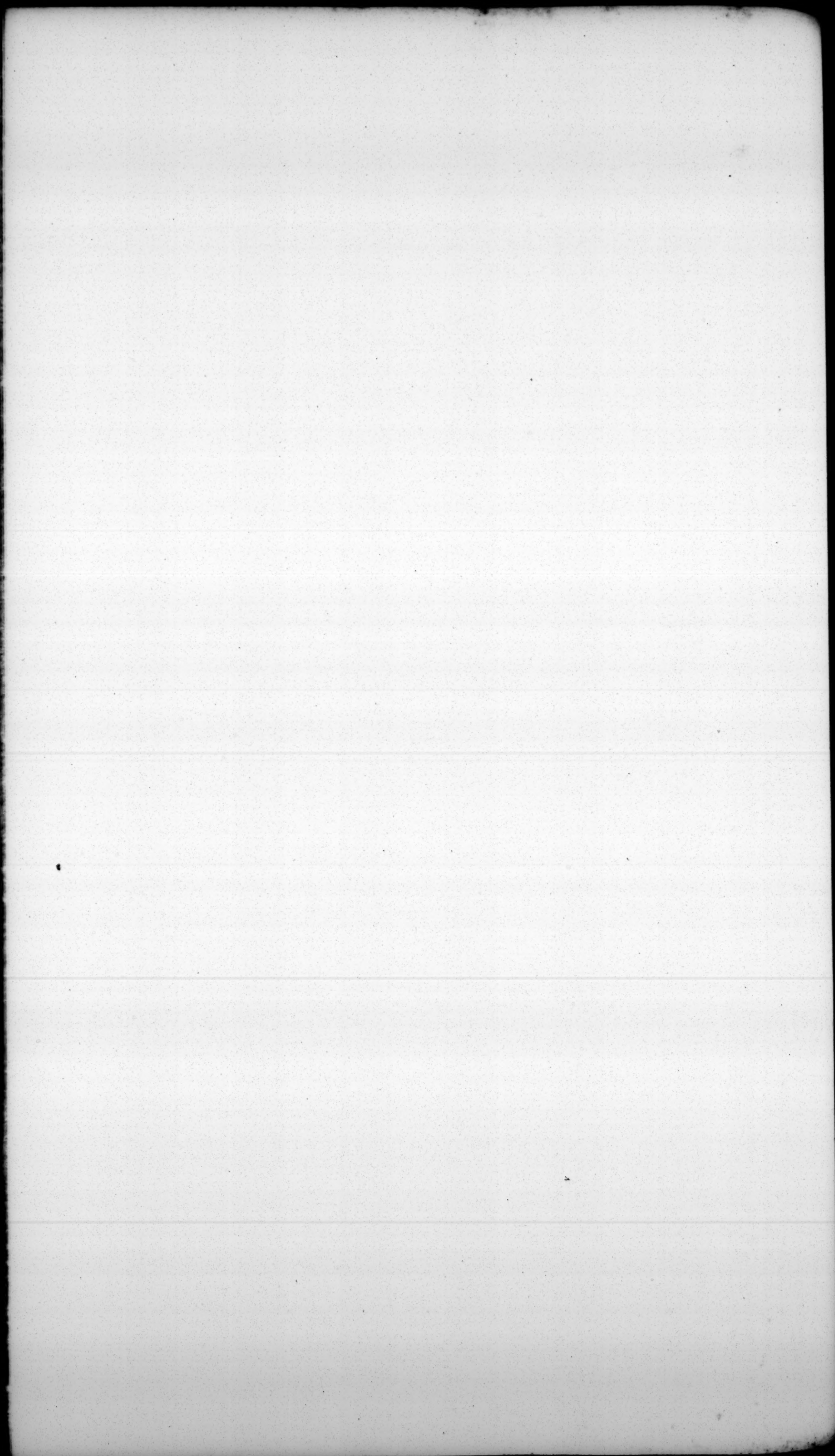
T H E
P R E F A C E.

UPON the perusal heretofore of two very curious Tracts that were published about the same time in the year 1685; the one by the late Bishop of Peterborough^a; and the other by Dr. Bernard, first printed with Dr. Pococke's Commentary on Hosea; and upon the reading the Roman Foot and Denarius of Mr. Greaves, by them both justly celebrated; I began to enquire more nearly into the State of the old Hebrew Measures: and, going upon the sure Foundation of Mr. Greaves, and in the Method of the Bishop, and assisted by the copious Informations of Dr. Bernard, I cast my Thoughts into the following Scheme.

First, having considered the Nature in general of the several Measures of Length, Content, and Weight, and their convenient Relation one towards another; I laid down our English Measures, as those to which I was to reduce the Jewish, for my clearer understanding of them. And then, because the Knowledge of the Jewish Measures was chiefly to be had from the Accounts of them, that are given us by Men of different Ages and Nations; and it was as necessary, to have their several Measures adjusted to ours; I was obliged to take into my notice some of the Modern; but more especially those which had been used in old time by the Athenians, and the Romans. And, thus provided, I was, in the last place, to produce and compare the most probable Informations that have been given us of those Jewish Measures; and to form thence as clear, and as certain Account of them as I could.

And, accordingly, this Enquiry will consist of Four Parts. The First will be of Measures in general; and particularly of our own, and other Modern ones, which may be the most helpful to us. The Second is to take a view of the Attick Measures, for the sake of those Greek Authors we are to consult. And the Third inspects the Roman, (which could not be so well understood without the Attick,) for the sake of the Latin Writers. And the Fourth will consider the Jewish Measures themselves. To all which is added an APPENDIX, concerning our old English Money, and Measures of Content.

^a Dr. Cumberland.



T H E
C O N T E N T S.

T H E F I R S T P A R T.

Of Measures in general; and particularly of the English; and some other modern ones, as the present Roman, the Spanish, the Holland, and the Egyptian.

C H A P. I. Of Measures in general. page 357.

§. I. **O**F Measures of Length and Surface. II. Of Bodies by Content or Weight. III. Of a Palm Pound.

C H A P. II. Of our English Measures. p. 359.

§. I. Our Measures of Length. II. Of Capacity, as the Pints. III. Of the Weight called the Troy-Weight, and of its use with Goldsmiths, and its relation to our Current Money. IV. Of its use with the Physicians. V. Of Averdupois-Weight. VI. Our Measure of Capacity, the Wine Pint (mentioned §. II.) adjusted by Statute to a Troy-Pound. VII. A Specimen of comparing Measures of Weight and Content. VIII. By it our present Pint is found to over answer the Averdupois-Pound.

C H A P. III. Of some modern foreign Measures. p. 362.

§. I. The Roman Pound, how reckoned: equal to three quarters of our Averdupois. II. The Spanish Vare, our Yard: The Pound justly equal to the Averdupois. III. The French Toise. The Pound for Money and Medicine almost equal to our Troy; the Grains differing. IV. A Postscript: Our Wine Pint equal to the late Standard Parisian Chopin. V. The Holland's Grains are almost the Roman.

C H A P. IV. Of the modern Measures of Egypt. p. 364.

§. I. The Cubit of Cairo, according to the Bishop of Peterborough, more than 21 of our Inches. II. According to Dr. Bernard, of 18. III. Of their Measures of Weight, their Ratels and Ounces, and their Dirhem, &c. IV. Their Dirhem exactly equal to our Two-

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penny Weight: And our Troy Weight immediately derived from them. V. The Ounce of Cairo, especially regarded by the Europeans, and why. VI. The Averduois Weight thence. VII. The Cairo Ratel was formed from a Cube of Water equal to our Palm Cube. VIII. Our Cubit therefore the Just and Legal one meant by Maimonides. IX. Of the Drachmany, or Drachma Græcanica; and of the Mithcâl, and the Istâr or Stater; and of the Deinar, Argenteus, and the Aureus.

THE SECOND PART.

The Attick Measures.

C H A P. I.

P. 370.

§. I. *The Attick Measure of Length, the Cubit, ours or very near it. II. Their Measures of Weight, and their Coins; with the proportions and denominations of them. III. The Talent of Homer. IV. The determination of the Standard Drachma, by the Coins; and the changes in the Nummary. V. The Standard Mina is probably above the Weight of 6700 of our Grains, assigned by Mr. Greaves; and is rather equal to our Palm Pound of 6840 Grains, if not above. This proved (1) from the Cairo Ratel, supposed equal to it. VI. And (2) from the probability of a like Hydrostatick original of the Mina; discoverable from its primary part, the Tetradrachm, &c. VII. The value of the Attick Money, to be expressed in ours, differs according to the age in which it is mentioned: The Drachma of the Physicians; the Weight of the current Money of the age. VIII. Three Tables provided, whereby their Money is reduced to ours: The first for the Standard Mina, at 6840 Grains; the second for a Mina, at 6550 Grains; and the third at 6257, &c. Together with another for a Standard Mina equal to our Averduois Pound. The construction and the use of these Tables.*

C H A P. II.

P. 381.

§. I. *The names and proportions of the Attick Vessels. II. The $\Xi\epsilon\gamma\mu\varsigma$, (or Sextarius Atticus,) and $\chi\omicron\varsigma$, the Chous, and the higher Vessels, reckoned by the highest, the Medimnus. III. The Content of them to be determined by the Weight of their Water. The Neat, and the Gros Mina. IV. The actual determination of the Sextary by either of the Gros Mina's: Whether the Neat be a Palm Pound from our Palm, or from 1,01 of it. V. A Tariff of the Sextaries, expressed by our Wine Pint and its Decimals. VI. The lesser Vessels*

in Medicinal Prescriptions, not weighed by the Standard, but current Drachma.

THE THIRD PART.

Of the Old Roman Measures.

CHAP. I.

P. 387.

§. I. *The Roman Numeration of their As, or Whole, by 12 Parts or Unciæ; and of their Foot, by Inches; and of their Pound, by Ounces. II. The Numeration of their Money; their Denarii, and Sestertii. III. Their Measure of Capacity, the Congius; what relation it has, if filled with Water, to their Measures of Weight and Length.*

CHAP. II.

P. 389.

§. I. *The different Determinations of their correspondent Measures. How differently a Denarius, which is the seventh of an Ounce, rises up from the several Modules of Feet remaining. II. How differently it is stated from the same Congius of Vespasian. III. And from the remaining Silver Denarii that ought to be in that proportion. IV. The Equality of the old Roman Ounce, and of the modern, asserted by Mr. Greaves from the choicest Denarii, and from the Congius. V. This Assertion confirmed by the Weight of the remaining Jewish Shekels.*

CHAP. III.

P. 393.

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CHAP. IV.

P. 398.

§. I. *The design of this Chapter, to confirm what has been said of the Roman and Attick Money; and of the following, to clear the Attick Ounce and Litra. II. The passage of Galen, from whence it appears (1) that the Attick Drachmæ had fell equally with the Denarii, from the seventh to the eighth of the Ounce. III. That (2) the Grecians had begun to measure their Money and Weight by the*

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Ounce of Rome. IV. That (3) some time after, the word Drachma came to signify the eighth of that Ounce. V. That (4) a Roman Libra was then held to be $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Attick Mina. The same proportion held of old between the Libra and the Attick and Egyptian Mina. The state of the Attick according to this proportion. VI. A Nummery Libra of the Romans reckoning a hundred Denarii there was of old, like to the Attick Mina; and therefore probably equal to it, from the first Coinage of the Silver Money. VII. From this last supposition the Value of Brads to Silver at that time stated. A Conjecture offered, that the peculiar Numeration of Sesterces by those three degrees, (Chap. I. §. 2. and Chap. III. §. 1.) began from the proportion of Brads to Silver and Gold, when Brads Money was in use.

C H A P. V.

p. 406.

§. I. Difficulties from the ambiguous acceptation of the words Drachmæ and Unciæ. II. The Grecians, and especially the Athenians, had in later times their Litra, as well as Minæ, and reckoned 8 of their own Drachmæ to their Οὐνκία, and 12 of their Οὐνκία to the Λίτρα. III. Such an Attick Libra proved from Fannius. IV. Such are the Litra, Unciæ, and Drachmæ spoke of in later Greek Authors about Measures. V. The Roman Denarius was by this time risen near to the Weight of the old Attick Drachma. This Drachma, then called a Δραχμή: And the summing of it up to 96 was termed Litrisimus; and to a 100, Argyrisimus.

C H A P. VI.

p. 411.

§. I. The Relation of the Roman Concaves to the Foot; and a Table of them. II. The Roman Sextarius determined; and a Tariff of it given in our Cube Inches. III. That Sextarius, and its under Vessels, compared with the Attick. IV. The Congius compared with the Chous; and its Hydrostatick Relation to the half Foot considered. And thence the Relation of a Neat Attick Mina to a Palm, confirmed. V. The Description of the Attick Concaves, given by Fannius, explained. Postscript.

THE FOURTH PART.

Of the Jewish Measures.

C H A P. I.

p. 421.

§. I. The Measures of Length before the Captivity. II. The Weights and Money of that First Period: Their Denominations and Proportions.

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tions. III. *The Talents and Manehs, distinguished into Ponderal and Nummary.* IV. *The Denomination and Proportion of the Weights and Money of the Second Period, according to the Rabbins.* V. *The Method of Enquiry to be took for the Determination of the Measures of either Period.*

C H A P. II.

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§. I. *The Shekel of the First Period determined by Philo and Josephus, at a Weight not lower than that an Attick Tetradrachm of their time bore.* II. *Determined by the Septuagint from a higher Tetradrachm.* III. *The Credibility of their Testimony.* IV. *By this Account the Attick Talent is the Profane Talent of the Rabbins.* V. *Epiphanius agrees to it in the place brought to prove the contrary. The Text considered more particularly.* VI. *St. Jerom likewise agrees.* VII. *A suspicion that the Rate of a quarter Shekel of the Drachmal Weight of the Romans had not obtained in the Fourth Century.* VIII. *The Difference set up by the Rabbins between the Moneys of the First and Second Period, in all probability not known by our Grecian Jews.*

C H A P. III.

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§. I. *The Rabbinical Determination of those Weights and Moneys under the Second Temple; taken according to Maimonides.* II. *The Egyptian Dirhem of his time, by which he gives the Jewish Measure; proved to be the same with the modern. First, From a passage in Edrisides.* III. *Secondly, From our Penny-weight.* IV. *Incidental Observations: (1) That this Dirhem was a Grecanick Drachma, retained by the Saracens at their Conquest of Egypt.* V. *And (2) That the Cairo Ratel, though the word Ratel did come from Litra, may yet be an Attick Mina, as I have taken it.* VI. *The course Maimonides takes of measuring a Mea, a Deinar, &c. by this Dirhem, uncertain and groundless.* VII. *The cause of the misreckoning of that knowing Rabbi.*

C H A P. IV.

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§. I. *The State of the Money before the Captivity, as wanting a sixth of that after, not well founded. The Authority for such a Difference not sufficient.* II. *No reason to conclude such a real Difference from the Difference of Denomination.* III. *Nor from the Shekels that are found equal to half a Roman Ounce.* IV. *Nor from the Difference of the Maneh in 1 Kings X. 17. and of that in Ezek. XLV. 12. Whereof the one is Nummary, and the other Ponderal.* V. *Concerning the Rabbinical Equality of the Gerah and Mea.* VI. *How the notion of the Rabbinical Difference might have risen.*

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and Sceata stated accordingly. IX. The Siclus, mentioned by Writers of the Middle Age, was a Saxon Schelling. X. The Denomination of the old English Ounce or Pound, not likely to be taken from Troy in Champagne. A Postscript, in Confirmation of the last six Sections. XI. The Sum of a Mark, mentioned in the last Section, considered: and its Original, and its Name, guessed at. XII. Upon that occasion, the Sum of Four Pence taken notice of; and also its Name of Drachma in Latin, and Groat in English: together with that of Obolus, for a Half Penny. XIII. The several Sums of these Groats, why heretofore in frequent Use.

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§. I. Our Measure of Content, like the Roman, antiently determined by a certain Weight: II. And proceeded in the Roman Order; improved, as is supposed, by the Alexandrian Mathematicians. III. The Pints for the several Substances have varied since from the Old. In some of them the Roman Order of Proceeding is observed. IV. In others a kind of Grecian Order is taken up: The same, as in the Parisian Muid, and Strasburg Fuder. Postscript. V. The Denominations of the Measures of Content: particularly of the Pint, Sester, and Gallon.

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I N T O T H E
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A N T I E N T M E A S U R E S, &c.

T H E F I R S T P A R T.

Of Measures in general; and particularly of the English, and some other modern ones, as the present Roman, the Spanish, the Holland, and the Egyptian.

C H A P. I.

Of Measures in general.

§. I. *Of Measures of Length and Surface.* II. *Of Bodies by Content or Weight.* III. *Of a Palm Pound.*

§. I. **M**EASURES are either of *Length*, or *Surfaces*, or *Bodies*.

Measures of *Length* have been generally taken with respect to the Human Body, and as from some Parts of it; as from the Arm by the *Grecians* and *Easterns*; and as from the Foot by the *Romans*: Those measured by Cubits, Palms, and Digits; and these by Feet, and the twelfth of a Foot, that is, Inches, sometimes also called Digits.

Measures of *Surfaces* are naturally taken by Squares of assigned Lengths; either of Cubits and their Parts, or Feet and theirs.

§. II. MEASURES of *Bodies* are determined either by their solid *Content*, or their *Weight*.

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AN
ENQUIRY
INTO THE
STATE
OF THE
ANTIENT MEASURES, &c.

THE FIRST PART.

Of Measures in general; and particularly of the English, and some other modern ones, as the present Roman, the Spanish, the Holland, and the Egyptian.

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Measures of *Content* are naturally formed from the Cubes of assigned Lengths: And so the Quantity of any Body, arid or liquid, is determined by the number of so many little Cubes, made of one certain Length, as are contained in it.

But because such a Geometrical Mensuration of Bodies cannot be so readily applied to them in most cases, the *Gravitation* of those Bodies has been made use of; by which Bodies of the same Substance are as certainly measured. And this is chiefly the case of Coins.

This Measure of *Gravitation* may be casually taken up, and any Weight may be used for it, as such a *Stone*, &c. but it is most naturally and most conveniently taken from the solid Figure of some obvious, every where most alike, and ever-during Body, whose Figure is formed of known Lengths.

§. III. AND so, for example, a Body of Water, contained in a Cubical Vessel of a Palm length, might have been set up for a Pound, or a determinate Weight for common Measurements; in a Country, I suppose, where Lengths were measured by Cubits, Palms, and Digits; (for the Cubical Vessel of a Cubit might be judged too large, and of a Digit, too little;) and especially, if, in such a Country, Carriage of Water was more than ordinarily necessary, and its Weight was therefore frequently to be considered. Such a Country was *Greece*, and all East of it; and particularly what was more Southerly, as *Syria*, the *Holy Land*, and *Egypt*: And such a Weight, which we may call, for distinction, the *Palm Pound*, it may be useful for us to take notice of, as we go along.

Had the Vessels of Capacity, and the Weights of several Nations corresponded respectively in any such certain manner; the Measures of Length, once known, would have given us those. But being that agreement has not been often observed, we are obliged, in order to know the Proportion between our Vessels and Weights, and those of other People, not only to learn their Measures of Distance, but to enquire likewise particularly into the several Quantities of their Measures of Capacity and Weight.

C H A P. II.

Of our *English* Measures.

§. I. *Our Measures of Length.* II. *Of Capacity, as the Pints.* III. *Of the Weight called the Troy-Weight, and of its Use with Goldsmiths, and its relation to our Current Money.* IV. *Of its Use with the Physicians.* V. *Of Averdupois-Weight.* VI. *Our Measure of Capacity, the Wine Pint (mentioned §. II.) adjusted by Statute to a Troy-Pound.* VII. *A Specimen of comparing Measures of Weight and Content.* VIII. *By it our present Pint is found to over answer the Averdupois-Pound.*

§. I. **T**HE *English* Measure of *Length* is the *Yard*; the third part of which is a *Foot*; and the twelfth of this is our *Inch*; and three of those *Inches*, or the quarter of a *Foot*, are a *Palm*, the same, as will appear hereafter, with the *Palm* of the *Athenians* and *Jews*.

I take no notice of our other Measures of *Length*, because they are not of use to the Enquiry, I am now principally intending, after the solid Measures of the *Jews*. And, for that reason, I say nothing of our Measures of *Surfaces* by *Perches*, *Roods*, and *Acres*, and of how many square *Inches* they consist.

§. II. By the Cubes of an *Inch* our Measures of *Capacity* are adjusted. That lesser, by which the larger is commonly computed, is a *Pint*: And it is of three sorts, one for *Dry Substances*, and two for *Liquid*; and of these one is called the *Wine Pint*, and the other the *Ale Pint*.

The Measure of a Pint for Substances,	Dry ————	Li- quid	Wine Ale	contains	34,03 28,875 35,25	and is as a Cube from a side of Inches	3,24 3,068 3,279

And here we see that our *Wine Pint* comes very near to the dimensions of a *Cube* from a *Palm*, or 3 *Inches*; it consisting of 28,875 *Cube Inches*, of which the *Palm Cube* is 27.

§. III. THE *English Weights* are of two sorts, *Troy* and *Averdupois*. *Troy-Weight* has a *Pound* of 12 *Ounces*: And when used for *Money*, each *Ounce* is of 20 *Penny-Weights*; and a *Penny-Weight*, of 24 *Grains*.

X x x x 2

Troy

Troy Pound	1			
Ounce	12	1		
Penny-Weight	240	20	1	
Grain	5760	480	24	1

This Pound Weight of Silver was heretofore a Pound of Money; and a Penny Weight, a Penny of Money; and consequently a Shilling, or 12 Money Pence, was the $\frac{1}{20}$ of a Pound both in Money and Weight. But afterwards the Money Pound, Shilling, and Penny so funk from the Weight of a Pound, &c. that Queen *Elizabeth* found it necessary to settle them at the distance in which they stand; and to appoint, that 62 Shillings, or 3,1 of a Money Pound, should be coined out of one Pound Weight. So that a Penny Sterling, at present, is less than a third of what it was in *Edward* the First's Time: and, instead of 24 Grains, weighs $\frac{24}{3,1} \approx 7,742$ Grains. And also, by this Establishment, a Pound, or 5760 Grains *Weight*, of Silver is = to 3,1 Pounds of *Money*, and a single Grain's Weight is = $\frac{3,1}{5760}$ of a Money Pound = 0,000538194444 &c. of that Pound.

This Value of a single Grain of Silver, in the decimal parts of a modern Pound of Money, is therefore given with all this scrupulous exactness; that, when Coins antient or modern are reduced to our Grain Weight, the several Sums of them may be exhibited, if it be convenient, with that precision, as not to fail one whole Pound in many Millions of Pounds. This practice will be exemplified hereafter in *Attick* Drachmas. And, for its readier use, a Tarif, or Multiplication Table, of each digital number of Grains may be provided.

1	0,000538194444
2	0,001076388888
3	0,001614583333
4	0,002152777777
5	0,002690972222
6	0,003229166666
7	0,003767361111
8	0,004305555555
9	0,004843749999

§. IV. WITH Physicians, the Troy Ounce is distributed thus, by Drachms and Scruples.

Ounce	1			
Drachm	8	1		
Scruple	24	3	1	
Grains	480	60	20	1

§. V. THE *Averdupois* Pound Weight, which we use for grosser Substances, is to the Troy, as 175 to 144; and is therefore = 7000 Grains

Grains Troy. But its Ounce, which is the $\frac{1}{16}$ part of it, is = 437,5 such Grains, whereof the Troy Ounce is 480. And this Ounce is to be remarked, if only for its equality with the modern and elder *Roman* Ounces: as the Pound also will be found equal to another noted one, consisting likewise of 16 Ounces.

§. VI. OF these our solid Measures, that of Content, the Wine Pint, does (as we now observed) so little exceed the Weight of Water, in a Cube Vessel raised from a Palm, or three of our Inches, that it may well seem to have been designed for it.

But this Vessel of Capacity is not, however, determined by our Law from a Solid of any certain sides; but is expressed to be such a one, as is filled, according to its name, with *Wine* of the Weight of a Troy Pound: for which reason I here mention it, after I have spoke of our Measures of Weight.

This Pint of the Statute does not agree with that now used; and whether they agree or not, makes not much to my present purpose. But, being the comparing of them is to proceed by the same method, which we shall use in our comparing of other Weights and Contents, I take this occasion of exemplifying it.

§. VII. Now in general, as to our Measures of Weight, our Pounds, and the relation they may have to the Water or Wine (Liquids held equiponderant) contained in any Cube Vessel measured by our Inches; it is to be remarked, as known by assured Experiment, that a Cube of Water from a Side of 12 Inches, or our Foot, is equal in Weight to 76 Troy Pounds = 76×5760 Grains. And it is then farther certain from Mathematical Demonstration, that a Cube from half a Foot, or 6 Inches, is = $\frac{76 \times 5760}{8} = 76 \times 720$ Grains: and also, (which we are specially to remember,) that a Cube from 3 Inches, or a Palm Cube of Water, is = $\frac{76 \times 720}{8} = 76 \times 90 = 6840$ of our Grains, of which our Averdupois Pound is 7000. And from thence it likewise follows, that a Cube from an Inch, or the $\frac{1}{3}$ of a Palm, is = $\frac{6840}{27} = 253,33$ Grains = 0,5277 of the Troy Ounce: An Observation that will be useful, when we are to learn the Quantity of a Vessel of Water from its given Weight, or reciprocally.

§. VIII. AND consequently, in this particular of a Pint from a Pound Troy of Wine, to be compared with the present given us in Cube Inches; if we divide 5760, the number of Grains in a Troy Pound, by 253,3, the quotient is 22,74, for the number of Cube Inches in such a Pint; which are fewer by six than those in the present Pint, and want more than a fifth of it. And by the same proceeding it will be found, that the 7000 Grains of an Averdupois Pound so divided will give 27,63 Inches for a Pint, to be formed from it; which will differ but little from the modern Pint, and less from the Cube of a Palm. So that the concave Measure, originally

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answering to the Troy Pound, is come now to correspond nearer with the other, the Averdupois, and to exceed it. But when, or why, this change was made, it is not to my purpose to enquire.

C H A P. III.

Of some modern foreign Measures.

§. I. *The Roman Pound, how reckoned: equal to three quarters of our Averdupois. II. The Spanish Vare, our Yard: The Pound justly equal to the Averdupois. III. The French Toise: The Pound for Money and Medicine almost equal to our Troy; the Grains differing. IV. Our Wine Pint equal to the late Standard Parifian Chopin. V. The Holland's Grains are almost the Roman.*

§. I. **T**HE Roman Pound is of 12 Ounces, and consisting of 6912 of its Grains = to 5256 of our Troy Grains^a.

The Ounce therefore reckons 576 of their Grains, (of which 24 are a Scruple, and 72 the Drachm,) and is equal to 438 of ours; and, falling short of our Troy Ounce by 42 Grains, exceeds our Averdupois Ounce but by $\frac{1}{2}$ a Grain; so that our Pound Averdupois may be reckoned = a Roman Pound of 16 of their Ounces; that called in Sennertus^b the *Mina Attica*.

The Pound and Ounce are respectively = $\frac{438}{480}$ or = 0,9125 of ours; and their Grain is = $\frac{438}{576}$ = 0,7604 of our Grains. Their Drachm accordingly is = $72 \times 0,7604$ = 54,75 of our Grains, and their Scruple = $24 \times 0,76$ = 18,25.

§. II. THE Spanish Vare, or Yard, is given to be equal to our Yard, and their Foot to ours^c.

The Spanish Ounce is, as Villalpandus says positively^d, who was no stranger to the Measures of Rome, the same with the Roman; and the Pound therefore, which consists of 16 such Ounces, is exactly the same with the *Mina* I now mentioned, and with our Pound Averdupois. Neither is it unlikely but that both our Standard of Length, and that of Weight were settled here by Edward the First, from those of that Country which he had visited.

The Spanish Pound therefore is = 7000 Troy Grains: And their Ounces, Drachms, Scruples, and Grains are as the Roman.

^a Greaves's Rom. Foot and Denar. p. 120.

^b Tom. I. p. 742. Edit. Paris. 1641.

^c Stephenson's Mathemat. Compend.

^d De Apparatu Urbis ac Templi, Par. II. Lib. II. Cap. 20.

§. III. IN *France*, the Toise, or Royal Foot, is set by Mr. *Greaves* at 12,816 Inches of ours, or at 1,068 of our Foot^a.

The common Pound of *Paris* is, like the *Spanish*, of 16 Ounces, and is = 7560 Troy Grains^b; and accordingly the sixteenth part of it, or their Ounce (which consists likewise of 576 of their Grains) = 0,984 of a Troy Ounce = 472,5 Troy Grains. And their Drachm = $\frac{472,5}{8}$ is = 59,06 Troy Grains, and the Scruple $\frac{59,06}{3}$ is = 19,687 Troy Grains: But their Grain the $\frac{1}{24}$ of 19,687 is = 0,8203 of ours. By twelve of these Ounces the Physicians all over *France* reckon their Pound = $12 \times 472,5 = 5670$ Grains; and the Goldsmiths their Mark, by eight.

Their Ounce, we see, is very near ours, wanting but $7\frac{1}{2}$ Troy Grains of 480.

And in Physick, the distribution of this Ounce of theirs is, we find, (as in ours,) into 8 Drachms and 24 Scruples; though the Scruple is divided into a larger number of their lesser Grains, to make up 576, their larger number of those Grains in an Ounce.

For their *Money* also, they go so far with us, as to divide their Ounce into a certain number of *Denarii*; and farther yet, to divide their *Denarii* into 24 of their Grains. But then those 24 Grains making with them a Scruple, the $\frac{1}{24}$ of an Ounce (both with them and us); They consequently reckon 24 of their *Denarii* (not 20) to the Ounce.

A POSTSCRIPT.

§. IV. SINCE the writing of this *Treatise*, it has been my good fortune to have seen the Book *De Ponderibus*, &c. published at *Strasburg* in the year 1708 by Mr. *Eisenschmid*, a very learned and curious Author. And, for the sake of our Wine Pint above-mentioned, and that we may the better learn how it came to pass, that it answers now the Averdupois Pound; we may know from him, that the liquid Measure, the *Muyd* of *Paris*, is now settled of the capacity of 8 of their Cubick Feet^c: And a Pint therefore contains 48 of their Cubick Inches: And a Chopin is half of that, and holds 24 of them. But the Standard Pint kept in the Town-Hall contains, it seems, but $47\frac{2}{7} = 47,285$ of them: And the half of the Chopin is = 23,642. Now their Inch, being 1,068 of ours, will make the Cube of theirs = 1,218 of the Cube of ours: And consequently $23,64 \times 1,218 = 28,79$ will be the number of our Cubick Inches in their Chopin; which lacks not the tenth of such an Inch, to be equal to the number in our Wine Pint.

§. V. As for *Holland*, I have no more to observe, than that their Grains, by which their Writers, and *Snellius* in particular^d, reckon,

^a *Greaves's* Roman Foot and Denar. p. 41.

^c *Eisenschmid* de Pond. & Mensur. Sect. II. Cap. I.

^d In libello de Re Nummaria.

^b *Ibid.* p. 120.

are to ours, (according to Mr. Greaves,^a) as 134,5 to 179; and so one of theirs = 0,7514 of ours, very little different from the Roman.

C H A P. IV.

Of the modern Measures of Egypt.

§. I. *The Cubit of Cairo, according to the Bishop of Peterborough, more than 21 of our Inches. II. According to Dr. Bernard, of 18. III. Of their Measures of Weight, their Ratels and Ounces, and their Dirhem, &c. IV. Their Dirhem exactly equal to our Twopenny Weight: And our Troy Weight immediately derived from them. V. The Ounce of Cairo, especially regarded by the Europeans, and why. VI. The Averdupois Weight thence. VII. The Cairo Ratel was formed from a Cube of Water equal to our Palm Cube. VIII. Our Cubit therefore the Just and Legal one meant by Maimonides. IX. Of the Drachmany, or Drachma Græcanica; and of the Mithcal, and the Istâr or Stater; and of the Deinar, Argenteus, and the Aureus.*

§. I. **A**MONG these modern Measures, those of Egypt are not to be neglected; not only because the knowledge of them may give some light to the better understanding of the European, I have now mentioned; but because it may be of good use to our main Enquiry.

Their Measure of *Length* is by Cubits: And Mr. Greaves has given us that of *Cairo* to be = 21,888 of our Inches. And this is proposed by one of the learned Authors above-mentioned^b, for the Old Cubit of *Memphis*; by which they measured the rise of *Nile*, and laid out the several parcels of Land that were annually confounded by the Inundation: it being probable, as he says, that such a notable Measure as this, and in continual use, must have been kept unaltered. He adds also, that the Perimeter of the Base of the great Pyramid, (an unchanged Monument,) and the Length of the inner Room, seem to have been adequately framed by this Measure. And besides, this is the Cubit which *Gedaliah*^c had (before this Measurement of Mr. Greaves) pitched upon, for the Antient Cubit of the Jews, supposed to have been the *Egyptian*.

^a Rom. Foot and Denar. p. 71.

^b Bp. Cumberland, Chap. II.

^c Called *R. Gedaliah*, the Son of *Yachia*, to distinguish him from other Rabbinical Writers of the name of *Gedaliah*. What is here referred to, concerning the *Cairo* Cubit, occurs fol. 90 of his Chronicle called *שילשת דקבלה*, *Catena Kabbala*, seu *Traditionis*, Venet. 1587. Which passage is cited at large, and translated by *Hottinger*, in the Preface to his *Traité de Cippis Hebraicis*, p. 19.

§. II. THE

§. II. THE other Author^a at the same time, and, as it appears, not knowing what was asserted by the first mentioned, takes notice of a Cubit, much spoke of by the *Arabian* and *Jewish* Writers, called the *Midling*, and the *Just* and the *Legal*; which he supposes to have been the old one, and to be exactly equal to ours of 18 Inches. This Cubit too he applies to that Pyramid: and finds it from Mr. *Greaves's* numbers to be adequately contained in the same side of the Basis; to be just half the breadth of the first Step; and to be nine times in the breadth of the upper Surface. Thus our *Latin* Writer founds his Measure likewise upon the Pyramid: and from him, as well as others^b, one sees also, that there were under the *Saracen* Empire very different sorts of Cubits; and that the rise of the *Nile*, and the apportionments of Land began in *Almamon's* time to be measured by a new Cubit, he had taken from the Arm of a well-shapen *Black*, which was longer than the ordinary by $\frac{3}{4}$ of an ordinary Palm.

It appears indeed plainly by all this, that the present *Cairo* Cubit agrees not more with the Measure of the Pyramid, than ours; and that it has not a sure claim to have been the antient one of the Place. And one cannot but wish, that either the *Just* Cubit, or any other, whose Proportion to it was known, had come into Mr. *Greaves's* hands. But yet something there is to be collected from the modern Weight of *Cairo*, given us by that accurate Author, which may persuade us, that there was once there a Cubit equal to ours; and which we shall observe with more advantage, when we shall have considered, what we are next to see, their Measures of Weight.

§. III. ALL over *Egypt*, and the neighbouring *East*, they reckon their Weight by Pounds, called by them *Ratels*; which word *Golius* thinks may come from *Litra*, by an inversion which has happened to some other *Greek* words.

This *Ratel* of theirs is not every where of the same quantity, but very different in several Places, and, in the same Place, for several Goods. But in this they all agree, that they consist of twelve parts, which are their Ounces.

These *Ounces* therefore are different: and in this; that some consist of more, some of fewer little pieces of Weight in Silver, which are always and every where the same, and which they call *Dirhems*. And *Golius* tells us^c, that as the *Cairo* Ounce is of 12 *Dirhems*, so there are of 30, or 50, or 60, &c. And besides, he elsewhere^d makes mention of the Religious Ounce of the *Arabians*, which reckoned 40 *Dirhems*, as well as of a Medicinal of theirs, which was $10\frac{5}{7}$ of a *Dirhem*.

^a Bernard, de Mensur. & Ponder. Lib. III.

^b Gol. in *Alfergân*. p. 73, 74.

^c Lex. Arab. Colum. 186.

^d Ibid. Colum. 2722.

And farther, this constant universal Weight, a *Dirhem*, is divided into 12 *Carats*; and each Carat into 4 *Grains*; the whole number of *Grains* in a *Dirhem* being 48^a.

§. IV. Now these constant Measures are what are very well known to us *English*, in our Troy Weights: it happening that their *Grains* may very well pass for ours; and a half of their *Dirhem* for our Penny Weight. For, as Mr. *Greaves* assures us^b, 48 of our *Grains* exceed 48 of theirs, or their *Dirhem*, only by 0,18 of one of our *Grains*: and consequently our Penny Weight exceeds their half *Dirhem* by 0,09 (not the tenth) of a single Grain. And so our Troy Ounce, = 20 Penny Weights, is not two whole *Grains* more than 10 of their *Dirhems*, = 480 of their *Grains*: and therefore may well pass for one of those various Ounces of *Egypt*; and which consisted of 10 *Dirhems*.

So nearly to these *Egyptian* Weights do our Troy Weights of *England* come, and so singularly are they adapted, that they plainly appear to have been immediately derived from thence. For, as we have seen, the *Roman* and *Spanish* Ounces want of ours above 40 *Grains*, almost a *Dirhem*; and will appear to have been continued from the old *Roman*. And the *French* Ounce, though it falls under ours not 8 of our *Grains*, nor therefore 6 *Grains* under the *Egyptian* of 10 *Dirhems*; yet falls short of an entire conformity to that reckoning, so much as to use different *Grains*; and to divide their Ounce not into 480, but into 576; and their *Drachma* not into 60, but 72, &c. conformably to the *Romans* and the *Spaniards*.

Of the several Ounces, that of 12 *Dirhems* is especially to be marked. It is specified by *Golius*^c as the Ounce by which things of less Bulk and greater Value, particularly medicinal Druggs, are usually weighed: and this is the Ounce, or $\frac{1}{12}$ of that *Ratel* of *Cairo*, which Mr. *Greaves*^d, by experimental Observation, gives us at 6886,08 of our Troy *Grains*, and is = $12 \times 12 \times 48 = 6912$ of theirs; as the Ounce accordingly is = 573,84 of our *Grains*, and 576 of theirs.

And here it is apparent, that their number of *Grains* to the *Cairo* Ounce, 576, is the same number of *Grains*, which the *Romans*, and *Spaniards*, and *French* reckon to their Ounces, though far lesser: and that the number 6912 in the *Cairo Ratel*, is the same with that of *Grains* in the *Roman Pound*; and in such a *Spanish* and *French Pound*, as is counted by 12 Ounces.

It is also observable, that the *Cairo Ratel* differs so little from the *Spanish*, and our *Averdupois Pound*, which are of 16 Ounces, and from the *Roman Mina Medicorum*, which reckons as many; that it may well be esteemed as the Standard, from whence the *European* were designed to be taken.

^a *Lex. Arab.* Colum. 824, & 1888.

^b *Rom. Foot and Denar.* p. 115.

^c *Dict. Arab.* p. 186.

^d *Rom. Foot and Denar.* p. 122.

And

And we shall less wonder at all these particulars; as, that our Troy Grains are found equal to theirs, and our Penny Weight (our Silverling) to their half *Dirhem*; or, that the division of the *European* Ounce was framed by that of *Cairo*; or, that those Pounds are from the *Ratel* of that Place: when we consider that *Cairo*, or *Memphis*, in whose stead it succeeded, was in the heart of *Egypt*, and in the way from the *Red Sea* (by which all the *Arabian* and *Indian* Goods were brought, 'till about 300 Years ago) to *Alexandria*; that *Alexandria*, until then, had been the great Mart for all the *Countries* in the *West*; and that the *Saracens* were not only near and powerful neighbours to them, but drove a flourishing Trade amongst them; and with their *Jews*, were then the great Dealers in Money.

§. V. NOW as our Troy Weight has appeared to have been borrowed by us from none of our *European* neighbours, but from *Egypt*; so too the *Averdupois*, though the same with the *Spanish* Pound, may seem not to have been wholly owing to them, but to have been adjusted at least by us from the *Cairo Ratel*. For the Ounce we have, we divide not so into Grains, as the *Spaniards* do: and we, who borrowed not our Ounce of 10 *Dirhems* at second-hand, need not be thought to have taken that of about 9 *Dirhems*, the *Spanish* or *Roman* Ounce, from any but the Original. And so our *Edward* the First, who again settled our Measures upon a certain Standard, and who had indeed been a Visitant in *Spain*, but upon Action in the *Holy Land*, may be fairly presumed to have fixed both the one and the other Pound by the Measures of the *East*.

§. VI. BUT there is, besides, something very remarkable in the constitution of the *Cairo Litra*; and that may help us to discover what length the ordinary Palm of that Place once was; the length of which above we left in some doubt. For the $12 \times 12 \times 48$ Grains of this *Ratel* are the same as $12 \times 12 \times 12$ Carats. And at first view, this Cubical number of so many Carats seems plainly to indicate, that it answers to the Weight of some Cube Body, that equiponderated and determined it. For such a relation as this between some Cube, the most regular Solid, and a measure of Weight, was to be expected in a Country so Mathematical, as *Egypt* had always been: and if Water was the Body, by which determination was made in any Country, it was most likely to be so applied in this. And then, in the second place, if we look for a Cube of Water corresponding to $12 \times 12 \times 12$ Carats = 6886,08 Grains, we may presently remember that the Cube of our Palm, or our three Inches, equiponderates to 6840 Grains, which we called our Palm Pound: and shall find that the whole *Litra* of 6886,08 Grains answers precisely to such a Cube, whose side is equal to 3,00672 of our Inches; and exceeds our Palm by some few thousandths of an Inch only, a difference not discernible by the Eye.

Nor is the correspondence between the length of our Palm, and that Pound of *Cairo*, so precisely true in the whole only; but in the parts. For if you divide the Palm into 12 parts, (the number which with all the *Easterns* goes for the Ounces in a Pound, and by which the *Cairo* Ounces too are divided into *Dirbems*,) you have not only the Cube of the Palm equiponderating to $12 \times 12 \times 12$ Carats; but you have so many little Cubes of those duodecimal parts of the Palm equiponderating to each Carat. By which thorough correspondence, it abundantly appears, that the *Cairo* Pound was, as I first conjectured, determined by such a length.

§. VII. AND thence too it is evident, that at the time of the appointment of that Pound, there was an old Palm at *Cairo* or *Memphis*, just the same with ours, asserted by Dr. *Bernard*, and very different from the modern set up by the Bishop: and which may therefore already, and before we go higher for its Antiquity, make a very fair pretence to be esteemed the *Just* and the *Legal* one of the *Arabians*; especially if the *Dirbem* shall appear to have been in use before the Invasion of the *Arabians*, and the *Ratel* itself of a very early date^a.

And so may this *Ratel* of *Cairo* not only incline us to think, that our First *Edward* regulated our Measures of Length also (though the same with the *Castilian*) by those of *Egypt*; but help to confirm us in the opinion of Dr. *Bernard*, that our Palm was the old Palm of *Cairo* or *Memphis*; the *Just*, *Legal* one above-mentioned.

This is in short the Account I have now to offer of these *Egyptian* Measures. For whether the *Dirbem*, we have been speaking of, was from the *Persian* word *Doram*, signifying a small piece of Money; or from the *Grecian* *Drachma*, as Mr. *Greaves* judged, and I believe; and whether it be the same with that *Maimonides* used in his time, thereby to express the *Jewish* Weights: it will be the proper time to consider, when we shall have viewed the *Drachma* of the *Grecians* and the *Romans*, and shall come to the Measures of the *Jews*.

§. VIII. ALL that I shall observe farther is, that possibly the *Arabian* Measures, we have to do with, may not be so uncertain as Dr. *Bernard* represents them^b. And, for our surer and clearer proceeding hereafter, we may here remark, that among these *Saracens* of *Egypt*, speaking about Money and Weight, when an Ounce is simply named, the *Cairo* Ounce of 12 *Dirbems* is to be understood: and that these silver *Drachmæ* are to be carefully distinguished from their *Drachma Græcanica*, which signified with them, as *Drachma* does with us, the 8th part of an Ounce, and stands for a silver *Drachma* and a half, being equal not to 48, but 72 Grains: and that this

^a See Part IV. Chap. 3.

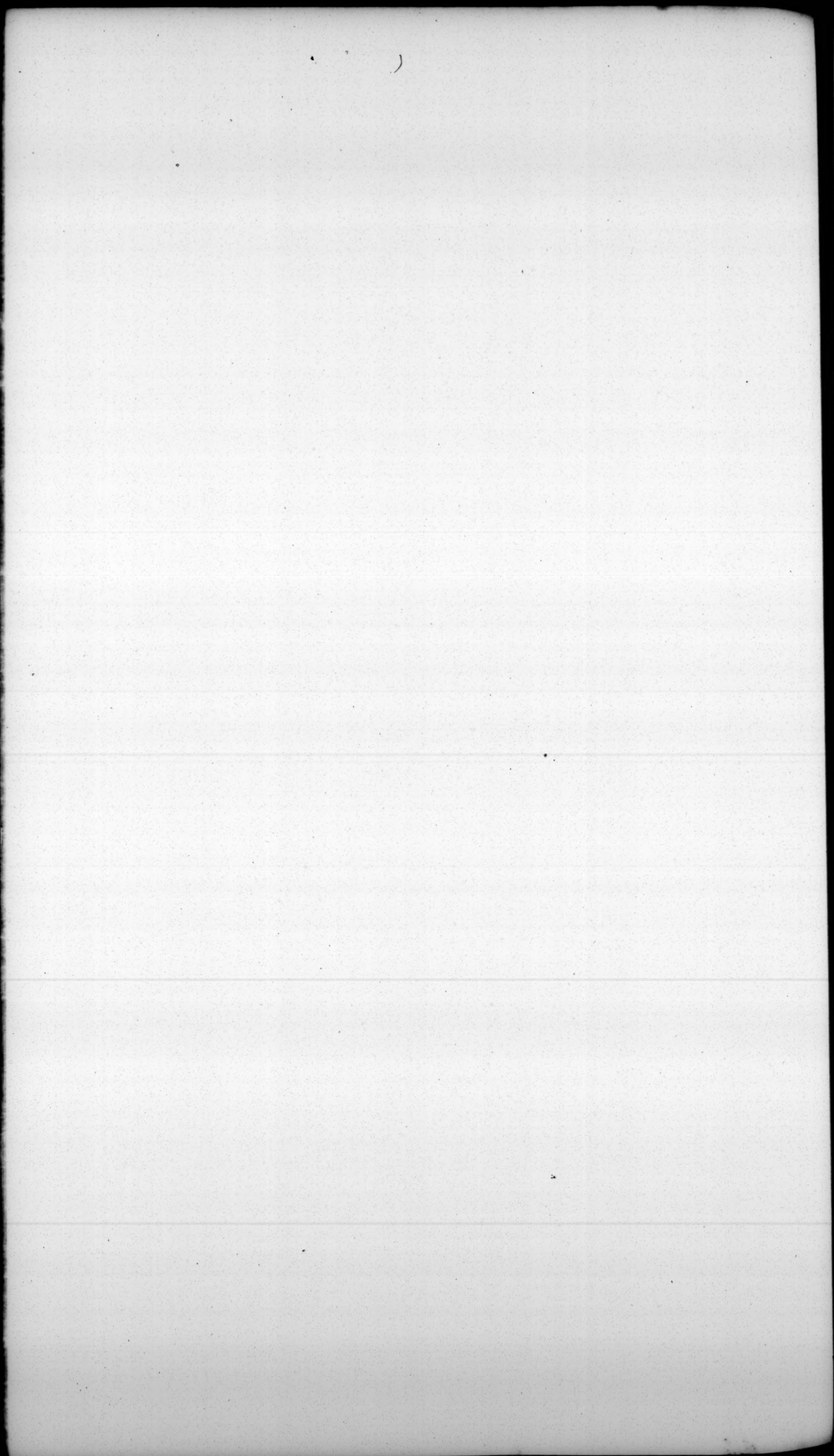
^b Lib. II. §. 24.

last *Drachma*, the $\frac{1}{3}$ of the *Cairo* Ounce, is what is properly called the *Darchemy* by the *Arabian* Physicians, and goes under the name of a *Drachma Attica*^a, (which speaks the *Cairo* Ounce to be *Uncia Attica*,) and also under that of *Mithcálum Græcanicum*, or *Mithcálum Siculorum Aureum*: that four of these *Mithcála Græcanica* make a *Grecanick Istár*, or *Stater*^b, which is the *Kist*, or a *Cairo* half Ounce: that the Weight strictly called a *Mitchál*, or *Deinar*, is a little less than the *Grecanick*, being one *Dirhem* and $\frac{3}{7}$ of it, instead of $\frac{1}{3}$; which is = 68,13 of our Grains, and will be found to have been sometime esteemed as a *Drachma* of *Athens*. And lastly, that with those *Arabian* Physicians, a *Deinar* of silver is reckoned, as the *Grecanick Mithcáls*, and *Darchemys*, at 72 Grains, or a *Dirhem* and a half; and a *Deinar* of Gold at 96 Grains, or 2 *Dirhems*: and that this *Denarius* is the *Aureus Arabum*, the *Sextula* and *Alcaubolus* of *Massarius* and *Quatroccius*; reckoned there at 96 Grains, &c. at $1\frac{1}{3}$ of a *Drachma* [*Græcanica*], and a sixth of an Ounce [the *Attick*, or that of *Cairo*].

These Particulars, to be referred to in their proper places, I have here set together, to render them more intelligible, and more certain. For my very knowing Author has happened to express himself ambiguously upon some of them.

^a Bernard, Lib. II. §. 24.

^b Gol. Lex. Arab. Colum. 96.



THE SECOND PART.

The Attick Measures.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The Attick Measure of Length, the Cubit, ours or very near it.*
 II. *Their Measures of Weight, and their Coins; with the proportions and denominations of them.* III. *The Talent of Homer.* IV. *The determination of the Standard Drachma, by the Coins; and the changes in the Nummary.* V. *The Standard Mina is probably above the Weight of 6700 of our Grains, assigned by Mr. Greaves; and is rather equal to our Palm Pound of 6840 Grains, if not above. This proved (1) from the Cairo Ratel, supposed equal to it.* VI. *And (2) from the probability of a like Hydrostatick original of the Mina; discoverable from its primary part, the Tetradrachm, &c.* VII. *The value of the Attick Money, to be expressed in ours, differs according to the age in which it is mentioned: The Drachma of the Physicians; the Weight of the current Money of the age.* VIII. *Three Tables provided, whereby their Money is reduced to ours: The first for the Standard Mina, at 6840 Grains; the second for a Mina, at 6550 Grains; and the third at 6257, &c. Together with another for a Standard Mina equal to our Averdupois Pound. The construction and the use of these Tables.*

§. I. **W**E begin with the Measures of the *Athenians*, as they were settled by *Solon*; to which the *Jewish* were compared; and from which the *Roman* were in some manner derived.

Their Measure of Length, the *Cubit*, is supposed to agree exactly with ours; so it is set by Dr. *Bernard*^a; and so, he says, it was found from some remains at *Athens* by Mr. *Spon*; and so also, if I do not misremember, it was found upon the place by the Measurement of my old friend Mr. *Francis Vernon*: and to this agrees the *Cubitus Justus* of *Egypt*, the *Old Cubit* (as I have supposed) of *Cairo* or *Memphis*; such as has been discovered from the *Ratel* of *Cairo*, that passes for the *Mina* of *Athens*. The *Attick Palm* therefore I shall suppose equal to ours: and we shall not, I believe, meet with

^a Lib. III. §. 9.

any reason to alter it, except it be by the increase of less than 100th part of it; to make it equiponderant to our *Averdupois* Pound of 7000 Grains. For an Inch, with the addition of fewer than 8 parts of 1000, and = 1,0077; will make a *Palm* = 3,023 of our Inches: and the Cube of it will be = 27,626 Cube Inches; the Weight in Water of that Pound, as we have seen above, *Part I. Chap. 2. §. 8.*

And such an increase of the *Palm*, if thought fit, may have some countenance from the *Pes Græcus Plinii* in Dr. Bernard, = 1,0104 of ours. For such an Inch gives a *Palm* = 3,0312: and the Cube of this *Palm* is nigh = 27,85 Cube Inches; which exceeds the other by 0,22 of an Inch, that is, by 253,33 ×, 22 Troy Grains, = 55,7 Grains, and will raise the Pound no higher than 7055,7.

Now as to the Measures of Capacity and Weight, it may be expected that this subtle ingenious People, or those they chose to follow, should have adjusted them by their Measure of Length; conformably to what we have previously designed, and afterwards seen done in *Egypt*; and which the *Romans*, their imitators, will in some kind be found to have done. But this deduction of their Solid Measures from Lengths, not being certified to us by any Author; and having lain so obscure, as to want a discovery; it is necessary to take the ordinary course; and to begin to learn the knowledge of them, from themselves.

§. II. Now there being none of the Measures of Capacity remaining; (preserved, like the *Congius* of *Rome*, of which hereafter;) it is necessary to state them from what we have left of their Measures of Weight, their Coins.

The denominations of their Money, and the proportions of it, are known to be as in this *Table*.

<i>Talent</i>	1						
<i>Mina</i>	60	1					
<i>Tetradrachm</i>	1500	25	1				
<i>Didrachm</i>	3000	50	2	1			
<i>Drachma</i>	6000	100	4	2	1		
<i>Obolus</i>	36000	600	24	12	6	1	
<i>Chalcus</i>	288000	4800	192	96	48	8	1
<i>Granum, Ke.ṯh</i>	—	—	—	—	96	16	2

Of these the *Talent* and the *Mina* in Money, were Sums of the silver Coins that follow them. And by these denominations, and in this proportion, all the *Greeks* commonly reckoned; though their several *Drachmæ*, &c. were of different Weight: the *Ægeinean* and *Corinthian*, for example, equal to $\frac{1}{6}$ of the *Attick*; and the *Alexandrian* of *Egypt*, just double to it.

To

To this it may be convenient, for what may follow, to add, that a *Stater* in Silver is by the *Atticks* understood to be a *Tetradrachm*: And that of the Coins in Gold, the more common, is of the Weight of a *Didrachm*, and called *Daricus* or *Chrusus*, *Stater* being understood; and thence that of the Weight of a *Drachm*, called *Hemichrusus*.

As to the minuter parts, in the *Table*, under the *Drachma*; the *Obolus* seems to have been an antient part of every *Drachma*: and particularly at *Athens*, as it appears by *Pollux*^a. The *Chalcus*, the $\frac{1}{2}$ of it, shews by its name that it was not a silver Coin: and the half of this, a Grain of Barley, is yet a later Division; which we shall find reckoned in Money by the *Rabbins*. There is also a farther Division of this Grain: and of it the *Lepton*, or *Minutum*, is a half; the *Pruta* of the *Jews*.

§. III. THERE is an antient *Talent* mentioned in *Homer*, which is not of the kind I have been describing; and consists not of the like number of parts of Gold, holding the same proportion: but is by the *Scholiasts* rated at some small number of the *Attick Aurei*; and is by *Pollux*^b, an old and sure Author, reckoned to be three of them, or to weigh six *Drachma's*. And here I take occasion to interpose a Conjecture, which may be of use hereafter: that this *Talent* of Gold, though not equinumerant, (*ισάριθμον*, as the phrase is,) nor yet equiponderant (*ισοστάσιον*) to any other; was yet equivalent (*ισοδύναμον*) to some correspondent *Talent* in Brass, whatsoever it was, whose under parts kept the common proportion between themselves; a *Talent*, we may suppose, of the *Phœnicians*, the great Merchants remembered by *Homer*. For example: if we take the value of Gold to Silver to have antiently been as ten to one, the rate it bore for a long time in *Greece*: and if we suppose the value of Silver to the Brass of the *Cyprians*, or Copper, to have been with their neighbours, the *Phœnicians*, as a hundred to one; (and for a long time it has since generally went not much above that value;) we have then six *Attick* (or *Tyrian*) *Drachma's* Weight of Gold equal in value to six thousand *Drachma's* Weight of Brass.

§. IV. So is the proportion, as well of the *Attick* Weight, as of their Coin, well known: but the value of each Piece not so well ascertained as one would wish.

For the *Drachma*, from whence all their Money is best estimated, and which is also the principal Weight, is very differently stated. Our accurate Mr. *Greaves*^c, upon the weighing of many *Attick Tetradrachms*, found some, the best (he says) of 268 Grains; which give 67 for the *Drachma*: and examining the Golden *Didrachms*

^a Onomastic. Lib. IX. Cap. 6.

^b Ibid.

^c Rom. Foot and Denar. p. 61, 66, 71. The learned Mr. *Eisen Schmid*, in his Book *de Ponderibus & Mensuris*, tells us, p. 42. of a *Tetradrachm* he had, which weighed $4 \times 83,25$ Paris Grains = $4 \times 68,29$ of ours.

coined, after the example of the old *Darici*, by *Philip*, and *Alexander*; as he mentions one of each from *Snellius*, which weighed 134,5 of our Grains; so he specifies three of *Alexander's* which he had seen, that wanted but half a Grain of 134, or twice 67 Grains. Such too *Dr. Bernard^a* met with; but more commonly, he says, with those of 66 to the *Drachma*. The generality of the elder Coins, that remain, give it at 65 Grains: some *Arabian* Physicians, at 64,28. And it is certain, as we shall see hereafter, that, in the time of the first *Roman* Emperors, it came to be under 63 Grains: and not very long afterwards to be under 55, and to be the $\frac{1}{3}$ of a *Roman* Ounce.

Thus did the Money *Drachma* in process of time decrease: as is found by the trial of a Balance; and will appear by the testimony of old Authors, comparing them with the *Roman* Weight and Money. But, all the while, we may suppose the Ponderal *Drachma* to have continued the same; just as it has happened to us, as well as our neighbours, whose Ponderal *Libra* remains as it was, though the Nummery has much decreased.

This Ponderal *Drachma* therefore, if we take it from the highest Coin^b that has happened to be preserved, will be equal to 67,25 Grains.

§. V. THIS number 6700 of our Grains in a *Mina*, which Mr. *Greaves* assigns, there are several Coins that justify: and that they exceeded the Standard, as is sometimes objected, is a suspicion without good ground; the contrary of which may, I think, be advanced on better. For as the Coins may at least be as easily furnished to have fallen short of the due Weight, as to have been struck above it; especially in Gold: so there are some probable Arguments that will favour that opinion.

The first may be taken from the *Cairo Ratel*; which by the testimony of the *Arabians* has always been esteemed in *Egypt*, as the *Mina* of *Athens*; and which, as we have seen, rises full up to 6886 Grains. Neither is it to be said, at adventure, that this *Ratel* was so esteemed by the *Saracens* on conjecture, and without due knowledge: for the composition of it we have already found to be very artificial: and we shall hereafter, when the knowledge of the *Roman* way of reckoning shall inform us farther, find it to be a nice contrivance of the *Greek* Mathematicians^c.

The *Dirhem* itself appears, by what has been now said, to be framed after the model of an *Attick Drachma*: its 48 Grains representing the 48 *Attick Chalci*; not indeed *Attick* Grains, such as rise in that thin ground, but *Egyptian*; and the *Karats*, the twelfth of the *Dirhem*, standing manifestly for half an *Obolus*, sometimes an *Attick*

^a Lib. II. §. 24.

^b The Coin of Mr. *Eisen Schmid* is not reckoned.

^c Vid. Part IV. Chap. 3.

Coin. And though these *Egyptian Drachmæ* want much of the *Attick*, and a 100 of them will want therefore of that *Mina*; yet 12 × 12 or 144 of them may have been designed to reach it, and to have a just title to that name.

And a very near title it had, if we consider the *Saracen Mitchâl*^a as taken for a Weight, not a Coin. For the word stood for a *Drachma Attica* in the usage of the later *Greeks*, and was probably so received by the succeeding *Saracens*. And its Weight is $\frac{10}{7}$ of a *Dirhem*; which, multiplied as a *Drachma* a 100 times, gives 6831,4 of our Grains for a *Mina*, and is not very much less than the *Cairo Ratel*.

§. VI. ANOTHER Argument may be taken from the Length of the Palm above assigned, very probably, as equal to ours; whose Cube in Water weighs, as we have found, 6840 Grains: and which may have been as well designed to determine the *Attick Mina*, as it was used to determine the *Cairo Ratel*.

This Hydrostatick relation appears not so openly in the *Mina*, as in the *Ratel*: but yet is such, as might not have escaped the discernment of those knowing Men, who had had the office of settling those *Dirhems*, and introduced the Cubical reckoning from them.

For we have just now seen, that the notable parts of a *Mina* are the *Tetradrachm*, which Coin in Silver is called a *Stater*, or *Weight*, by way of eminence: The *Didrachm*, which, if in Gold, is called a *Stater*: Also the *Drachma*, the quarter of the greater *Stater*, or *Weight*: And the *Obolus*, which is the sixth of the *Drachma*, or twenty-fourth of the Great *Stater*.

And that this *Stater* was a primary standing Weight, will be more manifest hereafter; when we offer to prove, (from Arguments which will not be drawn from any determined Weight, such as we are now seeking,) that it was nothing else but the very *Shekel* of the *Jews*, and particularly of the *Phœnicians*; the word signifying the same with *Stater* in *Greek*: that the under Weights or Pieces were likewise antiently half *Shekels*, answering to the *Didrachm*; and quarter *Shekels*, answering to the *Drachma*; and also 24ths (or *Mea's*) with the *Phœnicians*, which are the *Attick Oboli*; and 20ths (or *Gera's*) with the *Israelites*, which too go under the name of *Oboli*. And farther, this *Stater*, or a *Shekel*, will appear still the more remarkable Weight among the *Jews* of the *Old Testament*; when we find it still the chief part of that *Maneh*, though double to the *Attick*.

Now it may be observed also, that the *Stater* itself, and its halves and quarters have very ready and convenient divisions of a Cube vessel, to which they will answer. For the 25 *Staters* are completely exhibited by five and twenty Parallelepipedons, into which the vessel is divided: they standing upon the basis, divided into 25 squares,

^a Vid. Part IV. Chap. 3. §. 5.

from its side divided into five parts. And so the height of the Parallelepipedons divided into two parts, will give the half *Staters*; and divided into four, will give the quarters. And then these last little Solids, which are a hundred in number; and have gone so far, as to make up such a remarkable number; may leave it to be farther divided into lesser parts, as *Oboli*; so as may be most commodious for account.

As to the Square 25, by which I suppose the base divided; it is the Square of the number 5, which was Cardinal with the *Egyptians*, and is the first natural number of Digits. And so are the half and the quarter of the height, the readiest numbers for under parts. And, as I just now remarked, the number of parts which made up 4×25 , or a hundred, was a very proper number to stop at in the division of a Cube; being a large number, and a notable one, the square of the Decimal. And then lastly, if the convenience of minuter computation required the hundredth part of the *Mina* to be divided; the number 5 might be well pitched upon again, as the first Sum of Digits in natural Arithmetick; or the number 6, as the most partible.

Thus might the *Drachma* have been formed from the hundredth part of a Cube, as it was a considerable part of a *Mina*; and the *Oboli* framed in respect of that only. But it might also have happened, that the *Oboli* might have been appointed with immediate regard to the *Stater*; and the design have been, that, as the *Stater* was by its Hydrostatical constitution the twenty-fifth part of the *Mina*; so the smaller part of that *Stater*, which could not be so conveniently divided again by that Sum, a number incapable of more Sums than one, (for 25 has no part but 5,) should however be divided into some partible number near it; either such as is the very next, the 24th, which the *Atticks* used, and the *Phœnicians* had chosen, as being the most partible; and not only by halves and quarters, but by fixths and half fixths also; or such as is 20, which is partible also by halves and quarters, or *Didrachms* and *Drachms*; and leaves the first Sum of Digits, to be the Sum of the *Oboli*, the *Gera's*.

Thus might the *Attick Mina* have been derived from the Cube of the Palm: and so may that notable part of it, the *Stater*, indicate to us such a formation; not perchance contrived in those days by *Solon*, but more early by the *Phœnicians*, those famous Traders and Accountants; and by the elder *Egyptians*, part of whose celebrated wisdom was the knowledge of Mensuration. For if a Solid of Water was in any Place thought the most proper for a Standard of Weight, it must have been in those Countries on the South-East of the *Mediterranean*, from whence all useful knowledge was communicated to the Western.

And now, if this Hydrostatick constitution of the *Attick Mina*, which so plainly appears in that Weight, which the *Greek* Mathematicians gave down to the *Saracens* for it, and may be discovered from the

the antient appointment of its principal parts in *Phœnicia* and the *Holy Land*, is in any degree probable; in the same degree will the probability be increased of that Argument, which, from the equality of the *Attick Palm* to ours, concludes the like equality of the *Attick Mina* to our *Palm Pound* of 6840 *Troy Grains*; or which may likewise, if that *Palm* be put near $\approx 1,01$ of ours, raise up a *Mina*, which will go for our *Averdupois Pound*.

§. VII. THIS Hydrostatick Weight of 6840 I shall at first set down, as the Weight of a Standard *Mina* of *Solon*, and 68,4, as the Weight of his *Attick Drachma*; but so, as to allow that their Coin kept not to it: supposing that, though it was first struck of that Weight, yet it afterwards fell not only to 67 Grains, or 66; but to 62 Grains, or as low as we shall find by the Balance.

This gradual decrease the succeeding Coins of the several Ages shew us. And it may be convenient therefore, for the reduction of their Money to ours, to form different *Tables* for them: The one, for example, after *Solon's* Standard; which may serve, with some little allowance, 'till the Days of *Alexander*: Another more suited to the times that followed, unto the subjection of *Greece* to the *Romans*; and at the rate of 65 Grains, or thereabouts, to the *Drachma*: And a third of 62,571428, &c. which was equal, as we shall find, to the *Denarii* of that Weight under the first *Roman Emperors*; and had been equal, as I shall suppose, for some considerable time before.

It is from the Medicinal Work of *Cornelius Celsus*, that we shall learn the value of the *Drachma*, the last now mentioned, in his Days: and thence we may likewise perceive, that the Physical Prescriptions by *Drachma's* were not used to be made by the Standard Weight, but by the modern current Coin: but this variation is not so necessary to be heeded, as the other. For the difference between 60 Grains, which now in Medicine make the *Drachma*, and 64, if it was once so high reckoned, is not so much, as that now of 4,38, between 20 *Parisian* and 20 of ours, which Physicians use indifferently. And it is, besides, of no great consequence in substances prescribed of that small quantity, where, by how much the Dose in substance of quicker virtue is the less, so much does the difference diminish: Whereas such a mistake in Coin, that is to be multiplied by hundreds and thousands, to make *Mina's* and *Talents*, will as much increase.

a Part III. Chap. 3. §. 1.

§. VIII. TABLES for the Reduction of *Attick* Money to Ours.

		100000000,00	10000000,00	1000000,00	100000,00	10000,00	1000,00	100,00	10,00	The Unitary 1,00 Place for a Mina.	The Unitary Place 1 for a Drachma.
Sums of <i>Drachmae</i> which are = 68,4 Grains, reduced to our Pound, and the Decimal parts of it.	1	0	0	3	6	8	1	2	5	0	0
	2	0	0	7	3	6	2	5	0	0	0
	3	0	1	1	0	4	3	7	5	0	0
	4	0	1	4	7	2	5	0	0	0	0
	5	0	1	8	4	0	6	2	5	0	0
	6	0	2	2	0	8	7	5	0	0	0
	7	0	2	5	7	6	8	7	5	0	0
	8	0	2	9	4	5	0	0	0	0	0
	9	0	3	3	1	3	1	2	5	0	0

Sums of <i>Drachmae</i> which are = 65,5 Grains.	1	0	0	3	5	2	5	1	7	3	6	1
	2	0	0	7	0	5	0	3	4	7	2	2
	3	0	1	0	5	7	5	5	2	0	8	3
	4	0	1	4	1	0	0	6	9	4	4	4
	5	0	1	7	6	2	5	8	6	8	0	5
	6	0	2	1	1	5	1	0	4	1	6	6
	7	0	2	4	6	7	6	2	1	5	2	7
	8	0	2	8	2	0	1	3	8	8	8	8
	9	0	3	1	7	2	6	5	6	2	4	9

Sums

TABLES for the Reduction of Attick Money to Ours.

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Of the three *Tables* now proposed, the first is of the Ponderal Standard *Mina* set at 6840 Grains; and expressed in our Money Pounds, which are to the *Troy* Pound as 1 to 3,1.

And by the construction and use of this, the nature of the other two *Tables* may be thus explained. The *Drachma* of 68,4 Grains will either by special Calculation, or by a Digital *Tariffa*^a of 0,000538, &c. Decimals of our Pound to a single Grain, be found = 0,0368, &c.

The *Tariffa* of Grains gives it in this manner,

The Value of 60	Grains	=	0,0322916666
———— of 8	————	=	0,0043055555
———— of 0,4	————	=	0,0002152777
— of the whole 68,4	————	=	0,0368125000

And then, if of this *Drachma*, valued so in parts of a Money Pound, we make a like Multiplying *Table* of nine Figures beyond the Unity; we shall not fail, if it be necessary, of knowing the value of a thousand millions of *Drachma's*; and so, as not to be a single Pound under or over.

And all this may be known very readily: for, according to the Method here used in calculating the value of this *Drachma*, the Decimal parts of a Pound, that are put for one *Drachma*, will serve alike for ten, if the Figures all rise but one place higher: and so they serve for a 100, if raised two places higher, &c. For example: As for one *Drachma* there stands 0,0368; so for 10, there is 0,368; and for a 100, 3,68, &c. And as many degrees as the figure 1 removes on the left, so much do all the figures rise; or (which is all one) so many degrees does the place of Units remove to the right.

All the care therefore to be taken, is only to find the proper place of the figures, in each transverse line. And this trouble is easily saved in the *Table* by placing the one *Drachma*, and its tenths, and its hundredths, writ in a descending line; and so as to point out the Unitary place, they require in those figures of the transverse rows.

So the value of any number of *Drachma's* may be readily and exactly found in this *Table*: and so likewise may any number of *Mina's*, or 100's of them, by retrenching only the two last Cyphers in the Drachmal Sums, which are therefore severed by *Comma's*.

And so a single Talent, which is 60 *Mina's*, or 6000 *Drachma's*, is presently seen to be of our Pounds the Sum of 220,875. And in like manner, 10 *Talents* are 2208,75. And a 100 = 22087,5. And for the obtaining of any aggregate Sum of *Talents*, the same *Table* will suffice, if they are resolved into *Drachma's*, or *Mina's*. But, for more expedite use, a *Tariffa* of them may be made.

^a Part I. Chap. 2. §. 3.

And

And in this sort of *Tables*, it need not to be observed to the reader, that when the Sum of Pounds grows high, the following Decimal parts may be neglected: and that, where the Decimal parts are considerable, the third Decimal figure is of such parts, as each is less than a Farthing; and the fourth of such, as nine of them will not make so much.

And though it may be thought an unnecessary nicety, (as I find it objected against the *Roman Abacus* of *Gassendus*;) to ascertain the value of large Sums of *Talents*, or even *Drachma's*, within the compass of a Pound; yet it may be remarked, that this exact reckoning is attained presently at sight, and with as much ease, as any grosser could have been.

Of these *Tables*, that of the ponderal standard *Drachma's* is chiefly to be regarded. For either by this of the *Palm* Pound, or by the *Drachma* of the *Averdupois* Pound, we may see reason hereafter to count the *Phœnician* and *Israelitish* Money. And of this last, I have too added a like *Table*; if any one shall chuse hereafter to reckon by it.

CHAP. II.

§. I. *The names and proportions of the Attick Vessels.* II. *The $\Sigma\epsilon\gamma\eta\varsigma$, (or Sextarius Atticus,) and $\chi\omicron\varsigma$, the Chous, and the higher Vessels, reckoned by the highest, the Medimnus.* III. *The Content of them to be determined by the Weight of their Water. The Neat, and the Gross Mina.* IV. *The actual determination of the Sextary by either of the Gross Mina's: Whether the Neat be a Palm Pound from our Palm, or from 1,01 of it.* V. *A Tariff of the Sextaries, expressed by our Wine Pint and its Decimals.* VI. *The lesser Vessels in Medicinal Prescriptions, not weighed by the standard, but current Drachma.*

§. I. **T**HE *Attick* Weight thus settled, I proceed to their Concave Measures.

Those reckoned by *Pollux* bear the proportion one to another, which is exhibited in the *Tables*. And the $\Sigma\epsilon\gamma\eta\varsigma$, though not of pure *Attick* denomination, but taken from the *Romans* afterwards, I have inserted, as being at last of general use.

The least of them, the *Cotyla*, had also its subdivisions; chiefly for Medicinal uses, as they there stand apart: The least of which, the *Cochleare*, is the like part of the *Cotyla*, as a *Cotyla* is of the *Medimnus*.

^a *Gronov. de Pecuniâ Vetere, Lib. III. Cap. 3, & 9.*

<i>Medimnus</i>	1								
<i>Hemimedimnus</i>	2	1							
<i>Triteus</i>	3	$\frac{3}{2}$	1						
<i>Hecteus</i>	6	3	2	1					
<i>Hemibecteus</i> , or <i>Chous</i>	12	6	4	2	1				
<i>Maris</i>	24	12	8	4	2	1			
<i>Chœnix</i>	48	24	16	8	4	2	1		
<i>Xestes</i>	72	36	24	12	6	3	$\frac{3}{2}$	1	
<i>Cotyla</i>	144	72	48	24	12	6	3	2	1

<i>Cotyla</i>	1								
<i>Oxybaphum</i>	4	1							
<i>Cyathus</i>	6	$1\frac{1}{2}$	1						
<i>Mystrum</i>	24	6	4	1					
<i>Cheme</i>	72	18	12	3	1				
<i>Cochleare</i>	144	36	24	6	2	1			

§. II. THIS *Cotyla*, or the Hollow of the two hands joined together, was the leading Measure; and the upper oft named by it. So the *Xestes* was a *Dicotylon*; the *Chœnix*, a *Tricotylon*; and the *Maris*, an *Hexacotylon*. The *Chœnix* too, being a measure of Corn for a Man's daily food, gave its denomination to their Measures. And so the *Maris* was a $\Delta\iota\kappa\omicron\tau\upsilon\lambda\omicron\gamma$; and the *Hemibecteus* a *Tetrachoinicon*; as it was otherwise called $\chi\epsilon\sigma$, in *Latin*, *Congius*.

Of these, the *Xestes*, always a certain *Attick* Measure, the double of a *Cotyla*, and the sixth of a $\chi\epsilon\sigma$, grew more noted among the *Greeks* under the *Roman* Government; being parallel to the famous *Sextarius* of that City; as the $\chi\epsilon\sigma$ was to the *Congius* of it. And as the *Latin* word *Congius* had of old come from the *Greek* *Chous*, something changed; so, in return, the word *Xestes* was formed from *Sextarius*, with no less alteration.

It is not so necessary for this Etymology, as it may be hereafter, for the better understanding of the *Jewish* Measures, to observe concerning these *Attick*; that the $\chi\epsilon\sigma$ stands in the middle, between the *Medimnus* and the *Cotyla*; being the 12th of a *Medimnus*, and 12 times a *Cotyla*; and that, from the *Medimnus* downwards to the *Chous*, the Vessels are all reckoned as aliquot parts of the *Medimnus*, the $\frac{1}{2}$, the $\frac{1}{3}$, &c. and are so denominated, as by their proper names, a *Hemimedimnus*, a *Triteus*; the *Attick* name for the *Chous* itself being *Hemibecteus*: But that, thenceforward, the reckoning was not made descending, by such parts of the *Medimnus*; for the numbers of them would have been too large; nor even by the aliquots of the *Chous*; but either by proper names, as *Maris*, *Chœnix*; or else ascending by so many *Cotylæ*, or *Chœnixes*; and that, of all these, the *Chœnix* only spoke itself to be a diminutive of the *Chous*. And from this usage of the *Athenians*, I suppose, it was, that when, in imitation

tion of the *Roman Sextarius*, they made the fixth of their *Cbous* a notable Measure, they did not give it the name of *Hecteus*; for that was already employed to signify a higher: but borrowed a name for it from the *Latin Sex*; and, instead of *Sextes*, for their easier pronunciation, they counterchanged the *S* and *X*, and called it *Xestes*. What may be farther said of these Vessels, and their description by *Fannius*, I refer to the place, where they, and the *Roman* will be compared^a.

§. III. IN this proportion their several Vessels stood: And what the Quantity of any of them absolutely was, I am now to see.

And here it was to be expected, that a *Palm* Cube of Water, I assigned in the last Chapter for the Weight of their *Mina*, should have filled up their principal Measure of Content: But in fact it was otherwise settled; and the *Cotyla*, their lesser principal Vessel, full of Water, is given to weigh 60; and not 50 *Drachma's*, which would have been $\frac{1}{2}$ the *Mina*.

This may seem, at first sight, to disagree with the Hydrostatick constitution of the *Mina*, I have suggested above. For if a *Palm* Cube of Water was chose to determine the Weight of the *Mina*, it should, one may think, have been more readily applied to the measurement of a Concave Vessel.

Had the Weight of Oil been to that of Water as 5 to 6, (whereas it is only about 5 to 5,53,) this difficulty might easily have been asfoiled, without going out of *Attica*, by supposing, that they there had formed their *Cotyla*, their primary Measure of Content, by a half *Mina*-Weight of Oil, the celebrated product of their Country. But the intimation we have had, that the Measures of Weight were taken from the *Phœnicians*, may allow us to fetch the reason thence. And with them we shall see^b two sorts of *Mina's*; the Fine, or Neat, for Gold, Silver and Spices; and the Gross, for substances of greater bulk, and lesser price: As now with us, and other Nations, there are several Pounds used for several ponderables. Nor will it be wondered, that Water, which was applied at first to form a Weight for things of nicer valuation, should, when it was measured for common uses, be weighed out itself as a grosser substance.

Beginning therefore here to count by Neat, and Gross *Mina's*; we may observe: That as a *Dicotylon* is such a Gross *Mina*, and = 120 *Drachma's*, instead of 100, the Neat; so a *Cbous* is nothing else but six Gross *Mina's* = 720 *Drachma's*; and that a *Medimnus*, or 12 *Cbous's*, is equal to 72 such Gross *Mina's*. But of this hereafter, when I come to the Measures of the *Jews*.

§. IV. AND now, supposing the *Attick Sextary*, whatever it be, to equiponderate to $\frac{6}{5}$ or 1,2 of a Neat *Mina*; and reducing that mul-

^a Part III. Chap. 6.

^b Part IV. Chap. 1.

tipler of the Grains, the Gross *Mina* weighs, to their content in our Cubick Inches; and measuring the number of those Inches by the number of the same belonging to our Wine Pint; we have thence the content of that *Sextary*, given in our Wine Pint, and its Decimal parts.

So the *Sextary* from a *Mina* = to our *Palm* Pound, = 6840 Grains, will be found to hold 1,122078, &c. of our Wine Pint. And so a *Sextary* from a *Mina* = 7000 Grains, our *Averdupois* Pound, will be found to be 1,148325, &c. of the same. And the *Tariffs* of both these *Sextaries* I give here; that, in either case, the *Attick* Vessels, which the *Table* of them computes by so many *Sextaries*, may be easily expressed in our Pint. For thus the *Chous*, which the *Table* tells us is 6 of them, will be known by that number in the *Tariff*, to contain of our Pints 6,73247 in one case, and 6,88995 in the other. And in like manner, the *Chœnix*, which is, we know, one and a half, or 1,5 of a *Sextary*, will be seen to be either $1,12208 + 0,56104 = 1,68312$, or $1,14832 + 0,57416 = 1,72248$ of the Pint. In the computation of the Pint, I am sensible that I have carried on the Decimals to an extraordinary minuteness; but the last figures here, as in all such *Tables*, are left to be neglected and retrenched at pleasure; and may be useful for larger Concaves consisting of many *Medimni*.

§. V. THE *Attick Sextary* answering to a *Mina* of 6840 Grains, expressed in our Wine Pint.

1	1,12208
2	2,24416
3	3,36623
4	4,48831
5	5,61039
6	6,73247
7	7,85455
8	8,97662
9	10,09870

The *Attick Sextary* answering to a *Mina* of 7000 Grains.

1	1,14832
2	2,29665
3	3,44498
4	4,59330
5	5,74163
6	6,88995
7	8,03828
8	9,18660
9	10,33493

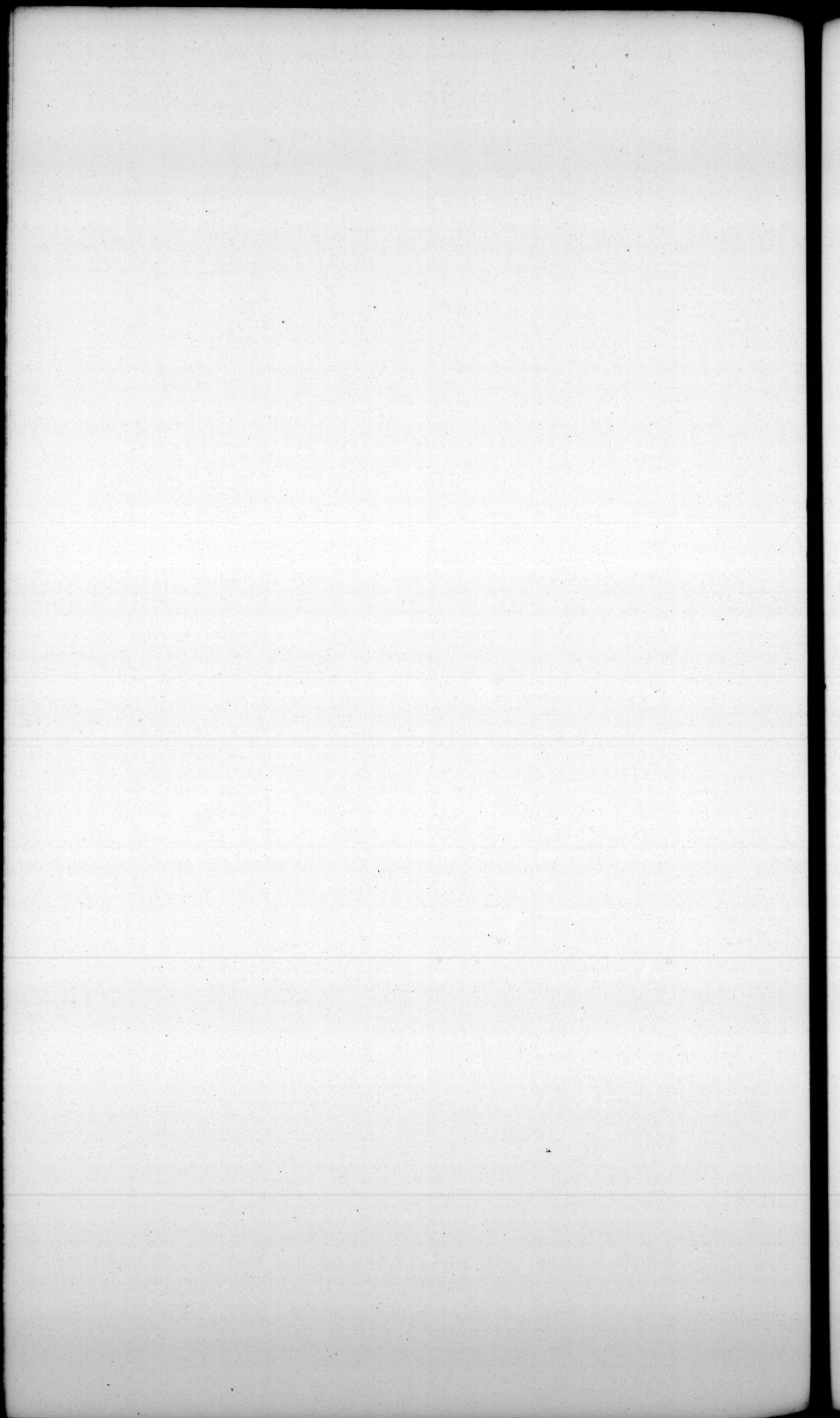
§. VI. AND so I have reckoned these Concave Measures; supposing it not likely, that the Vessels of Capacity, for common use, should have varied from their Standard; though their Coin happened to grow less: And leaving the lesser Concaves for Medicine, to be regulated by

by the ordinary Medicinal *Drachma*'s of the time, in which they are prescribed.

For, as it has been signified above from *Cornelius Celsus*, and will be proved, when we come to the *Roman Denarius*, that both the *Denarius* and the *Drachma*, in that illustrious Age, weighed about 62 Grains and a half; and as his solid Medicines are all dispensed by that Weight; so when *Pliny*, for example, dispenses the liquid Medicines by Measures of Content, and describes those Measures by the Weight of so many *Drachma*'s, he must be understood not of Standard *Drachma*'s, but of such as he uses for the solid ingredients of the composition: This is manifest from the account he himself gives. For, after he has said^a, *Drachma Attica (fere enim Atticâ observatione Medici utuntur) Denarii Argentei habet pondus: Eadem sex Obolos pondere efficit: Obolus X Chalcos*: he adds immediately, *Cyathus pendet per se Drachmas Decem. Cum Acetabuli mensura dicitur, significat Heminae quartam partem, id est, Drachmas XV. Mna, quam nostri Minam vocant, pendet Drachmas Atticas Centum.* And must be presumed to have meant the *Drachmæ* of *Celsus*; such, by which the Greek Physicians of Rome had prescribed before his time^b; and such Vessels, as would answer those *Drachmæ*.

^a *Plinii Hist. Nat. Not. Var. Lugd. Batav. & Roterd. 1669. Lib. XXI. Cap. ultimo.*

^b *Vid. Plin. Lib. XXIX. Cap. I.*



THE THIRD PART.
Of the Old Roman Measures.

CHAP. I.

- §. I. *The Roman Numeration of their As, or Whole, by 12 Parts, or Unciæ; and of their Foot, by Inches; and of their Pound, by Ounces.*
 II. *The Numeration of their Money; their Denarii, and Sestertii.*
 III. *Their Measure of Capacity, the Congius; what relation it has, if filled with Water, to their Measures of Weight and Length.*

§. I. **T**HE Roman Measures of Length, Content and Weight, having a declared relation one to another, cannot be well understood and fixed in particular, without premising something in general concerning them.

Now the *Romans* had this peculiar way of Numeration in all their Accounts; that any Whole one thing, for the easier reckoning of it by Parts, was divided by the partible number 12, not 10: And that the Whole was called the *As*; and the twelfth of it, *Uncia*; from whence are our terms of *Ounces* for Weight, and *Inches* for Length; and that the several numbers of those *Unciæ* between 1 and 12 were denominated as in this *Table*; some expressed by the numbers themselves, the rest, which were aliquots of 12, or formed from them, by their proportion to the *As*.

	<i>Unciæ.</i>		
<i>As</i>	= 12	<i>Semis</i>	= 6
<i>Deunx</i>	= 11	<i>Quincunx</i>	= 5
<i>Dextans</i>	= 10	<i>Triens</i>	= 4
<i>Dodrans</i>	= 9	<i>Quadrans</i>	= 3
<i>Bes</i>	= 8	<i>Sextans</i>	= 2
<i>Septunx</i>	= 7	<i>Uncia</i>	= 1

So the *Roman* Measure of Length, their *Foot*, consisted of 12 Inches: And its parts were of those Denominations.

Their *Pound* also consisted of 12 Ounces. And farther, each Ounce was divided into a $\frac{1}{4}$, the *Sicilicus*; a sixth part, its *Sextula*; and into its 24th part, its *Scrupulum*. But afterwards it was, and from a later conformity to the *Greeks*, (of which hereafter,) that the $\frac{1}{2}$ of the Ounce was called a *Drachma*.

<i>Uncia</i>	1					
<i>Duella</i>	2	1				
<i>Sicilicus</i>	4	2	1			
<i>Sextula</i>	6	3	0	1		
<i>Drachma</i>	8	4	2	0	1	
<i>Scrupulum</i>	24	12	6	0	3	1

§. II. THEIR Money had its *As* too, once a Pound of Brafs. But this *As*, or Integer, was so diminished in time, that it wanted not to be divided into Parts, but to be multiplied into Sums: And when they coined a Silver piece, chusing its Weight so, as to be equivalent to 10 *Asses*, they divided it into lesser Silver pieces, of halves, and quarters. And so the greater was, from its value, called a *Denarius* [*As*]: The half, *Quinarius*: And the quarter, as equivalent to $2 + \frac{1}{2}$ of an *As*, or a number of it terminating in a third half, [a *Semis Tertius*,] was termed a *Sestertius*: And this being the least notable Silver Coin, and which was to begin the Account, appropriated the name of *Nummus*. Now, as the upper Sums of Money were often reckoned by *Denarii*, so were they more usually by the *Sestertii*: And in this manner. They told the *Sestertii* by their numbers, till they came to the Sum of a 1000; and this they called a *Sestertium*: Though they used not the Word to one such single Sum; and begun not with it, till they reckoned two of them. And by these *Sestertia*, or so many thousands of the first *Nummi*, they reckoned their Money; counting by tens, and by hundreds of the *Sestertia*, till they came up exclusive to a thousand *Sestertia*, or a million of the *Sestertii*. But then that Sum of a million they called by a new name, *Decies Sestertiūm*; and 10 millions they called *Centies*; and a 100, *Milles Sestertiūm*; and so in *infinitum*.

The reason of their beginning so again, when they had reckoned once 100000 *Nummi*, was because, as *Pliny* tells us^a, the *Romans* had no name for the next degree in the Decimal Progressions beyond it, which we call a *Million*: Just as the *Greeks* had no name for the degree above 10000; and, instead of saying a hundred thousand, were content to say ten Myriads. And therefore, when the *Romans* went higher in the Decimal Progression, they expressed the next step by *Decies*, and so by *Centies*, &c. And then, for brevity, instead of *Decies Centena millia Nummorum Sestertiūm*, said only *Decies Sestertiūm*, &c. And, according to this analogy, 200, or 300 thousand *Sesterces* might have been expressed by *Bis Sestertiūm*, and *Ter Sestertiūm*, if they had pleased: Though they chose to keep on their other reckoning by either *Sestertia*, or *Sestertii*; as by *Ducena Sestertia*, or by *Ducena millia Sestertiūm*, till they came just up to the next Decimal degree.

^a Hist. Nat. Lib. XXXIII. Cap. 10.

This seems to be a plain easy account of their way of reckoning their upper Sums: But the cause of their counting so many 1000 *Sestertii* by so many *Sestertia* has not been well agreed. It has been said, that they chose to make their first stop at a 1000, as at the well known Decimal degree: And that *Sestertium* in the neuter Gender is the Adjective to *Mille* understood. But other very learned Men have suggested that *Pondo*, or rather *Pondus*, and particularly *Pondus Argenti*, should be meant. Of this opinion is *Gronovius*^a, who cannot allow *Mille* to be a singular Substantive, and whom I at present follow. For my intention here is only to make the manner of the Computation more intelligible; reserving the cause of it to its proper place^b, when we shall have discovered more of its original.

§. III. THEIR chief Concave Measure was the *Congius*: A Vessel equipollent to the Cube of their half Foot; and equiponderant, as such a Cube of Water, to ten of their Pounds.

This Cube of six Inches they divided into *six* Measures, called therefore *Sextarii*; the Water of one of them weighing consequently $\frac{10}{6}$ of a Pound. How this *Congius* is farther distributed, or collected, will appear in the *Table* hereafter.

Thus the relation each kind of Measure, whether of Length, Content, or Weight, has to the other, is known: Namely, that the Length of 6 Inches, put for the Side of a Cube of Water, will form the Capacity of a *Congius*; and the tenth of the Weight of that body of Water will be their Pound or *Libra*. And we may also ascertain thence the Weight of their Money; when we find the *Denarius*, for example, to be any certain part of their Pound; either about the $\frac{2}{6.5}$ of an Ounce, as it sometimes was; or the $\frac{1}{7}$; when we shall have most to do with it.

CHAP. II.

§. I. *The different Determinations of their correspondent Measures. How differently a Denarius, which is the seventh of an Ounce, rises up from the several Modules of Feet remaining. II. How differently it is stated from the same Congius of Vespasian. III. And from the remaining Silver Denarii that ought to be in that proportion. IV. The Equality of the old Roman Ounce and of the modern, asserted by Mr. Greaves from the choicest Denarii, and from the Congius. V. This Assertion confirmed by the Weight of the remaining Jewish Shekels.*

§. I. **W**E are now therefore come, in the next place, to the Determination of those particular Measures; which should

^a De Pecuniâ Vetere, Lib. I. Cap. 10.

^b Chap. IV. §. 7.

seem to be an easy work. For any one of them, whether of Length, Weight, or Capacity, if found, might, one would expect, serve to ascertain the rest. And there are preserved of all the three sorts, Monies of that time, Modules of Feet, and the *Congius* of *Vespasian*; but, when compared, they are not found in their due proportions; not to mention that the several Modules of one sort, as of Coins, and of Feet, do not agree among themselves.

The old *Foot* is taken by *Fabretti* and Dr. *Bernard*^a to be that assigned by *Pætus*, and to which *Gassendus*^b comes very near; that is, 11,64 of our Inches. The Cubick Inches of half that Foot, 5,82 Inches, are 197,1 = to the Content of a *Congius*: And these multiplied by 253,33, (the number of our Grains to a Cube Inch of Water,) produce 49941 Grains, = 10 *Roman Libræ*; and give 4994 Grains for a *Roman Pound*; 416,18 for an Ounce; and for a *Denarius*, = to the $\frac{1}{7}$ of that Ounce, 59,45.

The Module of *Statilius* differs not much from the last; being, as it seems, but the 0,024 of an Inch longer.

The *Cossutian* Module approved by Mr. *Greaves*^c, after a strict examination of what he could discover, for the true old *Roman*, is 11,604 Inches. And the half of this, keeping strictly to the Equality between the Weight of its Cube in Water, and of ten *Roman Pounds*, is 4947,95 Grains for a Pound, 412,33 for an Ounce, and for the $\frac{1}{7}$ th of it, the *Denarius*, 58,904. Mr. *Savot*^d comes a little above this reckoning; and, setting the Ounce at 504 *Paris Grains* = 413,43 of ours, makes the *Consular Denarius* to be 59,06: And accordingly the Foot is 11,6163 Inches, which is about a $\frac{1}{100}$ th of an Inch more than the *Colotian*.

Such different *Pounds* and *Ounces* the remaining Modules of *Feet* produce.

§. II. THE famous Concave Measure, the *Congius* of *Vespasian*, that was made to contain ten Pounds; was, by the Experiments of *Vilalpandus*^e, wherein neither skill was wanting, nor pains or cost spared, found to hold the Weight of ten Pounds, such as are now used in *Rome*, by which the *Consular Denarius* is = $\frac{438}{7}$ Grains; and to answer to the Cube of a larger Foot than any of these Modules, and nearer to ours, one of 11,83998 of our Inches. And *Gassendus*, making his trials upon two Modules of that *Congius*, procured from *Rome* by *Peireskii*^f, raised the Ounce a little higher, and judged it to be 439,52 Grains, instead of 438, the present *Roman*, which makes the *Consular Denarius* = 62,788. Our Mr. *Greaves*^g also, often men-

^a See his Book *de Ponder. & Mensur.* Lib. III. §. 9.

^b In *Vitâ Peireskii*, Lib. II.

^c *Roman Foot and Denar.* p. 32.

^d *Discours sur les Medailles Antiques*, Par. III. Chap. 7. Et vid. *Grævii Thesaur. Antiq. Rom.* Tom. XI. Colum. 1216, 1217.

^e *De Apparatu Urbis ac Templi*, Par. II. Lib. II. Disp. 2. Cap. 11.

^f *Gassendus*, in *Vitâ Peireskii*, Lib. II.

^g *Rom. Foot and Denar.* p. 91, 92.

tioned

tioned, but never to be mentioned without praise, for his knowledge, industry, and truth, being at Rome unprovided with Scales for Weight, and filling the *Congius* with *milium*, found eight times these *Congii*, wanting a half *Congius*, or an *Ampbora*, to contain as much as a Cube he had prepared of the *Cossutian Foot*. And by this proportion, were it precise, of 7,5 to 8 between the *Cossutian* and the *Vespasianick Ampbora*; the *Cossutian Denarius* of 58,904 Grains would give us a *Denarius* from the *Congius* of *Vespasian* = $\frac{8}{7.5}$ of the *Cossutian Denarius* = 62,83 Grains.

§. III. THESE are the several *Pounds* and *Ounces* given us, from the several *Feet* that remain, and from the *Congius* measured as above.

Their Silver Money, the *Denarii*, (many of which remain,) were they of any constant Weight, and known proportion to the Ounce, would determine the other Measures.

But as there is a great number of them, so is there great variety in the Weight; from upwards of 62 Grains to 54, and much under. And of them these three things are observable.

The first is, That in the reign of *Tiberius*, they were seven to the Ounce. This is what *Cornelius Celsus* speaks expressly in these words: *Sed & antea sciri volo, in Unciâ pondus Denariorum septem esse*^a. And that this was esteemed their legal Weight in *Vespasian's* time, appears from *Pliny*^b; where speaking of their being coined sometimes too low, he specifies their due proportion: *Cum sit justum Octoginta quatuor* [Denarios = 7 × 12 Unciis] *è Libris* [12 Unciarum] *signari*.

And secondly, It is certain, that there is no cause from any Author, or from any *Denarii* that have appeared, to suppose they had been higher under *Augustus*, or in the Age before him.

And lastly, It is known, that they fell lower and lower, till they became the 8th of an Ounce, and were 96 of them to the *Libra*.

For *Denarii* therefore, of that proportion to the Ounce, we are to look after their Money, which was coined about our SAVIOUR'S Birth, and a good while before. And by reason of the waste of Silver by use and rust, it will be safest to take those of the highest Weight.

Now, as there are those which are under 60 Grains, and such as will answer the Ounce from the Foot of *Cossutius*; so Dr. *Bernard*^c informs us, upon many trials, that the choice *Denarii* of that Age we speak of are found to weigh not only 61 and a $\frac{1}{2}$, but 62 Grains: telling us also, that there were some of 62 and a $\frac{1}{2}$. And Mr. *Greaves*^d had before assured us, that, among many 100 *Denarii Consulares* he had seen and tried by an exact Balance, the best of them contained 62 Grains *Englisb*: And that an *Aureus* of *Julius Cæsar*, which he

^a Lib. V. Cap. 17.

^b Nat. Hist. Lib. XXXIII. Cap. 9.

^c De Mensur. & Ponder. Lib. II. §. 25.

^d Rom. Foot and Denar. p. 61.

judges to have been coined after the example of the *Darici* for a double *Denarius*, was in weight 124,25 Grains.

And now, if we go by these Experiments of Coins, we have seven times 61, 61½, and 62, to form the Ounce by: Which, if we go no higher, will make it either 427, or 430,5, or 434 Grains: And this last Estimate brings up the old Ounce within four Grains of the modern.

§. IV. So near is the Ounce Weight from this last *Denarius* to the modern of 438 Grains, given by *Villalpandus* from the *Congius*. And the difference of four Grains is easily made up, by supposing the Standard *Denarius* to have been higher, by about half a Grain only: To which advance the *Aureus*, above weighed by Mr. *Greaves*, would contribute a ¼ of a Grain; and the *Consular Denarii*, weighed by Dr. *Bernard*, nearly the full complement. And as to the Ounce from the *Congius* as stated by *Villalpandus*, Mr. *Greaves* the less doubted of it, by reason of the known skill and accuracy of that Observer; and because it was something confirmed by his own, though a gross Observation; and also more by another of *Gassendus* carefully made, which raised it rather higher, as has been said above.

The difference of the several Pounds (those raised from antient Feet, and those found by Experiment in Coins, and from the *Congius*) is very wide: And from hence some learned Men would suppose two sorts of *Roman Pounds*; the greater of which should be the modern *Roman*: Though the agreement in weight of the *Congius* and the *Coins*, would rather put one upon supposing two sorts of Feet; and that, while the Architects and Surveyors measured by the lesser, *Vespasian* framed his *Congius* by the greater; which being nearer to the ⅔ of the *Attick* Cubit, might possibly have been the old one of the *Decem Viri*. But, however that dispute may turn, it cannot but seem reasonable to make the greater Pound, which is formed both from Weight of Coins, and of contained Water, to have been the legal Measure of their Money, and of their Vessels of Capacity. For though, to lessen the Argument that is drawn for the modern Weight, from the old *Denarii*, I see it suggested, that the Minters might have coined them too high: yet it is much more probable to suspect, they might have coined them too low; as has been observed before upon a like occasion.

§. V. BUT, leaving the old *Roman* Measure of Length under that dispute, I shall take occasion from an Assertion, made by Mr. *Greaves* for another purpose, to offer a farther confirmation of that Equality between the old and modern Ounce, by an Argument drawn from the Weight, which I have principally intended to examine.

For he shews by good authority^a, what I think is generally allowed, and of which I am to speak hereafter, that the *Jewish Shekels*

^a *Rom. Foot and Denar. p. 77.*

preserved are equiponderant to half the present *Roman Ounce*: And from thence would be willing to infer, that four *Denarii Consulares* being equal to a *Tetradrachm* of *Athens*; and this given to be equal to a *Shekel*; they also may have been equal to half an *Ounce*. But he had before proved, that one of those *Denarii* was the $\frac{1}{7}$ th, not the $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an *Ounce*; and, besides, that even one of these was as much less than a *Drachma Attica*, as 62 and a $\frac{1}{2}$ was less than 67: And he seems therefore to be much intangled in this inextricable difficulty. However, though the Argument from such a Weight of a *Shekel* will not proceed to prove much, by the way of a *Tetradrachm*, towards the fixing of a *Roman Ounce*; yet I believe it will be immediately convincing, if it shall appear hereafter, (and from Reasons peculiar and independent from any thing now laid down,) when I come to the *Jewish* Coins, that they were in all probability not struck by the *Asmonæan* Princes^a, nor in conformity to the Money of the then antient *Israelites*; but to the Money of the *Romans* at that time their Masters. And, if this observation proves true, the same conclusion will be made from those two fair Silver Coins of *Carthage*, mentioned by him^b out of *Antonius Augustinus*, and weighing little more than half the *Roman Ounce*. For then their Model must not be referred to *Tyre*, but to *Rome*: And, instead of probably giving us the Weight of an *Israelitish Shekel*, they will evidently shew, that the old *Ounce* of *Rome* was not lesser than the present.

For the Reasons mentioned above, and confirmed occasionally by this last, I shall suppose the present *Pound* at *Rome* to be the same with the old.

CHAP. III.

§. I. *The Nummi Sestertii of the Classical Age, expressed in our Money: with a Recapitulation of the manner of their Enumeration.* II. *The Roman Denarii, and the Attick Drachma of that time, equal to the 7th of an Ounce.* III. *They both came to be the 8th: Whence that aliquot of the Ounce had the name of Drachma. The Value of any Sum of such Sesterces given in Our Money.* IV. *The constant Equality of the Denarius and the Attick Drachma kept up, from the first Coining of the Denarius thorough all their successive diminutions.*

§. I. **I** Proceed therefore upon this hypothesis, That the Silver Money, and stated Measures of Capacity were regulated by an old *Pound* equal to the modern; and fix the old *Roman Ounce*, which obtained when they coined Silver, at 438 Grains; and conse-

^a Part IV. Chap. 4. §. 3.

^b *Rom. Foot and Denar.* p. 77.

Centies Millies
Decies Millies
Millies
Centies
Decies
Centum
Decem
Duo, Triā, &c.
Centum
Decem
Unus, Duo, &c.

} *Nummum*
 } *Sestertium*
 } *Sestertia*
 } *Sestertii.*

The *Sestertii* of
 eight *Denarii* to the
 Ounce.

1	0	0	0	7	3	6	6	5	3	6	4
2	0	0	1	4	7	3	3	0	7	2	9
3	0	0	2	2	0	9	9	6	0	9	4
4	0	0	2	9	4	6	6	1	4	5	8
5	0	0	3	6	8	3	2	6	8	2	3
6	0	0	4	4	1	9	9	2	1	8	7
7	0	0	5	1	5	6	5	7	5	5	2
8	0	0	5	8	9	3	2	2	9	1	7
9	0	0	6	6	2	9	8	8	2	8	1

The Sums of these *Sestertii*, belonging to that noble Age of the *Roman* Commonwealth and Empire, occur often in their Writers, and very frequently in *Tully*; and, in order to apply them to this *Table* of their Values, the way of their Numeration, which is premised briefly in the First Chapter, that by *Sestertii*, *Sestertia*, and *Decies*, &c. is to be readily and distinctly remembered.

I therefore here give it again, as it is correctly laid out in *Scioppius's Tables* by *Gronovius*², who had before accurately examined the whole Phraeseology, especially in the Second Book.

First, The *Nummi Sestertii*, when they are simply mentioned, are to be plainly taken as they are reckoned by their numbers, 2 *Sestertii*, 3, 4, &c. *Centum*, *Ducenti*, &c.

And when they come up to be a 1000, they are either reckoned on by so many 1000s, (until they come to a million,) in this manner, *Duo, Tria, &c. Millia Nummum*; or *Duo, Tria, &c. Millia Sestertium*, in the Genitive, the Substantive *Corpora* understood, says *Gronovius*: Or else, in a new second manner, the 1000s of them are expressed by so many *Sestertia*, (so many *Pondera Argenti* being now

a De Pecun. Veter. Edit. Lugd. Bat. 1691. pag. 403, &c.

to be understood,) as *Duo*, *Tria*, &c. *Sestertia* (*Sestertia*, I say, for *Unum* is never said) exclusively, till the account arises to the Sum of a 1000 *Sestertia*, as in this reckoning; or to *Decies Centena Millia Sestertiūm*, as in the first manner of reckoning. And all the while the account is by *Sestertia*, they are sometimes not mentioned expressly, but understood by the number; as when *Quadráginta* alone serves to signify *Quadráginta Sestertia*.

And, lastly, in a third manner: When the Sum of the *Sestertii* comes to be so large, as to amount to a millon of them; that is, in the first common manner of phrase, to *Decies Centena Millia Nummūm* or *Sestertiūm*, or in the analogy of the second manner, to *Mille Sestertia*; the Expression of such Sums is then made by abbreviation, and, leaving out the *Centies Millia*, it runs so, *Decies*, *Undecies*, *Duodecies*, &c. And, for the next higher degree, *Centies*, *Ducenties*, *Trecenties*, &c. in *infinitum*; sometimes in the Genitive *Nummūm Sestertiūm*, and sometimes without.

§. II. IN this *Table*, the reader may perceive that 4 of these *Nummi Sestertii*, or a *Denarius* of 7 to the Ounce, are put at the very same Value, at which one of the *Attick Drachma's* was set above for the same. And this Equality of them is founded upon the same authorities, which have now given us the Weight of this *Denarius*. For not only *Pliny*^a tells us, that *Drachma Attica Denarii Argentei habet pondus*^b, but *Celsus* before him very distinctly expresses it, when, after he had first said these words, *Sed & antea sciri volo, in Unciā pondus Denariorum septem esse*, he adds, *Unius deinde Denarii pondus dividi à me in sex partes, id est, sex Uncias, ut idem in Unciā Denarii habeam, quod Græci habent in eo, quem ὀβολὸν appellant. Id autem ad nostra pondera relatum paulò plus dimidio scrupulo facit*. And so is $\frac{1}{6 \times 7}$ or $\frac{1}{42}$ of the Ounce, a little more than $\frac{1}{1 \times 24}$ or $\frac{1}{24}$. And here we may be assured, by the difference he cautelously confesses about the *Obolus*, that he gives the Equality of a *Drachma* to be exact, and wanting no allowance.

§. III. SUCH was the Weight both of the *Attick Drachma*, and *Roman Denarius*, at that time. But not long after, the *Denarius* is known to have sunk much, and in some time to have fallen from the $\frac{1}{7}$ th to the $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an Ounce; and from thenceforth, and for a good while, to have had that for its stated Weight. And, for this reason, I have given another *Table* for the Value of these *Denarii*: And it differs very little from the *Abacus* of *Gassendus*; and no more than is caused by the little excess of his Ounce: But brings the whole into a narrower view.

It is obvious to imagine, that the *Grecian Drachma*, which had concurred so long with the *Denarius* of *Rome* at the $\frac{1}{7}$ th of an Ounce,

^a *Plin. Hist. Nat. Lib. XXI. Cap. 34.*

^b *Cels. de Medicinâ, Lib. V. Cap. 17.*

should have kept it company in its fall; and the *Attick* Coin complied in duty with the *Roman*. And in this opinion one may be confirmed by the name of *Drachma*, which has since been put to signify the $\frac{1}{8}$ th of an Ounce, from the time the *Denarius* was regularly of that Weight; whereas before, that aliquot of an Ounce had no proper name, and must have been signified in *Latin* by the half of a *Sicilicus*.

Now from hence it manifestly appears, that this *Table* of *Denarii* of 8 to the Ounce, such as *Gassendus's* is, is proper to this later Age, and cannot be applied to the time of the first *Cæsars*, or of the *Consuls* a good while before, without notable error. And it is likewise evident to a demonstration, that, during all this specified time of the concurrence in Weight of the *Attick Drachmæ* and *Roman Denarii*, any Sum of the *Denarii* must have answered the same Sum of *Drachmæ*; but that the Valuation of the Sum was to be taken, according to the time of which it was spoken. For so, for example, the Present made by *Augustus* to *Pollio*^a, an *Attick-Hater*, of 24 *Sestertia*, = 24000 *Nummi Sestertii*, = 6000 *Denarii*, and therefore equal to 6000 *Attick Drachmæ*, or an *Attick Talent*, would have been as exactly equal to a *Talent*, if made in *Severus's* time, 200 years after. But then it would have been of a different Value, and less by one in eight: And in one case to be reckoned by the second *Table*, at 176,79687 of our Money; but in the other, and as given to *Pollio*, at 202,05357, by the first *Table*.

This Hypothesis of the concurrence of those two Coins in their fall from the $\frac{1}{8}$ th to the $\frac{1}{4}$ th of the Ounce, clears at once all the difficulties that have risen in the parallelisms made between them by *Greek* Authors; and wherein some one constant sort of *Drachmæ* has been supposed always to have answered to some one constant sort of the *Denarii*; as if the *Drachma* and the *Denarius*^b had never varied; and where the parity used to be salved by the remedy of Exchanges, and by larger allowances than would have been given, had they not been more necessary than reasonable.

§. IV. Now this concurrence, which certainly took place in the Age before our SAVIOUR, may be well presumed to have begun earlier, and when the Coins might have been of greater Weight: Because we then find them to be reckoned equal, not only by the *Greek* Authors of *Roman* History, but by *Livy* himself; who reckon them so in the redemption of the *Roman* Captives by the *Achæans* in the year before our LORD 194; where $120 \times 500 = 60000$ *Denarii* are counted equal to 10 *Talents* = 60000 *Drachmæ*. Nay, it may prove very probable, that the first *Denarii* in Silver were coined at a *Par* with the *Drachmæ* in the year before CHRIST 269: Of which in the next Chapter. And then, if, according to what is there said, we

^a *M. Annæi Senec. Controver. Lib. V. Controver. 34.*

^b *Rom. Foot and Denar. p. 78, 81, 129, &c.*

set the first *Denarii* at 65,5 Grains; the *Drachmæ*, in the *Attick Tables* of that Weight, will give us their Value in our Money. And as to the *Sesterces* of those days, which will not be of frequent use, they may be easily had, by reducing them to their *Denarii*.

C H A P. IV.

§. I. *The design of this Chapter, to confirm what has been said of the Roman and Attick Money; and of the following, to clear the Attick Ounce and Litra.* II. *The passage of Galen, from whence it appears, (1) that the Attick Drachmæ had fell equally with the Denarii, from the seventh to the eighth of the Ounce.* III. *That (2) the Grecians had begun to measure their Money and Weight by the Ounce of Rome.* IV. *That (3) some time after, the word Drachma came to signify the eighth of that Ounce.* V. *That (4) a Roman Libra was then held to be $\frac{3}{4}$ of an Attick Mina. The same proportion held of old between the Libra and the Attick and Egyptian Mina. The state of the Attick according to this proportion.* VI. *A Nummery Libra of the Romans reckoning a 100 Denarii there was of old, like to the Attick Mina; and therefore probably equal to it, from the first Coinage of the Silver Money.* VII. *From this last supposition the Value of Brass to Silver at that time stated. A Conjecture offered, that the peculiar Numeration of Sesterces by those three degrees, (Chap. I. §. 2. and Chap. III. §. 1.) began from the proportion of Brass to Silver and Gold, when Brass Money was in use.*

§. I. **W**HAT has been hitherto said may have given some notion of the *Attick* and *Roman* Monies, which are mentioned in antient Authors, but not so clear from doubts and objections, as not to want either farther explication or confirmation.

For from the *Roman* Drachmal Weight, which was the $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the Ounce, it has been collected, that neither the *Drachma Attica*, nor the *Denarii*, always mentioned as equal, had been of any higher. And this mistake has been farther countenanced by the expressions of later *Greek* Computists, who speak the *Attick Tetradrachms*, *Didrachms* and *Drachma's*, to be the halves, quarters, and eighths of an Ounce. And then, when it grew manifest that the *Attick* and *Roman* Coins differed, not only from the octave of a *Roman* Ounce, but from one another; and that, for example, not only the best *Denarii* were found of 62 Grains and a half, instead of 54,75, but the best *Drachmæ Atticæ* at 67; a new difficulty arose, how to preserve the Equality, which is all along supposed between those Coins of the two Cities,

Cities, and which in the great Classical Age was exact, as we have now seen.

For the salving of this difference between a *Denarius* of 62,5 and a *Drachma* of 67, Mr. Greaves, as others in the like case, supposes the Equality to have been only an Equivalence, such as is allowed to foreign Money upon Exchange. But it being certain that this Equality is given out not only by *Roman* Authors, writing to those of that City, but by the *Greeks*, writing for the information of their own Country; the consideration of such an allowance could have no place there. And it being, besides, unreasonable, if such a reconciliation could be admitted for 4 Grains, to extend it to the twelve Grains by which the *Attick* Coin exceeds the *Drachmal* Weight: I have the rather thought fit to suppose that the Equiponderance, which certainly was between them, for an Age at least before our SAVIOUR, when they were the seventh of an Ounce, continued still between them, till they both sunk to an $\frac{1}{8}$ th; and that they remained of that Weight for some time, till it gained the name of *Drachma*: and, moreover, to conjecture that this Equality, which held on in their successive diminution, had been appointed at the Coining of the first *Denarius*, at whatever height it began.

This Hypothesis, though not improbable upon its first proposal, I shall endeavour to make out by some farther Considerations in this Chapter, such as will not only illustrate the Classical Computation above given, but will prepare us to understand, in the next Chapter, the meaning of the later *Greek* Computists, who positively assign 8 *Attick Drachma's* to an Ounce, and whose Phrase does not only help to perplex our present Subject, but will be urged also against us hereafter, when we come to settle the Money of the *Jews*.

§. II. To the Observations we are to make, the much cited place of *Galen*^a, *De Composit. Medicament. secundum gen. Lib. IV.* will aptly lead us. He there comparing the quantities of some Druggs, that were prescribed by one Physician in *Mina's*, and by another in *Drachma's*, takes notice of the great disagreement there was, in the account of those Measures, between the Authors that had wrote expressly upon that Subject. And he says first, as to the weight of a *Mina*, that some reckoned it at 16 Ounces, and some at 20; and that some determinately spoke the *Alexandrian* to be 20, and the *Other* 16. And then he adds, concerning the counting of a *Mina* by *Drachma's*, that there were those who made a *Mina* to be a 100 *Drachma's*; and some that made it more. For, says he, most of those Writers make an *Ounce* to consist of seven *Drachma's* and a half; and some of them make it only 7; and some 8.

^a Edit. Basil. Gr. Tom. II. p. 380. Διαφωνήσονται ὅτις πρὸς τῶν σταδίων καὶ μέτρων γράψασιν, ὅπως ἐστὶν ὁ πρὸς Μνᾶς σταδίων· οἷον μὲν ἑκαταίδεκα σταδίων ὕψους εἶναι τὴν Μνᾶν, οἷον δὲ ὅτις οἷον δὲ ὁ διοφύλακτος, καὶ τὸ μὲν Ἀλεξ. ἀποδείκνυσι εἶναι φασκόντων εἶναι ὕψους, πάλιν δὲ ἄλλοι ἑκαταίδεκα. — Ἀλλὰ τὸ ὅτι ὁ σταδίων ἀναγινώσκων τὴν Μνᾶν, ὅτις οἱ φασκόντες εἶναι σταδίων, οἷον δὲ πλείονων· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν ὕψους οἱ πλείονες μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ὅτις ὁ σταδίων ἀναγινώσκων εἶναι φασκόντες· οἷον δὲ μῆτροι· ὅτις δὲ ὅτις.

§. III. By this time, it seems the *Grecian* Subjects of the *Roman* Empire had begun to take the *Roman* Ounce for the common Standard, by which they expressed their own several Weights, that they might be more certainly, as well as universally understood. And here, as to the *Attick Drachma*, (the *Drachma*, we know, of Physicians,) we have an account of the same gradual falling of its Weight from *Pompey's* time to the second *Antonine*, as is owned to have happened to the *Denarius*. For the *Drachmæ*, we know, of seven to an Ounce, are the *Denarii* of *Celsus*; those of eight are, we see, the *Denarii* of *Galen's* Age; and those of 7 and a $\frac{1}{2}$, the *Denarii* of some part of the interval between *Augustus* and *Marcus Aurelius*.

As yet the name of *Drachm* does not appear to have signified any certain Weight of a *Roman* Ounce, the half *Sicilicus*, as we shall find it did some time after.

And, to this purpose, it may be observed here from *Galen*, that as the *Greek Drachma's*, whether varying by time or place, were adjusted by the Ounces of *Rome*; so were also the standard *Mina's* of several places. For so the *Alexandrian Mina* is accounted here by 20 Ounces.

And now, whereas every *Grecian Mina* was supposed to consist of a 100 *Drachma's*, whatsoever they were; this standard *Mina* of *Athens*, for example, consisting of 16 *Roman* Ounces, contained sixteen times as many *Drachma's*, as were numbered to the Ounce, were they greater or lesser, that is, was equal to 16×7 *Drachma's*, or to $16 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, or to 16×8 , according as the *Roman Libra* itself was = 12×7 , or $12 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$, or 12×8 of them.

§. IV. THIS is what *Galen* says, nor does the word *Drachma* appear as yet to signify peculiarly the $\frac{1}{8}$ th of a *Roman* Ounce. But that usage of the word seems plainly to have been established, when the first *Fragment* of those ascribed to *Galen* was wrote. * It says, the *Attick*, and the *Egyptian Mina*, consists of 16 Ounces. The *Alexandrian Mina* is 20 Ounces. A *Litra* is 12 Ounces: And an Ounce is 8 *Drachmæ*. And here I have put the *Alexandrian Mina* for the *Roman*, which is read in the *Greek*; not only because this number of Ounces is given by *Galen* himself to the *Alexandrian Mina*; but because it is enormous in a *Roman Libra*; and because this *Libra* is expressly mentioned after under its proper *Greek* name, the *Litra*, which is said duly to be of 12 Ounces: Not to add, that the word *Mina* would be very strangely spoke of a *Roman* Pound; but is regularly of the *Alexandrian*. And now, after this necessary Correction of the Reading, it is manifest, that the *Fragment* ascribed to *Galen* does, as *Galen* did, measure the *Attick* and *Alexandrian Mina* by Ounces of the *Roman Libra*; and that it measures this *Roman* Ounce

* Tom. IV. pag. 466. Η Μνᾶ ἡ Ἀττικὴ, καὶ ἡ Αἰγυπτιακή, ἔχει ὀνκίας 16. Η Μνᾶ ἡ Ἀλεξανδρινὴ ἔχει ὀνκίας 20. Η Λίτρα ἔχει ὀνκίας 12. Η δὲ ὀνκία διαιρεται εἰς 8.

by 8 *Drachmæ*, a number of them which was reckoned by some to that Ounce in *Galen's* time, but now was the ordinary number of its parts; and also, that this 8th part of the Ounce was now ordinarily called a *Drachma*.

Thus was the $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *Roman* Ounce become, at that time, to be the determinate signification of the word *Drachma* with the *Greeks*. But this word will be found, before the time of *Constantine*, to stand with them for the $\frac{1}{8}$, not of a *Roman*, but a new *Grecian* Ounce (to be spoken of in the next Chapter): And so as to resume its old signification, and be again the $\frac{1}{100}$ of a *Mina*.

I have supposed here, that the other *Mina*, that of 16 Ounces mentioned by *Galen*, is the *Attick*; not only because it is so expressly determined in the *Fragment*, but because the Other *Mina*, spoke of there in contradistinction to the *Alexandrian*, could be no other than the *Attick*, the most famous *Mina* among the Physicians, and least needing a specification. So that upon these grounds I might venture to say, that in all probability the word $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota$ is got there into the place of $\alpha\tau\tau\iota\kappa\iota\omega$ by the error of some Transcriber; just as in the *Fragment* now mentioned, the *Mina* of 20 Ounces is put to be the *Roman* instead of the *Alexandrian*.

But this Reading, I substitute in *Galen*, will be fully confirmed by a consideration that is as convenient for the right understanding of the Classical Ages, as it will be necessary to that to which I am now going.

§. V. FOR another thing to be observed from this passage of *Galen* is the proportion there supposed, as commonly received, between the *Roman Libra* and standing *Attick Mina*, of 12 Ounces to 16, or of 3 to 4. And this is a remark, which will be necessary to the next Chapter, and serviceable to the understanding of some antient, as well as modern Computations.

It is true indeed, that the proportion holds not precisely between the *Roman Libra*, I have fixed, and the Hydrostatick *Mina*, I have advanced. For by it a *Libra* of 5256 Grains will require a *Mina* of 7008 Grains, which is the *Mina Romana Medicorum*, and may pass for our *Averdupois* Pound of 7000; but exceeds the *Ratel* of *Cairo* by 122 Grains, and our other *Mina*, that bears the name of the *Attick Mina*, by yet more. But it may be considered, that this *Palm Pound*, which has been raised by me from very accurate Experiments, and of our own Water, is designed for a Hydrostatick *Mina*, which should approach near to the old *Attick*, and by which we might be guided, not rigorously bound. And possibly the *Phœnicians*, or *Egyptians*, if we suppose them to have used Water equiponderating to ours, might have set their *Mina* at first a little higher than I have, and fixed it upon a less accurate Experiment of the Weight of Water; taking it unawares by the Cube of a *Palm*, which differs from the right Length by less than $\frac{3}{100}$ of an Inch. Or else, and this too

is possible, the *Attick Palm* may not have been exactly equal to ours, but have exceeded it by one in the hundred, as hath been intimated above^a.

However the *Roman Libra* may be stated, this is certain, the $\frac{4}{3}$ of it is said in the *Fragments* to be the *Egyptian*, as well as the *Attick Mina*. And we are further assured, that this was the *Mina* of *Egypt*, of *Memphis*, I will suppose, long before the Age of that *Fragment*: *Pliny* telling us^b out of *Varro*, that the *Talent* of that Country, that is, 60 of it's *Mina*'s, was = 80 *Pondo* [*Roman Pounds*].

And, to go higher yet, it is farther observable, that this is the same *Mina*, by which *Antiochus* was ordered to pay his Annual Tribute, as *Livy* expressly says^c, and in all probability very truly. For though *Polybius*^d mentions not an *Attick Talent*, but only a *Talent* of *Attick Money*, as is objected^e; yet it is hard to think he was not understood by *Livy*. And indeed no other *Talent* can be surmised, except we suppose the *Romans* erected a new one by this Treaty. And it is much more natural to imagine that, as they intended to be paid in the *Attick*, the finest Money; so they should ascertain the quantity, not in a new arbitrary way, but in the strictest reckoning of the Place; and which the *Egyptians*, it may be, had retained, though the *Athenians*, by this time, had varied a little from it.

I have enlarged upon this Subject, not so much to justify the accurate Equality of 16 *Roman Ounces* to an *Attick Mina*; (for a grosser would have sufficed for explaining this place of *Galen*;) but rather to observe, for another occasion, that a *Mina*, near that of *Cairo*, was of no late date in *Egypt*, and was held so early to be the *Mina* of *Athens*.

And of this Hydrostatick *Mina* of *Athens* I have taken so much notice above, as to give a *Table* of it in our Money; not so much upon the account of this Pension of *Antiochus*, as because the old *Phœnicians* may be thought hereafter to have reckoned by the same standard.

§. VI. AND before I go from the *Libra*, I shall only instance in a very remarkable Correspondence between that and the *Attica Mina*, which will give a clearer light to the compared Calculation of their Money, as it is laid down in the precedent Chapter. And it is, that there was with the *Romans*, in their Account of their Money, a *Libra Argenti* very different from the Ponderal one, and which consisted of 100 *Denarii*, just as the *Attick Mina* did of *Drachmæ*. This way of reckoning a *Libra* is allowed by *Gronovius*^f, and wants no other confirmation than that produced by him out of *Livy*, (Lib. XXII.) where 250 *Drachma*'s are expressed in *Latin* by *Argenti Pondo bina & Selibras*.

^a Part II. Chap. I. §. 6.

^b Nat. Hist. Lib. XXXIII. Cap. 3.

^d *Excerpt. de Petros. cum Notis Fulv. Ursini*, §. 35.

^e *Gronov. de Pecun. Veter.* p. 138.

^c Lib. XXXVIII. Cap. 38.

^f *De Pecun. Veter.* Lib. I. Cap. 4.

And

And this is indeed very easy to conceive. For the old *Romans* undoubtedly, in their common Arithmetick, counted, as all their Neighbours did, by the Decimal degrees; and when they took in the Silver *Denarius* to represent 10 pound of Brass, they reckoned, we know, from this Unit by Tens, Hundreds, &c. And, by this means, they fell so far in with the common reckoning of *Greece*, as to have their *Denarii* for a sort of *Drachmæ*, and a 100 of them for a *Mina*. Such a *Libra Nummaria* of a 100 *Denarii* the *Romans* certainly had, and in prospect of it, we may suppose that they chose such a piece of Silver, as should come fitly into the rank of their Decimals, and that for this reason, as *Pliny* expresses it, *Placuit Denarius pro 10 Libris Æris*.

Had this Correspondence went no farther, than to reckon the Silver Money of the *Romans* by hundreds of whatever Weight they were, and to call them *Libræ*; a 100 *Denarii* representing one Nummary *Libra* of Silver, or a 1000 *Libræ Æris*; one *Libra Sestertia Argenti* would have represented a 1000 *Libras Sestertias Æris*, of which *Sestertia Libræ* a 1000 *Nummi Sestertii* were the representatives. And consequently, when the reckoning of *Nummi Sestertii* came up to thousands, they would be aptly expressed by so many Metonymical *Libræ*, or *Pondera Argenti*, as *Gronovius* has observed.

This computatory expression of an *Argenti Libra* might, I say, have been so taken up for a thousand *Sestertii*, from their similitude to a *Mina* in a like reckoning of hundreds; but much more aptly was it, when the *Denarii* and *Drachmæ* were not only like, but of the same Weight; and this Centenary *Libra* was really equiponderant to the *Mina*. And for this reason, the continual Equiponderance (before observed) of those two Coins, when they were at 7 to the Ounce, and while they fell to 8, may be more easily allowed.

And now upon this reason, we may farther proceed to think that the same Equiponderance between those concurring Coins, which has been presumed for an Age before our SAVIOUR, and which we may likewise judge to have been 200 years before our LORD, had took place not long before that time, in the year 269, and been then settled at the first appointment of the *Denarii*.

§. VII. WITHOUT precisely considering what the Weight of the first *Denarius* was, and only supposing that it was put to answer ten pound of Copper, we have already had a reason from *Gronovius*, for that change of denomination of the *Sesterces*, after a 1000, into *Sestertia*. But for the other change, after a 100 *Sestertia*, or 100,000 *Sestertii*, no other cause is assigned, but the Custom of the *Roman* Arithmetick, which stopped at that Sum, and, when the next degree was to be named, expressed it by ten times the former: This Custom, I suppose, proceeding from the first Tax of their Estates, made by *Servius Tullius*, where the highest value, and by which the Senators were distinguished, rose not above 100,000 *Libræ Æris*.

But if we suppose those first *Denarii* struck equal to the *Attick Drachma*, as it was just after the Death of *Pyrrhus*, the Invader of *Italy*, and set them a little under 67 Grains, the Weight of a *Drachma*, about the time of his Cousin *Alexander* the Great; we then have 6 and a half of those *Denarii* to the Ounce, and 78 to the Pound of *Rome*, or 6 and $\frac{3}{4}$ to the one, and 81 to the other. And consequently, supposing this *Denarius* to have been equivalent to *Denæ Libræ Æris*, the value of Silver to Brass must, at that time, have been in that place, as 780 or 810 to one.

This, upon that supposition, must then have been the price of Brass in Silver, by reason of the great scarcity of that Metal in the younger and poorer days of the City. And to the great plenty of it, that afterwards came in, we are, I believe, in great measure to ascribe the reduction, which *Pliny* tells was made some years after, of an *As* of Brass to two Ounces, that is, of ten Pounds to 20 Ounces of it, to which the Silver *Denarii* were by that time grown nearly equivalent.

The high value of Silver, when the first *Denarii* were coined, may lead one to think that it was higher yet in elder times, in the Age of the *Decemviri*; and that under the Kings, at least, it might have been as 1000 to 1. And this I observe, because hence we may probably guess at another reason, heretofore sought after; why a 1000 and a 100,000 are such notable Sums in the *Roman* reckoning of the *Nummi Sestertii*.

For we have taken leave^a to suppose, that in the *East* 6000 Ponderal *Drachmæ*, or a *Talent* of Brass, might have given that name to its equivalent in Gold, the 1000th of its Weight in Gold; Gold being then at 10 times the value of Silver, and Silver supposed at 100 times the value of Brass. And here, in like manner, if we suppose Brass at *Rome* to have been to Silver as a 1000 to 1, (and this did not seem unreasonable to *Gronovius*^b, nor will, I presume, to any who considers what has been said above in this Chapter,) a 1000 pound of Brass must have been the first notable Sum, as being the value of a single *Libra* of Silver. And so, if Gold was then so very rare in regard of Silver, as to be a 100 to 1, (and that Gold was then a great rarity *Pliny* has informed us^c;) the value of a Pound of it, a 100,000 *Libræ Æris*, might have been the next and last notable Sum in the *Roman* Account of their *Æs Grave*, as it was, we know, the highest Estate, in the Taxation of their first *Census*^d.

So might the Sum one thousand of Copper *Libræ*, as represented by one *Libra* or *Pondus* of Silver, have become an unity, by which the upper 1000s were to be reckoned, until they rose to a 100,000 *Pondera* of Copper, or a 100 of Silver, both Sums represented by one *Pondus* of Gold; and then the higher Decimal degrees have been

^a Part II. Chap. I. §. 3.

^b De Pecun. Veter. p. 177.

^c Lib. XXXIII. Cap. 1.

^d Livy, Lib. I.

reckoned

reckoned from this second Sum, as another Unity, by Tens, Hundreds, &c. of it; and this done for distinction by the Adverbs *Decies*, *Centies*, &c.

So, I say, might the Computation of their Brass Money have proceeded at first, and remained unaltered, notwithstanding the successive alterations of the price of Brass, in Gold or Silver. And thence might it, I presume, have been transferred to the Silver Money; (according to what has been said in the last Section;) and in like manner have continued to that, in all its alterations.

For though I find it much disputed by *Gronovius*^a against *Hotoman*, whether there were *Denarii* and *Sestertii* Pieces of Brass stamped for Publick use before the Silver were coined; (and *Hotoman*'s authority may not certainly prove they were;) yet is not the thing improbable. For as it is certain that the *Romans* reckoned by the Decimal Progression, so it is plain that, among the several numbers of Pounds, a Piece of Ten must have been most remarkable, as being the first Decimal, and not quite too heavy to pass from hand to hand; and also that, to ease their passage, they may fairly be supposed to have been distributed by halves and quarters, the readiest partitions, of which the lowest was a *Sestertius*: whereas, had the partition begun from a Silver *Denarius*, a new *Drachma*, it had more probably been made into *Oboli*. Neither can there be any reason given, why the *Romans* should make their Money Account by *Sestertii*, the quarters of their little new Piece, and not by the whole, as all *Greece* then did.

For these reasons, I am apt to think that the *Roman* way of Account began first in the *Sestertii Nummi* of Brass, and was applied afterwards to their Silver Coin. And if we suppose it to have been first regulated by those proportions I now mentioned, we then have a clear reason to assign why, after a 1000 *Sestertii*, a new reckoning by *Sestertia* began; and likewise why their new reckoning ended at a 100 *Sestertia*, which might as well have been carried on to a 1000, &c. and very properly expressed in *Sestertii* by *Millies*, *Decies Millies*, &c.

But I am sensible, that I am gone too far in my Conjectures upon the antient way of this *Roman* Reckoning; and that my Design rather requires me to explain that new one, taken up from the *Romans* by the *Greeks*, in which the *Jewish* Weights happen to be expressed by later Authors; and by the mistake of which, the old *Attick* and the *Jewish* Money have been much depreciated.

^a De Pecun. Veter. p. 239, 241.

C H A P. V.

§. I. *Difficulties from the ambiguous acception of the words Drachmæ and Unciæ.* II. *The Grecians, and especially the Athenians, had in later times their Litræ, as well as Minæ; and reckoned 8 of their own Drachmæ to their Οἰνία, and 12 of their Οἰνία to the Λίτρα.* III. *Such an Attick Libra proved from Fannius.* IV. *Such are the Litræ, Unciæ, and Drachmæ spoke of in later Greek Authors about Measures.* V. *The Roman Denarius was, by this time, risen near to the Weight of the old Attick Drachma. This Drachma then called a Δράχμη: And the summing of it up to 96 was termed Litrisimus; and to a 100, Argyrisimus.*

§. I. **I**T has been intimated in the beginning of the last Chapter, that the ambiguous acception of the word *Drachma* for an *Attick Coin*, and a *Roman Weight*, has occasioned much mistake about the Moneys of both Cities; and some late *Greek Authors* concerning *Measures*, and other Writers with whom we shall have to do hereafter, have appeared to have confirmed the unaccountable opinion of the Equality between those *Drachma's*, by their positive express Assertions, that the *Attick Tetradrachm* was the half of an *Ounce*, the *Didrachma*, a quarter, &c.

These Assertions not being reconcileable, as I have said, by the ordinary suppositions, to the Weight to which Mr. *Greaves* had advanced the Coins, put him to a stand^a: And upon it he is reduced, either to question the authority of those alledged Writings, which he seems very inclinable to do, or to propose as possible, that an *Attick Ounce* was there set up by the Computists, and of their own invention.

To suspect those *Fragments* of falsity, that go under the Names of *Dioscorides* and *Cleopatra*, would be hard; being backed, as they are, by other Writers concerning *Measures*, and especially by *Epiphanius* and St. *Jerom*^b; for whose sake I enter upon this Consideration; and the truth of whose Sayings, I am not to suspect, but am preparing to explain.

But the other Proposal he makes, by way of *Quære*, Whether those Writers are not to be understood of an *Attick Ounce*, instead of the *Roman*? if it be admitted to be true, intirely removes all difficulties. And it may, if I mistake not, be sufficiently proved, that such an Ounce was meant by them, and that they took it up from Publick use.

^a *Rom. Foot and Denar. p. 78, &c.*

^b *Vid. Part. IV. Cap. 2. §. 5, 6.*

For it has appeared already, that the old *Romans*, in the minority of their Estate, had thought fit, in some kind, to imitate the Measures of *Athens*, a City at that time in great regard: And it is to be expected, the *Grecians*, in their turn, should shew the like respect to the *Romans*, when they came under their dominion.

§. II. ACCORDINGLY, the *Sextary*, the *sixth* of a *Roman Congius*, was so far imitated by the *Grecians*, that every City, as *Galen* tells us^a, had a Vessel of that name; of unequal measure, he says; as it must have been, where the *xŷs*, the Sextuple of it, was different. And, in like manner, that the *Athenians* formed to themselves out of their *Mina* a *Libra* [or a *Litra*] of 96 *Drachma's*, and an Ounce of 8, (as Mr. *Greaves* had suspected,) I am now going to shew.

We may know from the *Saracenick* Reckoning, in the *East*, by *Ratels*, and the twelfth part of them, Ounces, what the *Greeks*, their predecessors in *Egypt* and *Syria*, had done.

Now there, in the extremity of the *Roman* Empire, it is plain, that the division of every Pound was Duodecimal, and that such a part bore the name of an Ounce. And so the *Cairo* Pound, which, as we have seen, is the very *Attick Mina*, has its twelve Ounces.

So far the remotest *Grecian* Countries conformed to the *Roman* division into Ounces. But the *Athenians*, if not other near neighbours, carried the imitation so far, as to divide their Ounce into eight parts, just as the *Romans* had some time done, and under the name of *Drachma's*. And, for the easier management of this Account, they divided not their 100 *Drachma's* into 12 Ounces, but a 100 lacking 4: By which means, in perfect conformity to the old *Roman* division, and to the later of the Ounce into 8ths, they had a *Litra* of their own, wanting but little of their *Mina*; and consisting of 96 of their own *Drachma's*, such as were not the $\frac{1}{96}$ of the *Roman*, but of the *Attick* Pound.

That this sort of Reckoning took place in the *Attick Mina* before *Constantine's* time, appears by *Fannius*, who is affirmed by *Vossius* to have lived under that Emperor.

This elegant Writer, after he had said, that, in the account of Physicians, 8 *Drachma's* make an Ounce, 12 Ounces a Pound, adds,

*Hæc magno^b Latio Libra est, gentique togatæ.
Attica nam minor est. Ter quinque hanc denique Drachmis,
Et ter vigenis tradunt^c explerier unam.
Accipe præterea patrio quam nomine Graii
Mnam vocitant, nostrique Minam dixere priores.
Centum hæ sunt Drachmæ. Quod si decerpseris illis
Quatuor, efficies hanc nostram denique Libram:
Attica quæ fiet, si quartam dempseris hinc, Mna.*

^a De Composit. Medicament. secundum genera. Part. II. p. 324.

^b It is major in some Editions.

^c It is perhibent in one Copy.

In this place, we see a *Mina* plainly described to consist of a 100 *Drachma's*; and two sorts of *Libra's* specified, one of them made up of 96, and the other, the lesser, of 75 such *Drachma's*. And the only doubt is, what *Drachma* he understands; whether it be the 8th part of the standing *Roman Ounce*, and = 54 Grains; or some *Athenian Drachma*, such as Physicians had used, and = 62 Grains at least, or 65, if not 68,4.

Now those, who understand the *Drachma* here to be the 8th of a *Roman Ounce*, must take the greater *Libra*, that of 96 *Drachma's*, to be the genuine *Roman Libra*. But then they are at a perfect loss to know, when or where that other *Libra*, the *Libra Attica* (as it is so termed in the common Reading) ever was heard of: Such an *Attick Pound*, I mean, as was but $\frac{75}{100}$, or $\frac{3}{4}$ of any *Mina* ever called *Attica*; and which was almost as little a part of the *Roman Pound* itself, being but $\frac{75}{96}$ of it. For though *Solon* made a lesser *Mina* of 72 (or be it of 75) old *Drachma's*: yet that new *Mina* was still considerably greater than the *Roman Pound*; as much as 6500, or 6600, not to say, 6840, is greater than 5256.

But, on the other hand, if we do not too strictly adhere to the word *Attica*, by which the second, the lesser *Libra* is called, (and we shall see by and by that we have no reason to do so,) and take that for the true *Roman Libra*; and let the *Mina Graiorum* here be the *Mina* of *Athens*, as it was certainly intended; that lesser *Libra* then, and this *Mina* will be found to be in that proportion to one another of 3 to 4, which we know to have all along passed between the *Roman Pound* and the *Athenian* old *Mina*.

§. III. A *Libra* therefore properly *Romana* must certainly have been intended by *Fannius*, under the denomination of *Attica*, as it is now read; neither is there any thing, but that single word, which can hinder us from being of that opinion.

But this word is not hindrance enough against so manifest evidence of the thing itself. Neither is the Edition of *Fannius* by *Elias Vinetus*, published again by *Grævius*, so void of errors, that one may not take liberty to suspect one here. When we come to consider the Concave Measure, the *Sextary*, we shall see a manifest necessity of many emendations in a few lines. And I have just now hinted, that in the compass of these *Verses*, I have cited, the word *magno* should be read *major*: And, if I am not much mistaken, in the description of the parts of a *Libra* considered as an *As*, which comes a little after, and where it is said that the parts differing by odd *Semiunciae* have no name; there, instead of *Namque est hujus Sescuncia triplex*, it should be read, *Nec quæ est hujus*, &c. It need not therefore seem strange, if I venture upon one correction more here, and suggest that for *Attica* should be read *Alteræ*; as I have before upon a like occasion suggested that $\alpha\lambda\lambda\alpha$, should be changed into $\alpha\tau\tau\iota\kappa\eta$. And this correction of *Attica* will seem not only necessary for the sense, but natural for the

the expression, in the first of the two places, where *Attica* is joined with *Libra*. For if in the former Verse, instead of *Hæc magno Latio Libra est*, we read *Hæc major*, it will then be very properly followed by an *Altera minor*. And with this *Altera* the *perhibent*^a too, concerning its proportion to the *Mina*, agrees well; that being its known proportion in round numbers; but with the *Attica* it agrees not at all, a *Libra* never any where else heard of. And this *Altera* will then be as conveniently substituted in the other place, where it is to follow *nostram Libram*, and is put as distinct from the *Libra Medicorum*, which *Fannius* is here describing, and which is known to have been formed in imitation of the *Atticks*.

The greater of *Fannius's Libra* must therefore have consisted of 96 proper *Athenian*, not *Roman Drachma's*. And by this the Physicians came so near to the *Attick Mina*, that they wanted of it but 4 *Drachma's* in a 100, or 1 in 25, a difference that would make no alteration in their Prescriptions. But it may be observed, that *Fannius* here speaks not strictly of the ordinary *Drachma's* taken up by Physicians; but that, upon their occasion, he describes the standard *Mina*, which was never used in their Prescriptions. For when they followed the *Attick Account*, as we have seen, the highest *Drachma* was the current one of seven to a *Roman Ounce*, and under 63 Grains; not that of 6,26 to an Ounce, and of 70 Grains; such a one as he gives us in this place.

The Ponderal *Mina* of *Athens*, near 7000 of our Grains, is here certainly expressed; and the *Libra major* lacks of it only $4 \times 70 = 280$ Grains, and weighs 6720 Grains; so far is it from being equal to 5256 Grains, the *Roman Pound*; and the Ounce of it accordingly is 560, not 438 Grains.

§. IV. THUS the *Attick Mina*, and *Libra Romana major*, and the Ounces of this *Libra* must be understood in *Fannius*. And there appears no reason why they should have another construction in the later *Greek Writers*; as when *Cleopatra* says, *The Attick Mina has 12 Ounces and a Half*; or *Hero*,^b *The Attick Mina is to be used for the Italick Money; for it is of the same Value and Weight with the Italick Mina. For the Italick Mina consists of 25 Staters, and the Italick Litra of 24 only.*

For in this last Author, the *Litra Italica* seems to be nothing else but the *Libra major Romanorum* of *Fannius*; as neither was the *Mina Italica* unknown to the antient *Romans*, when they reckoned their *Denarii*, equal to the *Drachmæ*, of whatsoever weight, by *Centenaries*.

And if this *Attick* or *Italick Litra* was the Ponderal of *Fannius*, it will not be necessary to add, that the Ounces must be of the same kind. And so in *Hesychius*, a *Drachma*, said to be the $\frac{1}{3}$ part of an

^a This word (as was observed above) is in one Copy. And the Argument is near the same from *tradunt*.

^b Τῇ δὲ Ἀττικῇ μὲν πρὸς τὸ Ἰταλικὸν νόμισμα χρησίον· ἰσοδυναμεῖ γὰρ ἐστὶν, ὡς ἰσοστάσις τῇ Ἰταλικῇ μὲν· στατήρων γὰρ ἐστὶν καὶ ἡ Ἰταλικὴ λίτρα στατήρων κδ'. Apud Scalig. de Re Nummar. p. 35.

Ounce, is so much of an *Attick* Ounce: And likewise in the *Scho-liast* upon *Nicander*, a *Didrachm* is defined to be the $\frac{1}{4}$ of an [*Attick*] Ounce, &c. according to the happy conjecture of Mr. *Greaves*.

By this Hypothesis, not weakly founded, the modern Account of the late *Greek* Writers is found consistent with the antient Authors. And this will not only serve us hereafter for the understanding of St. *Jerom*, and *Epiphanius*, speaking concerning *Jewish* Weights, but will be farther confirmed by them.

§. V. THAT this Exposition of those Writers, which may hereafter be necessary, may be the more easily admitted; the Change, that had been then made in the *Roman Denarii*, is to be observed.

For as we have seen the *Denarius* fallen down so low, as to weigh no more than the eighth of the Ounce; so it rose again to that height afterwards, as to give its name to the Weight even of the old *Attick Drachma*.

Under the *Gordians*, it is known, the *Denarii* came up to 65 or 66 Grains; as high, as they were first coined from the *Attick Drachma*. And they proceeded to rise higher yet, and to be near the Weight of that large *Drachma*, which the Tribute of *Antiochus* required. And so the *Aurei* of the later Emperors, down from *Julian* to *Heraclius*, (who lost *Egypt* and *Syria* to the *Saracens*;) which are supposed to be of the Weight of these *Denarii*, are weighed out to us by Mr. *Greaves*, at about 68 or 69 Grains, and almost at 70.

And with these, it may be presumed, the *Drachmæ Atticæ*, which had so long kept them company, rose too: whether any such *Drachmæ* were then, or had been for some time before, coined with a particular stamp; or whether the *Athenians* adopted the *Roman* Coin, under the name of their *Drachma*. And now because of this rise, it will be less wondered, that *Fannius*, who wrote to Physicians, and was to speak of *Attick Drachmæ*, and might have expressed them at large by an old common standard; chose now to express them by the highest.

Of these he reckons 96 to the *Libra major*, according to the late division of the *Roman* Ponderal *Libra* by 12 and 8; and a hundred to his *Attick Mna*. And this way of reckoning was so far from being appropriated to Apothecaries or Drugsters, as some would have it, that it was a formal style in Money Accounts, now the *Denarii* were so high; and was called *Litrismus*. And then the *Grecian* reckoning by a 100 of the same was called *Ἀρχαίσμους*; and a 100 either *Denarii*, or *Drachmæ*, were an *Ἀρχαῖος*: 25 *Litræ*, in this Arithmetick, making 24 *Ἀρχαῖοι*, or *Minæ*; and 120 of these, 125 of the other. In the mean time also, the Language had so changed, that the 100 Pieces summed up to a *Mina* were now properly called so many *Denaria*, [*Δηναρία*], rather than *Drachmæ*. For the word *Δη-*

νᾶλαιον in *Greek*, as well a *Denarius* in *Latin*, going then at large for a Piece of Money in general, was ready to be applied in the *Eastern* Empire to any sort of *Grecian Drachmæ*; but more especially to the *Attick*, with which it had always agreed. And it will be no wonder, without looking for any other cause, why the reckoning of the *Denarii* to 100 was called *Argyrismus*, and the 100 an *Argyrous*, (*Stater* possibly, for that word sometimes stands for a *Mina*;) if we recollect, that the *Denarii* had been distinguished of old for the *Roman* Silver Coin; and had been used always to be reckoned up, as their concurrent *Attick Drachmæ*, to a *Centenary Pondo* of Silver.

Of what I now observe here, *Epiphanius* will give an instance, when we meet him upon the *Jewish Money*^a. And then we may remember that, as by the known rule a *Drachma* of the *Greeks*, mentioned without any circumstance to determine its signification, passes for the *Attick*; so a νᾶλαιον, if not otherwise qualified, must be presumed to mean the same; especially if reckoned by *Litrismus*, and *Argyrismus*. And we may also then bear in mind, that the *Denaria* of that time are so far from being necessarily to be taken for the *Ponderal Drachmæ* of a *Roman* Pound, that they rather require to be taken for the highest *Attick*.

I come at last to what remains of the *Roman* Measures; to their Measures of *Content*.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *The Relation of the Roman Concaves to the Foot; and a Table of them.* II. *The Roman Sextarius determined; and a Tariff of it given in our Cube Inches.* III. *That Sextarius, and its under Vessels, compared with the Attick.* IV. *The Congius compared with the Chous; and its Hydrostatick Relation to the half Foot considered. And thence the Relation of a Neat Attick Mina to a Palm, confirmed.* V. *The Description of the Attick Concaves, given by Fannius, explained.* Postscript.

§. I. **T**HE Proportion between the several Measures of *Capacity* is well known. For, as I have said before, a Cube of the *Roman* Foot was the quantity of their *Amphora*, and held 80 of their Pounds of Water; and that of six Inches held consequently 10 Pounds of it; and a Vessel of that Capacity, was the *Roman Congius*. And then a Vessel, holding the 6th part of a *Congius*; or Water of the Weight of ten sixths of a *Roman* Pound, or of 20 Ounces of it; was the *Sextarius*. The half of a *Sextarius*, or 10 Ounces, was a

^a Part. IV. Cap. 2. §. 5.

Hemina; and the quarter, or 5 Ounces, a *Quartarius*; and the twelfth, (or an Ounce, 5 Drachms, and one Scruple,) a *Cyathus*.

This is the legal Distribution, left us by *Volusius Mæcianus*^a, a Lawyer; and the TABLE thus exhibits it; with the *Acetabulum* only interposed.

<i>Amphora</i>	1								
<i>Urna</i>	2	1							
<i>Modius</i>	3	1,5	1						
<i>Congius</i>	8	4	2 $\frac{2}{3}$	1					
<i>Sextarius</i>	48	24	16	6	1				
<i>Hemina</i>	96	48	32	12	2	1			
<i>Quartarius</i>	192	96	64	24	4	2	1		
<i>Acetabulum</i>	384	192	128	48	8	4	2	1	
<i>Cyathus</i>	576	288	192	72	12	6	3	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1

§. II. THEIR celebrated Vessel, the *Congius*, whose Content in Wine or Water is declared to be 10 Pound; and the *Sextary*, of 20 Ounces; are easily reduced to our Measures, by the Method used for the *Attick* Vessels. And here therefore, before I go any farther, I give the Measure of the *Roman*, as is done above of the *Attick*, in our Wine Pints. Where, the *Congius* being equiponderant to 52560 Troy Grains; the *Sextary* is equiponderant to 8760 Grains. And those being = 34,578947 Cubick Inches of Water, are = 1,197539 of our Wine Pint.

1	1,197539
2	2,395078
3	3,592618
4	4,790157
5	5,987696
6	7,185236
7	8,382775
8	9,580315
9	10,777854

The Names of most of these Vessels appear plainly to have been borrowed from the *Grecians*: And the minuter Subdivisions under the *Sextarius* will be found, as to any sensible difference, equal to the *Attick*.

^a In calce Codicis *Theodos.* *Basil.* 1528. Et vid. *Grævii* Thesaur. Antiq. Rom. Tom. XI. p. 1705. nec non *Gronov.* de Pecun. Veter. p. 183, &c.

§. III. BUT however the *Romans* may have imitated any of their *Greek* Neighbours in those Measures, it is known that, in their turn, they were imitated by them all as much; and that the double *Hemina* of all their Nations was every where called a *Zeşns*, from the *Roman Sextarius*, and made accordingly the Principal Measure: the *Zeşns* of the several Countries differing, in the mean time, from one another, in like manner as the *Hemina* had done before.

This is what *Galen*^a says expressly, and has been already mentioned, as a plain instance of the compliance the *Greeks* of *Europe* and *Asia* shewed to their *Roman* Conquerors, in imitating their Measures, and accommodating the Denominations of them at least to their own.

But while the *Sextarii* of the other *Grecians* differed so much from one another, the *Athenians*, whom the *Romans* had much regarded since the time of the *Decemviri*, found their new Measure not very distant from that of the Imperial City.

For the difference, we see, between the two *Sextaries*, that from the *Roman* Pound now settled at 5256 Grains, and that from the *Attick* at 6840, is not very great, being not so much as 0,0754 of a Wine Pint. And that between the same *Roman* and the larger *Attick* from a *Mina* of 7000 Grains, being but 0,0492, is near half as little. In the lower Vessel, the *Cyathus*, it is very inconsiderable, being then not so much as the $\frac{1}{12}$ of the 0,08, or of the 0,05 of a Wine Pint; a quantity of Water, or Wine, that will not be much missed by any one that drinks. And more inconsiderable will the difference grow between the inferior *Attick* and *Roman* Vessels, which, as they go by the same Name, so, as to Sense, are of the same Content.

But this difference between the *Sextaries* grows very discernible, when multiplied by six, to make the *Chous* and the *Congius*. And then it is, that the *Roman* Vessels became very remarkable; they appearing to be of a professed Hydrostatical constitution; the *Congius* a Cube of their half foot, and the *Amphora* of the whole^b.

This eminent Geometrical Relation between the Measures of Length and Capacity, which appears not in those of the *Athenians*, is very surprising. And how it came to pass, I am now enquiring; and the rather, that the Hydrostatic constitution, I have given of the *Attick Mina*, may keep its place; though that of their Vessels of Content, where it was most to be expected, seems to be wanting.

§. IV. THAT the *Romans* either instituted at the beginning, or had of old reformed, their Measures by the *Athenians*, has in part been seen already; and particularly, that the *Roman* Foot was de-

^a *Græc. Edit. Basil. Tom. II. pag. 324.*

^b A double *Amphora Romana* is = 16 *Congii*, as a *Medimnus Atticus* is = 12 *Xōs*. And was a *Congius* = *Xōs*, the *Medimnus Romanus* would be to the *Atticus* as 4 to 3, the inverse of a *Libra* to a *Mina*.

signed to be two thirds of the *Athenian* Cubit; and that their *Libra* was always held to be three quarters of the *Athenian Mina*. And also farther, that the word *Congius* is nothing else but the *Greek*, barbarously pronounced, one cannot but think: As also, that the *Congius* was therefore divided into six parts, because the *Chous* had been antiently divided into as many; for the *Cotyla*, or the twelfth part, of later common usage, was the same with the *Hemina*, or *Hemimna*: And this word imports that its double was once a Principal Measure.

And now, from the antient appointment of the *Sextarii* to the *Congius*, I am inclined to think, that at first the *Romans* began their Concave Measure, not from any Length before established, but rather from their Weight, by which those Vessels are also described. For had they primarily erected the Cube of a Foot for their principal Concave, and then Geometrically taken its suboctave, the *Congius*, from the Cube of half a Foot, they would not have failed to proceed lower in like manner, and to divide the *Congius* into eight parts, instead of six; each of which lesser Measures would have been regularly the Cube of a quarter Foot, their well-known Palm. This is the course that has been taken for our Gallon, which comes, I believe, in the place of a *Congius*, and has the Pint for its suboctave.

This consideration may well serve to prove, that the Cubical Relation of the *Amphora* to a Foot, and of a *Congius* to a half Foot, was incidental only, and not primarily designed. And that it was not so designed at the time of the *Decemviri*, we may be farther assured. For the Duplication of a Cube was afterward, in *Plato's* time, a Problem; not then well understood by the *Greeks* themselves.

For these Reasons I suppose, that the Pound was first settled by those Regulators; and ten of them chose to fill their *Congius* with Water; as being a whole, and a noted Number; and which would fill a Vessel, not much larger than the *Attick Xēs*. And if I may suppose farther, that the same Pound was then appointed at three quarters of the *Attick Mina*; a proportion the most likely, as has appeared above: we are then sufficiently provided for a ready Account of the constitution of the *Roman* Concaves, in that distance from the *Attick*: And also for the confirmation of the Hydrostatick Original, I have before mentioned.

For by this Account, ten of the *Roman Libræ* will be equal to $\frac{3.0}{4}$ = 7,5 of a neat *Attick Mina*: And the *Xēs*, which is 6 Grofs *Minae*, will be = 7,2 of those Neat. So that the difference, by which the *Congius* exceeds the *Xēs*, will be only 0,3 of a *Mina*; and that, by which the *Sextary* exceeds the *Hectes*, will be but the sixth of that, and = 0,05 of a *Mina*, or the Weight of 5 *Drachmæ* only. And then these 5 *Drachmæ*, if we set them at the highest, and equal each to 70 *Troy* Grains, will make no more than 350 Grains, = $\frac{350}{253,3}$ Cube Inches of our Palm, = 1,3816 Cube Inches, = $\frac{1,3816}{28,875}$ of our Pint, = 0,0478, not the half of a tenth part of it. Neither much

much less will the Water of 5 *Drachmæ* be, if we set them lower, and = 68,4 Grains.

And now, when we have reckoned the Weight of a *Congius* at 7 *Minæ* and a half; if we then take a *Mina*, as I have given it heretofore, at the Weight of the Cube of an *Attick* Palm, we presently see that 8 such *Minæ* are just the Weight of the Cube Length of two Palms; and know, that 7 *Minæ* and a half will belong to a Cube, whose Root cannot be much less than that Length of two. And so we shall find by Calculation, that it is as near, as 19574 is to 20000, or 9787 to a 10000; which is the very proportion, that stands in the middle between that of the *Roman* Foot by *Statilius*, that is assigned to be the 0,972 of our Foot, and that by *Villalpandus*, which is 0,9866 of it.

And so, if we take the *Mina* a little higher, answerable, for example, to the *Greek* Palm of *Pliny's* Foot, and = 1,01 of our's; the *Congius* of 7,5 such *Minæ* will require for half its Cubical side 0,9787 of such a Palm, that is, $0,9787 \times 1,01$, or 0,98848 of our Palm. And by this reckoning, we have a *Roman* Foot; wanting little more of our's, than one hundredth part, and of the now assumed *Attick*, than two.

The *Mina*, last supposed, would be = 7047 Grains, and a little exceed our *Averdupois* Pound, which is $\frac{4}{5}$ of the old, and (as we have judged) of the modern *Roman*; but it serves to let us see how little the difference will be between the Palm, produced by that *Roman Libra*, and the other Palm that will result from a Pound near our *Averdupois* Pound, should it be taken for the *Attick Mina*.

Upon the first supposition, though the old *Roman* Pound, when it is taken at $\frac{3}{4}$ of 6840 Grains = 5130, will be much less than I have set it; yet will it be the Cube of such a Palm, as shall be very near the *Attick*. And upon the second supposition, the distance will not be very great.

So near does the single Hypothesis, of the Equality of a *Roman Libra* to three quarters of the *Attick Mina*, bring us to such a Foot and half a Foot, upon which their *Amphora* and *Congius* are professedly erected: and which, at the same time, are very little different from the Foot and half Foot, or four Palms and two Palms, of the *Athenians*. And by these coincidences that Hypothesis, though sufficiently warranted before, is to a high degree confirmed.

By the same also, the Hydrostatick constitution of the *Attick Mina*, which may lie still under some doubt, because not antiently declared, may be in a manner demonstrated. For the Equality between the *Congius*, which is Cubically erected upon a half Foot little differing from the *Attick*, and between a Measure of Content, which holds three quarters of ten *Attick Minæ* in Water, proceeds, as we see, from the Hydrostatick nature of the 7,5, and of the 8 *Minæ*; whereby the side of the Cube of 8 *Minæ* is known to be double of the side of one. And that nature of those *Minæ* is there-

fore reciprocally inferred, from the allowance of such a half Foot, and such a *Congius*.

So may the *Romans*, in this designation of Equality between their *Congius* and half Foot Cube, seem to have had the *Attick* Hydrostatics in their eye, and to have improved upon that artful design. For, whereas the *Athenians* had raised their *Mina* from a Cube of Water, but afterwards proceeded Geometrically no farther, reckoning on for their other Vessels by $\frac{6}{5}$ of the first, the Neat, *Mina*; the *Romans*, who formed not their Pound in that Geometrical manner, had yet recourse to it upon the first proper occasion; and, when they had once discovered, that their *Congius*, the ten Pound Weight of Water, wanted but very little of the Cube from twice the *Attick* Palm, chose, for the sake of their principal Concave, to abate something, almost indiscernible, of that length in the Palm: and so they had a half Foot, whose Cube was precisely equal to their *Congius*; and a whole, whose Cube was equal to 8 *Congii*, which was their *Amphora*; and thenceforth called a Quadrantal, *Ob pedes usquequaque* (that is, as *Vossius* says, *ex omni facie Cubi*) *quadratos*. This I suppose to have been a later Regulation: for that, in the constituting of the Measures of Capacity, the primary regard was had to the Weight of the Content, and not to the Cubical Figure of it. And that the Quadrantal was rather regulated by the 80 *Librae*, than the *Librae* by the Quadrantal, is not only evident from what has been just now suggested, but may appear from the *Plebiscitum* itself, in Dr. *Bernard*^b, which was made to ascertain the Measure.

§. V. THE Connexion of the *Attick* and *Roman* Measures has made it necessary to explain the one by the other; and, for that reason, I have deferred the full Consideration of what *Fannius* says concerning his *Attick* Vessels, until we had viewed the *Roman*. And his Description of them I here set down, after the Edition of *Grævius*^c, but to be corrected, as I think, according to the Alterations in the Margent.

*At Cotylas^d, quas, si placeat, dixisse licebit
Heminas^e, recipit geminas Sextarius unus.
Qui^f quater assumptus, Graio fit nomine Chœnix.
Adde duos, X̄s fit: vulgo qui est Congius idem.
E quo Sextari nomen fecisse priores
Crediderim, quod eos capiat Sex Congius unus.*

^a Etymol. Ling. Lat.

^b De Mensur. & Ponder. Lib. I. §. 41.

^c Thesaur. Antiq. Rom. Tom. XI. p. 1695.

^d Cotylam quam.

^e Hemina ——— geminam.

^f Quâque ter assumptâ, or Quâque ter assumptis.

He manifestly says, what is otherwise certain, that the *Attick Xēs* consists of 6 *Attick Sextarius's*, and 12 of their *Cotyla's*. But it does not appear how it is made up (which he seems to intend) of the *Cotyla's*, and *Sextarius's* and *Chœnix's* here enumerated. And, besides, a *Chœnix* is known to be equal, not to four *Sextarii*, but to three *Cotylæ*. Of necessity therefore in the third Verse, instead of *quater* must be read *que ter*, to make a true *Chœnix*. And, to have the *Xēs* made up of all the forementioned Measures, (which is only to be done by adding together the two *Chœnix's*, and the one *Chœnix*, and the *Sextarius*, and the *Cotyla*, that are, in all, 12 *Cotylæ*;) it will be fit to read *Cotylam* singularly, in the first Verse, and also *quam*; and in the second, *Heminam* and *geminam*; and in the third, *Quā* or *Quis*, and *assumptā* or *assumptis*. And at last, unless we will suppose the Poet to be so cautious, as to say only, that it is credible, the *Sextarius* was so called, because it was the *sixth* of a Vessel; a thing never doubted: he must be understood to mean, that the Division of a *Xēs* into *Xestæ*, which his Predecessors, *Asclepiades* and others, who lived above 300 years before *Constantine*, had used, was, in his opinion, taken up in imitation of the *Roman Congius*, which had its *Sextary* from the beginning; rather, than by a reintroduction of the mensural Gross *Minæ*. For though *six* of these might have been reckoned to an *Attick Chous* before *Solon's* time; yet they had long ceased to be named to that purpose, and were themselves denominated from the *Cotyla*, and expressed as a double twelfth.

To this meaning there is nothing wanting in the Text, but that a full stop should be put at *Xēs fit*; and that the following Sentence should be thus read: *Qui vulgo Congius, idem est, E quo, &c.* transposing only the Verb *est*.

For it is not necessary to mention a suspicion, that *Sextarii* here should be read *Sestaii*, the genitive of *Σεῖταις*, according to what has been said heretofore.

What has been observed upon *Fannius*, concerning his summary Description of the *Xēs*, may give some light to an obscure place, whose illustration my principal Subject does not need. But his Distinction of *Congius vulgo* from the *Attick Chous*, as from a *Congius* of another sort, may be helpful to us, when we come to St. *Jerom*, measuring a *Jewish Concave* by that *Attick Chous*.

And now, at length, I go to the Measures of the *Jews*.

P O S T S C R I P T.

I FIND by the learned and curious Mr. *Eifenschmid*^a, that the Weight of Water in the *Congius* of *Vespasian*, given by *Villalpandus* and *Gassendus* upon Experiment, and approved by Mr. *Greaves*, is brought much lower by a later Experiment of Mr. *Auzout*; and so, as to make the old Ounces = 523 *Paris* Grains. But, without disparagement to the skill and exactness of Mr. *Auzout*, one may continue to think, that *Villalpandus* and *Gassendus* were also accurate Observers; and may reckon, that there is the odds of two to one, for the Weight of an Ounce I have received from them. How far this Weight is confirmed by other evidence, is seen above, in its proper place: And I shall only remark, that the Method I have taken of collecting the due Weight of the *Roman Denarii*, as well as of the *Drachmæ Atticæ*, from the fairest and biggest of them, is what Mr. *Eifenschmid*^b has thought fit to use himself in estimating the last. I have already intimated his near Agreement to the Weight of the Hydrostatick *Drachma*, I had proposed: And the Proportion of 3 to 4, which I have been now establishing, between the *Roman Litra* and *Attick Mina*, is, I find, declared by him. But the use he makes of that *Drachma*, and that Proportion, to bring down the Ounce from our 438 Grains to 428, may be too rigorous. For it may be true, that the Proportion was originally designed, though not observed exactly; or, the Standard *Drachma* might have been once set about a Grain and a half higher than this Coin bears, as I have already intimated. And, besides, what a great difference in the Cube a small difference in the side will produce, we know: And what variation there may be in finding the Weight of Water contained in such a Vessel, the disagreement concerning that of the noted *Congius* will inform us.

Among the Modules above used, for the obtaining the *Roman* Weights, I have not taken notice of their Pound, and Ounces yet remaining; which should have been first considered. But I troubled not myself about them, finding them neglected on this Subject by Mr. *Greaves* and others, for the great uncertainty, not only of their Weight, but Authority: it being known, that in the several Regions of the City, not to say of *Italy*, different sorts of Weights were in use, and could hardly be reduced to one by all the care of the *Præfecti*. The Weight they give is commonly so defective, that the learned Writer, though he countenances his low Ounce for the *Denarii*, by them, yet raises it a little higher. But, on the other side, we see the very knowing Mr. *Montfaucon*^c has from *Fabretti* produced such

^a *Eifenschmid* de Ponder. & Mensur. Sect. I. Cap. II.

^c *Antiq. Expliq.* Tom. III. Part. I. Lib. 4. Cap. 13. §. 2, 3.

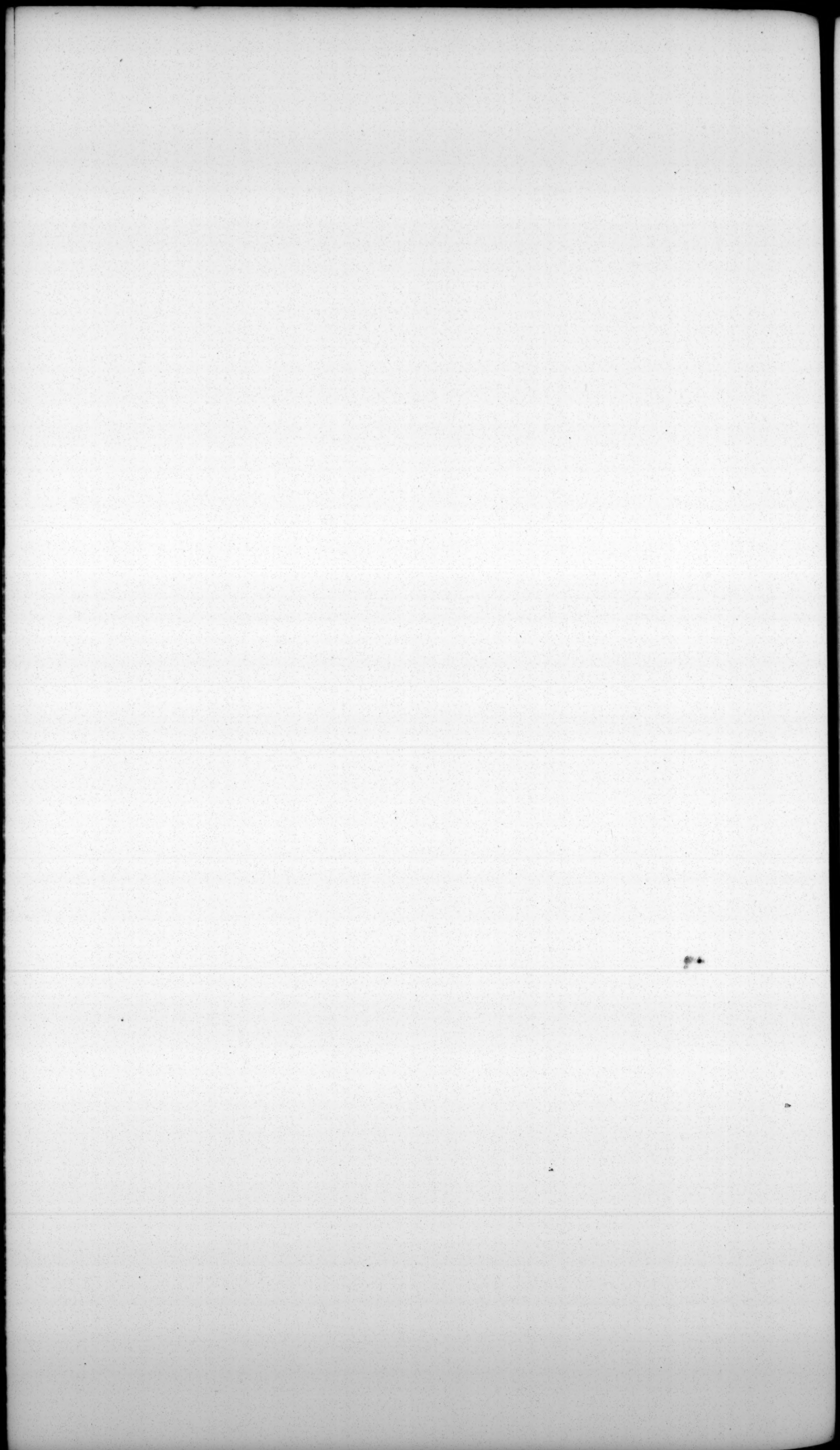
^b De Ponder. &c. pag. 42.

Modules,

Modules, as exceed the present *Roman* Pound by about half an Ounce, = 219 Grains *Troy*; and consequently the Ounce, by $219 \times \frac{1}{12}$, = 18,25. So that there is less warrant now, than before, to build the determination of Weight upon this sort of its remains. In them we see the prescribed Measure, whatever it was, was not strictly observed. And though we know, by the experiment of our *Winchester* Measure, that a greater than the statutable may be still used; and even for reason of gain to the feller: Yet we know too, that such Measures in private hands are more often *diminished*, for that cause.

I come now also to know, from the same late and very knowing Author^a, that, in Mr. *Fabretti's* opinion, the *Congius* above-mentioned, had it been duly filled by *Pætus*, would have rather exceeded the Weight of 120 modern Ounces: And also, that the Water of the *Sextarii*, measured by Father *Bonanni*, was found to be of the due Weight of 20.

^a Lib. cod. Cap. 7. §. 2.



THE FOURTH PART.

Of the Jewish Measures.

CHAP. I.

§. I. *The Measures of Length before the Captivity.* II. *The Weights and Money of that First Period: Their Denominations and Proportions.* III. *The Talents and Manehs, distinguished into Ponderal and Nummary.* IV. *The Denomination and Proportion of the Weights and Money of the Second Period, according to the Rabbins.* V. *The Method of Enquiry to be took for the Determination of the Measures of either Period.*

§. I. **T**HE Rabbins, who, at first sight, may seem the most proper Persons to be consulted concerning the Measures of their Nation, will, if we ask them, presently tell us, that they had not been always of the same Quantity; and that those under the *First* Temple were different from those under the *Second*. In this variety, we may chiefly desire to be informed of those Measures which are most frequently mentioned in the *Scripture*: And therefore I shall begin with those of the *Old Testament*.

The Measures of *Length*, for that *First Period*, have not been well agreed on. *Josephus* indeed makes their Cubit^a, as he does their Money, &c. equal to the *Attick*; and That is esteemed to be equal to our's, as we have already seen; or, at most, not to exceed it by two parts of a 100^b. The *Rabbins* make it equal to the common Middling Cubit of the *Saracens* in *Egypt*, once well known, but now not well ascertained. For as there are those, who lay down this Cubit as equal to our's; so *Rabbi Gedaliah*, who is supposed to speak the mind of *Maimonides* and his followers, makes it equal to 21,88 of our Inches, the length of the present *Cairo* Cubit^c. But we have seen, that there was heretofore among them a Cubit just equal to our's; by whose Palm their chief *Ratel* was formed, and which in all probability was at that time the Legal one: And we shall find that Account of a *Ratel*, by so many *Dirhems*, to have been at least as old as *Maimonides* himself; and the Cubit therefore to be the same which he meant.

^a Compare *Archæolog. Lib. III. Cap. 6. §. 5.* with *Exod. XXV. 10.*

^b See Part II. Chap. 1. §. 1.

^c See Part I. Chap. 4. §. 1.

This we shall find presently, when we have considered a little their Weights and Coins, with which those *Dirhems* are used to be compared since *Maimonides's* Days. And it is not to be wondered, if I am forced here to help out our Knowledge of the simple Measure of a Length, of which there is no Module, by that more compounded of Weight; when we have been forced to take into the consideration of a *Roman* Foot, that of their Weight, though there are so many Modules of it remaining.

§. II. I proceed therefore to the *Hebrew* Measures of Capacity and Weight; and begin with the Weight. For, as in the *Grecian* Measures, so in these, the Measure of Content is not ascertained to us from any Solid produced by given Lengths; nor is any such Solid of any Liquor assigned to give us the Weight; much less is there any old Vessel of Content now remaining. What is left us of Antiquity, are some Coins, supposed to be of the antient standard Weight; and such Accounts of them, and of the Concave Measures, as have been delivered to the *Jews*, by their Traditionary Masters, in their proper Language; or to the *Greeks* and *Romans*, by such Writers as *Philo* and *Josephus*, who were also *Jews*, and whom we may call the *Grecian Jews*.

We begin therefore with their Measures of Weight and Money. And because the particulars of either of them commonly go under the same Name; and, as with the *Greeks*, their *Drachmæ*, and *Minæ*, and *Talents* for Weight are equally both Gross and Neat reckonings; such as have been intimated, *Part II. Chap. 2. §. 3.* I shall at first take them together.

In *Scripture*, the Reckoning of a *Kikkar* or *Talent*, and of a *Shekel*, and the *Parts* of a *Shekel*, are known to stand in this Order and Proportion.

The Weight and Money of the First Period.

<i>Kikkar, or Talent</i>		I				
<i>Ponderal, or Gross Maneb</i>	50	I				
<i>Nummary, or Neat Maneb</i>	60	I, 2	I			
<i>Shekel</i>	3000	60	50	I		
<i>Beka</i>	6000	120	100	2	I	
<i>Zuza</i>	12000	240	200	4	2	I
<i>Gerab</i>	—	1200	1000	20	10	5 I

§. III. THE *Maneb* is a Sum not named by *Moses*, and is mentioned in *Ezekiel* only^a; and there its Proportion is expressed, not in

^a *Ezek. XLV. 12.* On which place, see *Jonathan's* Paraphrase concerning the Two *Maneb's*.

regard

regard to a *Talent*, but to the *Shekel*, it being said to consist of 60 of them. But this *Maneh*, which will then be but the $\frac{1}{50}$ part of the *Talent* of the *Table*, is by the *Rabbins* called the *Ponderal Maneh*, and in the *Table* the *Gross*; and is distinguished by them from another, I have called the *Nummary*, or *Neat*, which is the $\frac{1}{60}$ part of the *Neat Talent*, and consists accordingly of 50 *Shekels*.

This Distinction, by which we have a *Maneh*, the *Nummary* or *Neat*, for the $\frac{1}{60}$ part of a *Talent*, as the ordinary *Aliquot* of it; is given us by *Jarchi* and *Kimchi*, in their *Scholia* upon the above cited place of *Ezekiel*; as we shall find hereafter^a. And for that reason, I have inclosed the other, the *Ponderal Maneh* of Fifty in a *Talent*, in Hooks; as supposing it not to belong to this *Talent*, but to another *Ponderal* one, which reckons 60 of them, and will appear hereafter, when we come to the Measures of Content.

§. IV. THIS is the Order of the old Weights and Moneys of the *Israelites*. But, as the *Jews* now universally agree to tell us, it received a great alteration from the *Babylonian Conquest*; beginning to change even in *Ezekiel's* time. And so the Standard of their Money after, under the *Second Temple*, was $\frac{6}{5}$ of that under the *First*. These new Pieces of Money went also under different Names, than those had with which they nearly corresponded. For the $\frac{6}{5}$ of the old *Shekel* was styled a *Sela*; and the $\frac{6}{5}$ of a half *Shekel* was called a *Tobba*; and the $\frac{6}{5}$ of a quarter *Shekel*, a *Deinar*; and the *Gerah*, which was the 20 of an old *Shekel*, and was now to be the 24 of the new *Sela*, though it remained in the Account, yet took a new Name, and was termed a *Mea*. These *Chaldaick*, or *Syriack* Appellations (as all are so, excepting *Deinar*) of these new Coins are presumed to have been brought from *Babylon*: And another Coin was also added thence to the old number; which was a double *Sela*, and $\frac{6}{5}$ of a double *Shekel*, and called a *Darcon*. All these Pieces of Money down to the *Gerah*, or, as they call it, *Mea*, which is, they say, the lowest Silver Piece; and also the minuter Subdivisions of the Weight of that Species into *Grains*, and *Peruta's*; are, with the Relation they bear one to another, represented in the TABLE subjoined.

<i>Kikkera</i>		I							
<i>Mani, or Maneh</i>	60	I							
<i>Darcon</i>	1500	25	I						
<i>Sela</i>	3000	50	2	I					
<i>Tobba</i>	6000	100	4	2	I				
<i>Deinar</i>	12000	200	8	4	2	I			
<i>Mea</i>	72000	1200	48	24	12	6	I		
<i>Granum</i>	—	—	—	244	192	96	16	I	
<i>Peruta</i>	—	—	—	—	192	32	2	I	

^a Chap. IV. §. 4.

The *Mea* of this Reckoning, as I now said, is the same with the *Gerah* of the other: And the whole difference between the Species of either sort is from the different number of *Gerah's* contained in them; the *Sela*, for example, consisting of 24, and the *Shekel* of 20; and accordingly, the *Deinar* of 6, and the quarter *Shekel* of 5.

By this Account, we see, the new Talent of the *Jews*, and, as the *Rabbins* will have it, of the *Babylonians*, was $\frac{6}{5}$ of the *Mosaick*; and is an actual instance of the *Gross Talent*, I have supposed in the precedent Article.

And upon the whole, it may be observed in this *Table*, that the upper Weights down to the *Deinar* bear the same Proportion to one another, as those in the other *Table* do, as far as the quarter *Shekel*: And that the Proportion of the *Deinar* to the under Parts is just the same with that the *Drachma* bears to its Parts, the *Obolus*, and the *Keddr*, in the *Attick Table*.

§. V. FROM the Proportion of the *Jewish Money* I am now to go to the Determination of it: And for that I have been preparing.

For I should not have been carried by my curiosity so low, as to the Division of a *Sela* into a Grain Weight, were it not necessary to help us, as the *Rabbins* lead us, to the Knowledge of the *Sela*; neither should I trouble myself much about their Method of stating their *Sela*, did they not upon that found their Knowledge of a *Shekel*; as that which (they say) must be the $\frac{5}{6}$ of the other. Neither, farther, might one think it worth the while, to trace very exactly the way of the *Rabbins* Proceeding, did it end in what is acknowledged by all to be True. But it happening, that the *Talmudical Jews* have delivered to us a very different Value of the old *Hebrew Coins*, from what some great Men of their own Nation, *Philo* and *Josephus*, had formerly given us; and that, for example, when these had rated a *Shekel* to us at near 272 of our Grains, and a quarter *Shekel* at 68, those have lowered the *Shekel* to 219, and brought down the *Zuz* to an Equality with the *Roman Drachma*: it grows more needful, for such as would be willing to know the Truth, and have an esteem for the Testimony of those two Authors, to be something accurate in the examination of the *Rabbins* way of Calculation.

But the Testimony of those Authors I shall produce, *First*, (*Chap. 2.*) not so much out of the preference I may think is due to them, as because it is easy to be understood, and may help us to understand the *Rabbins*. Then in the *Second* place, (*Chap. 3.*) I shall take a view of the *Rabbinical* manner of Account; and shall particularly endeavour to see (*Chap. 4.*) upon what ground they go, when they set us that Difference between the Moneys of the *First* and *Second* Temple. And, *Lastly*, having seen that the *Rabbins* are not well founded, neither in their Calculation, nor Maxim; I shall add (*Chap. 5.*) some probable Arguments, that may yet more strongly incline us to reckon with the *Greek Writers*.

C H A P.

C H A P. II.

§. I. *The Shekel of the First Period determined by Philo and Josephus, at a Weight not lower than that an Attick Tetradrachm of their time bore. II. Determined by the Septuagint from a higher Tetradrachm. III. The Credibility of their Testimony. IV. By this Account the Attick Talent is the Profane Talent of the Rabbins. V. Epiphanius agrees to it in the place brought to prove the contrary. The Text considered more particularly. VI. St. Jerom likewise agrees. VII. A suspicion that the Rate of a quarter Shekel of the Drachmal Weight of the Romans had not obtained in the Fourth Century. VIII. The Difference set up by the Rabbins between the Moneys of the First and Second Period, in all probability not known by our Grecian Jews.*

§. I. **U**PON the sight of the *Table* of the old *Scriptural* Coins it is presently discerned, that the *Shekel*, *Beka*, and *Zuz* stand in the same Proportion between themselves, as holds between the *Tetradrachm*, *Didrachm*, and *Drachma* of the *Greeks*.

And now, as to the Determination of their Quantity, it is positively affirmed by *Philo*^a in *Claudius's* time, that the *Shekel* of the *Hebrews* was equal to the *Tetradrachm* of the *Athenians*: And if he is not to be understood of the standard *Drachma*, which yet is not an absurd thought; he cannot, however, be made to mean one lower than that then current, of about 62 Grains.

Josephus^b likewise explains the *Shekel* by four *Attick Drachma's*. Neither is he to be surmised, though living under *Domitian*, to have reckoned by a lighter *Drachma* than *Philo*, much less by that called a *Drachma*, equal to the $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *Roman Ounce*. For *Pliny*^c, who lived but a little before him, must be understood to have paralleled the *Drachma Attica* with the *Denarius* of *Celsus*. And besides, *Josephus* himself leaves no room for such a suspicion; who in another place^d expresses the weight of a half *Shekel*, by a *Daricus*; a Coin whose weight is never thought to have sunk so low as 128 Grains, and may rather bear the highest estimate of a double *Drachma*.

§. II. **AND** I shall not be thought to strain these Authors too high, if we observe, that they give us the same description of their Money,

^a Vid. p. 774. Edit. *Paris*. where 50 *Shekels* in *Levit.* 27 are expressed by 200 *Drachma's*; 30 *Shekels* at 120 *Drachma's*; 20 at 80, &c. each number of *Drachma's* containing 4 times the number of *Shekels* respectively. And compare the *Διδραχμῶν ἄξιον*, mentioned p. 506, with the *Half-Shekel*, that every man was commanded to give to the Lord for the Ransom of his Soul, *Exod.* XXX. 13.

^b *Archæolog.* Lib. III. Cap. 8. §. 2. Edit. *Hudson*. Ο ἡμίσεος δὲ τῆς ἀττικῆς δραχμῆς ποσῶδες.

^c Vid. Part. III. Cap. 3. §. 2.

^d Vid. *Archæolog.* Lib. III. Cap. 8. §. 10. where the *Shekel of Gold*, mentioned *Numb.* 7, = in weight to a *ἡμισέος*, or *Golden Stater*, = to a *Didrachm*, = to $\frac{1}{2}$ a *Shekel* in *Silver*, is called a *Daricus*.

which their *LXX Interpreters* had given long before*. For they render a *Shekel* of 20 *Gerabs* by *Didrachmum*, the *Alexandrian Coin*, equal to the *Attick Tetradrachm*: And their Translation was certainly made above 200 years before our SAVIOUR, and when the *Drachma* of *Athens* may be rated at 65 Grains at least. Neither is it necessary to think that they reckoned by the common current *Didrachm* of their time; but rather likely that they respected the Standard given not long before by *Alexander*, which may be justly rated at 67 Grains, if not higher than 68,4, as it was suspected by me upon another occasion. And this Construction, which is here offered to this *Alexandrian Description* of the *LXX Interpreters*, may take place too in *Philo* and *Josephus*, who cannot possibly be brought to mean the *Roman Drachma*, but may have meant the highest *Attick*.

§. III. THIS is a full concurrent Information, we have transmitted in Writings of higher and more certain Antiquity, than any the *Talmudists* can alledge. The Translation of the *Septuagint* was made so long before our SAVIOUR, that nothing, the Traditioners of the *Jews* have to produce, can pretend to the like Antiquity. *Josephus*, not to speak of *Philo* who was elder, must be allowed to take place before the Compiler of the *Mishnah*, their authentick Tradition, if wrote as early as they would have it, and in the time of *Adrian*. And as for the *Talmud*, or Comments on that *Mishnah*; they are undoubtedly late Compositions of Hearsays, and taken up at a great distance from the times they speak of.

The Persons too, who are said to have conveyed these Traditions, are obscure, and otherwise unknown. The great *Rabbi Jebudab*, from whom they have their *Mishnah*, is a person of whom the *Rabbins* give us but little information; and of whose learning and judgment, and care of truth we know nothing, but by the credit the *Gemarists* of the *Talmud* are pleased to give him. And these are still more obscure, and much less to be credited, for the want they betray of those good qualities, that should induce us to believe them. Whereas *Philo* and *Josephus* are Writers, who, living in the time of the currency of the Moneys they compare, were *Jews* of great reputation among the People of their Nation, and eminently knowing in its affairs; and whose Authority is not to be the less valued by us, because they wrote in *Greek*, and not in *Hebrew*; and because the custody of their Writings has been in the hands not of the *Jews*, but us Christians.

§. IV. THIS is the Determination of the old *Hebrew Money*, as it is given us by the most antient, and most credible *Jews*, who can be consulted upon the subject. And therefore all the difference between the *Hebrew* and the *Attick Money* consists in this, as appears by the *Tables*; that twice as many *Shekels* or *Tetradrachms* are rec-

* *Exod.* XXX. 13. *Levit.* XXVII. 25.

koned to the *Hebrew Mina* and *Talent*, as are to the *Attick*; and that the *Shekel* is divided into twenty parts, the *Gerabs*; and the *Tetradrachm* into twenty four, the *Oboli*.

That difference between the upper Weights, the *Talents* and *Minae*, can be no Argument against the Equality of the *Shekel* and *Tetradrachm*, in the judgment of the *Rabbins*. For they themselves distinguish between their *Talents*, the Sacred, and another, just half, which they call the Profane; and by which they understand the *Tyrian*, and we may the *Attick* too; were we not able to prove the *Tyrian* and *Attick* Money to have been the same, as I shall attempt to do in *Chapter V*.

As little will the difference between the *Gerab* and the *Obolus* make against this Equality. For the same *Shekel*, that was divided into 20 parts by the *Hebrews*, after the *Egyptian* Reckoning, might well have been divided by the *Athenians* under *Solon* (if not by the *Phœnicians* long before) into 24; a more convenient Number for partition, as has been already intimated^a.

§. V. I know well that the Authority of *St. Jerom* and *Epiphanius* is cited against this position: But, as we come prepared to understand their Language, they will be found to say the same thing. *Epiphanius*^b indeed expressly says, *A Litra is 12 Ounces; and an Ounce has 2 Staters; and a Stater, which is half an Ounce, has 2 Didrachms; and a Didrachm, which is the Notable Shekel, and which is called a Quadrans, and is the fourth of an Ounce, has 2 Drachma's*. But this *Litra* and *Ounce*, which our Opposites take to be the *Roman*, must, in all fair construction, be supposed to be the *Attick*; such as *Fannius* has described. For the whole Description of the *Ounce* by *Staters* and *Didrachma's* seems to speak it a *Grecanick* one: And then it will be easily allowed to be the *Attick*; and the $\frac{1}{2}$ of it will be nothing else but the *Drachma* given by *Philo* and *Josephus*.

This is, I think, a true Account of what is said concerning our present Argument by *Epiphanius*, in this dark place; which for the Reader's better satisfaction is here given, as it stands in the Translation of the very able *Petavius*.

* *Talentum mensurarum omnium, quibus pondera metimur, maximum est. Quod si ad Libras redigatur, CXXV complectitur.*

Sex minuta Talenti septem assibus valent. Septem verò assium minuta centum Denariis.

Argenteus Nummus jam tum olim signatus est, & ex assibus cufus. Ferunt Abrahamum hujus figuram in Chananæam importasse.

^a Part II. Chap. I. §. 6.

^b Edit. *Petav.* Vol. II. p. 183.

* Ταλαντὶν ἐστὶ τὸ ὑπερέχον πᾶσι σταθμώδεον μέτρον, καὶ ὃ τ' ἀγροσμοῦ [λίτρας] καὶ λειψῶν ὑπερῆ.
Εξ λιπῆς ταλάντου, ἑπτὰ ἀσάβαρα· περὶ δὲ ἑπτά λιπῆς τ' ἀσάβαραν ἔστι ὑπερῆ δηνάρα.
Ὁ δὲ ἀργεὺς δὲ ἐτυπώθη ἀπ' ἑξῆς τὸ νόμισμα. οὐ δὲ τ' ἀσάβαραν τὴν ἐτυπώθη. Φησὶ δὲ τὸν Ἀσάβαραν εἰς τὴν Χαναανίαν
τὸν τύπον εἰσενεχέναι.

Talenti centesima vicesima quinta pars est Libra, quæ duodecim Unciis constat. Uncia Stateres habet duos.

Stater, dimidia Unciæ pars, duas Drachmas continet.

Siclus, qui ☉ Quadrans appellatur, quarta pars est Unciæ, Stateris dimidia, duas Drachmas habens. Nam Uncia octo Drachmas continet.

Holce eadem est cum Drachmâ, ac præterea ejusdem cum Siclo ponderis, quo identidem Abfalomi ponderari coma consueverat, cum detonsus esset; quæ pondo erat centum viginti quinque Siclorum, hoc est, Libras duas habebat cum dimidiâ.

Now amidst all the doubts concerning the right Reading of this passage, which Mr. Greaves^a has set aside for its uncertainty, none can be made, in the *First* place, against the Equality of this *Talent* to 125 *Litræ*. For, besides that it is so reckoned twice in these few lines, this quantity of a *Talent* of *Sicli* is unquestionably attested by the Inscription of a Stone, which *Villalpandus* has produced^b. And (2dly) it is also plainly and clearly laid down, that this *Litra* consists of 12 Ounces, and 96 *Drachmæ*; and also that it is equal to 48 *Didrachms*, or *Sicli*. And (3dly) it follows by necessary consequence, that those 125 *Litræ*, which are 125×48 *Sicli*, are equal to 6000 *Sicli*, and to 12000 half *Sicli*, whatsoever these *Sicli* are. And (4thly) we know, by the Method here used of accounting by *Litrifmus*, that these half *Sicli* can be nothing more, nor less, than so many *Denaria*; and the *Talent*, 12000 of them. And then, in the *Last* place, if the half *Siclus* be once allowed to be the *Drachma* and *Denarion*, belonging to those two sorts of Accounts; we are assured, that it needs not be taken for a Ponderal *Drachma* of the *Romans*, but may be much more reasonably taken, in the Age of this Writer, for the highest *Attick*; and that the *Talent* of them is 12000, a double *Talent* of the *Attick*.

It is sufficient, for my design, to have considered this part of *Epiphanius* so far: But, with the Reader's leave, I shall offer another Interpretation of it, as the Text may reasonably, I think, be varied: And it is this. *A Talent is the highest single measure of Ponderables. And, according to the Account by Litræ, the Talent of the Jews is 125 of them. Of a [common Attick] Talent the 60 parts are 60 Argyroi, [or hundreds of Denaria;] but the 60 parts with the Assyrians were 200 Denaria. A Silver [Sicle, the Beka] was the first Money that was coined; and it was coined by the Assyrians: And Abraham, they say,*

Τὸ ὅ παλαιὸν ἔχει λίτρα μία. ἡ δὲ λίτρα δεκάδω ἄργύριον ὑπάρχει. ἡ δὲ ἄργύρια ἕκαστα στατήρας δύο.
 Ο ὅ στατήρ ἡμῶν μὲ ἄργύριον, ἔχει δὲ διδραχμῶν. (1)
 [Περὶ σίκλων] σίκλος, ὃ λέγεται καὶ κροδοντίας, τίταται μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ἄργύριον, ἡμῶν δὲ τὸ στατήρ, δύο δραχμῶν ἔχει. τῆς γὰρ ἄργύριας ἢ ἡ δραχμῆς. (2)
 Εἰσαλέτω δὲ ὅλην ἡ δραχμὴ τὸ αὐτοῦ στατήρ καὶ σίκλον καὶ στατήρ καὶ καὶ καὶ τὴν τετραχμὴν τὴν Ἀσιωτικὴν, ὅτι ἐκαστοῦτε, ἀλλὰ ἔχουσιν καὶ σίκλων, ὃ ἐστὶν ἄργύριον σίκλον ἑνός, γινώσκοντες λίτρας δύο ἡμῶν.

(1) *Petavius* emendandum censet, ἔχει δὲ δραχμῶν.

(2) Τῆς γὰρ ἄργύριας ἢ ἢ ἡ δραχμῆς. Idem.

^a *Rom.* Foot and Denar. p. 59, 85, 86.

^b Vid. *Apparat. Urbis ac Templi*, Part. II. Lib. 2. Disput. 4. Cap. 33.

first brought it into Canaan. Of this Talent of 125 Litrae, the single Litra is 12 Ounces; and every Ounce has 2 Staters; and a Stater, the half of an Ounce, has 2 Didrachms. The Remarkable Siclus, [or the Siclus the Coin,] which is called the Quadrans, is the quarter of an Ounce, the half of a Stater, having 2 Drachmae, (now a Drachma was the 8 of an Ounce, and was called the Weight,) and being of the same weight with that Siclus, by which Absalom's Hair was weighed at 200 Sicli, which is 50 Ounces, amounting to 4 Litrae and two Ounces.

And here, as to the Corrections I have offered upon the Text, that of the last Paraphrase, concerning Absalom's Hair, the putting 200 [σ'] *Shekels* for 125 *πρσ'*, (which is nothing but the number of Litrae in a Talent, wrote in a wrong place,) is justified by the Scripture. And then these 200 *Shekels* must necessarily make 50 Ounces, [and πεντήκοντα be read for σικλ' ἑνός,] and thence will follow λίτραί δ' ἔχοντες δύο ὀγκύαι. And as to the Correction of the preceding Paragraphs; that of the change of *Assaria* must certainly seem proper at the third mention of the word. For when it is said after, that Abraham brought the type of the *Sicle* into Canaan, we know whence he must have brought it; and cannot but think it rather intended by the Author to say just before, that the Silver Money, which was a Coin from the beginning, was struck by the *Assyrians*; than to say that it was made out of *Assaria*, a little modern piece of Money, which was taken up by the *Greeks* from the later *Romans*; and out of which the first *Siclus* was certainly never made.

Taking also the word λεπτόν, in general, to signify a lesser part; and finding it here used for the part of a Talent, I have thought that 60 should be read instead of 6; not only because they are lesser parts, than the sixth of the Talent; but because they are the more stated parts of it, the *Minæ*; according to Pollux^a, or to that of Hero, as I find it in Scaliger^b De Re Numm. Every Talent has 60 proper *Minæ*; and the [Greek] Mina 25 Staters; and the Stater 4 Drachmae, which are [Holkæ] Weights. And if ἐξήκοντα be read for ἑξ, with λεπτά; it may also be for the following ἑπτά, joined with ἀσά-εια: And this word ἀσάεια, so impertinent in this Context, ought then to be altered into ἀργύρια, which are each, we know, a 100 δινάρ-εια. And afterwards, when the difference of an *Assyrian Mina* from the *Attick* is spoke with the words τὰ δέ; and ἐξήκοντα read there too with λεπτά: the number of δινάρεια, in such a λεπτόν of the *Assyrians*, instead of [ρ'] a 100, must be read [σ'] 200; that the 125 Litrae in this *Assyrian Talent* of Abraham, reckoned above by *Litrism*, may be equal to 2 × 60, or 120 such λεπτά or *Minæ*, reckoned by *Argyrisim*.

These are the Alterations, with which the justification of the *Grecian Jews* is concerned; and which rids the Text of the difficulties

^a Poll. Lib. IX. Cap. de Talent. &c.
^b Scalig. p. 4.

which much perplexed *Petavius*^a, and were therefore referred by him to farther consideration. As to the rest, by which my Translation varies from the *Latin*; as they are of no moment to me, so they need no recommendation: As where the words τὸ δὲ τελευτῶν τῶν ραε' λιπῶν μία ἢ δὲ λίτρα are continued together; or where the Sentence, instead of throwing out the strange word αἰσίμω, begins with it; and changing it into the known αἰσίμω, the same with ὑπὸς αἰσίμω, continues distinguished only by a Parenthesis; and is not altered but in ἢ for ὃ, to agree with ὅλη; or in the numbers, which are manifestly to be reformed.

These last Alterations, if allowed, will absolutely clear the Text. And the first will not only give Light to a very dark place, but a consistent Attestation to the Doctrine, which our Author is cited to contradict.

But however it may fare with these Corrections, we are, as I now said, otherwise sure, that this Testimony of *Epiphanius* can never be brought in opposition to those two Authors, and made to say, that the *Drachma* Weight of *Rome* was equiponderant to a *Hebrew* quarter *Shekel*.

§. VI. THE other Witness, that is used to be produced on the side of these *Rabbins*, is *St. Jerom*, who, expressing sometimes a *Shekel* by the parts of an Ounce, is also erroneously understood to mean the *Roman*. In his *Tradit. Hebraicae* on *Genesis* XXIV. 22; which place he thus renders, *Et tulit vir in aurem auream, Didrachmum pondus ejus*; he adds, *Bake, quod in hoc loco pro Didrachmo scribitur, Semiuncia [l. Semi-Sekel] est*; *Sekel vero, qui Latino sermone Siclus corruptè appellatur, Unciæ [l. Semiunciæ] pondus habet*. And here the mention of a *Didrachm*, a *Grecian* word; and especially as it is put in the place of the Δραχμή *Alexandrina* of the *Septuagint*; will argue the Ounce to be likewise *Attick*.

The same is to be said of that famous place upon the fourth Chapter of *Ezekiel*: *Siclus autem, qui dicitur Stater, Drachmas habet 4. Drachmæ autem 8 Latinam Unciam faciunt*. For when a *Shekel* is first said to be a *Stater*, and that *Stater* then to be 4 *Drachma's*; the 8 *Drachma's* may fairly be presumed to be such as used, in the *Greek* Account, 4 of them to make up a *Stater*. And though it be called a *Latin* Ounce that is made up of these *Drachma's*, and not an *Attick*; yet we may remember, that the *Libra* of such Ounces is, in the phrase of *Fannius*, a *Libra Latii*; and in *Hero*, a *Litra Italica*: And that with this respect, the Ounce may have been properly termed *Latin* here.

This Exposition might be fairly given to any learned Men of that Age, writing concerning Measures; as I have now said. But it is much more necessary to these Authors; because it keeps them from contradicting the two Writers of the *Jewish* Nation, whom they usual-

^a Animadvers. ad Lib. *Epiphani* de Mensuris & Ponderibus, p. 426, 427.

ly followed, and for whom they must have had a just Esteem; as also from going against the *Septuagint*, in a matter that must have been best known to those Interpreters; and from giving the *Didrachm* a Value which could never be intended by them.

§. VII. IT was, I suppose, the *Jewish* Learning, in which these two Christian Writers excelled, that inclined Men to understand them in the sense of the *Jewish* modern *Rabbins*. Though I may venture to say, that, had these Authors been favourable to the *Rabbins*, I should have been more inclined to believe these Christians had been deceived by late *Rabbinical* Hearsays, than that such credible antient *Jews*, as *Philo* and *Josephus*, should have been mistaken.

But now we find the Determination of those Christian Authors so agreeable to that of the two *Grecian Jews*, we have greater reason to suspect the commonly received Tradition of the *Rabbins*. For now, the greater the Knowledge of those Christians was in those matters, either by study or information; the greater will be the Probability, that the *Rabbinical* Determination, either so much wanted credit, as to be rejected by them; or was so little known, as not to have come into their notice.

So plain and full is the Authority of those elder *Jews*, for the Equality of the *Shekels*, &c. of the *Old Testament*, with the *Tetradrachma's*, &c. of *Athens*.

§. VIII. AND as to the Difference the *Rabbins*, *Kimchi* and *Jarchi* (upon that place of *Ezekiel*) set up between the Money before, and after the Captivity of *Babylon*; (a Difference all the *Talmudists* suppose to have taken place throughout all the Measures of those times;) it appears evidently, though not to the same degree, that these *Greek* Writers knew nothing of it. For there is not the least notice of it taken by them upon any occasion: And when they speak of *Jewish* Measures, and compare them with foreign, they compare them indiscriminately, and speak their Quantity absolutely, and without any exception of time. And particularly in Money, of which I am now discoursing, they express its Value, upon its mention before the Captivity, in phrase that supposes it to be the same with the Money of their own time, and without taking any care to prevent such a thought in the Reader they were informing. And moreover, they give it such a Value, as is of itself high enough, and will not admit any encrease of a fifth to make a tolerable *Sela*. For 66 (not to say 68,4) Grains, assigned to the old quarter *Shekel*, will require, by their Traditional principle, 79,2 Grains at least to a quarter *Sela*.

By this Equality of the old *Jewish* Money to the new, the *Rabbinical Deinar* will become the same with an old quarter *Shekel*; and consequently with an *Attick Drachma*: And the same Equality will hold between the *Mea* and Grain of the *Rabbinical* TABLE; and the *Obolus* and $\kappa\epsilon\lambda\sigma\iota$ of the *Attick*.

This is the Doctrine of those antient reputable *Jews*, who have wrote in *Greek*; and also of the above-cited Christians, concerning the constant Quantity of the *Shekel*. I come now to inspect that of the *Talmudists*; and to observe, I. From what Principles they state the Value of their *Sela*; and, II. How they come to put such a Difference between that and the old *Shekel*.

C H A P. III.

§. I. *The Rabbinical Determination of those Weights and Moneys under the Second Temple; taken according to Maimonides.* II. *The Egyptian Dirhem of his time, by which he gives the Jewish Measure; proved to be the same with the modern.* First, *From a passage in Edrisides.* III. *Secondly, From our Penny-weight.* IV. *Incidental Observations: (1) That this Dirhem was a Grecanick Drachma, retained by the Saracens at their Conquest of Egypt.* V. *And (2) that the Cairo Ratel, though the word Ratel did come from Litra, may yet be an Attick Mina, as I have taken it.* VI. *The course Maimonides takes of measuring a Mea, a Deinar, &c. by this Dirhem, uncertain and groundless.* VII. *The cause of the Mifreckoning of that knowing Rabbi.*

§. I. **I** MAY have seemed too hasty, in proceeding to take the Information of those *Grecian Jews*, concerning the Determination of their Weight and Money, without first enquiring after such Modules and Coins, as may happen to be preserved.

Such Coins may now be offered by the *Rabbins*: And Old *Hebrew Shekels* are produced; (for of the Second Period they have none to shew us;) such as have been already mentioned^a out of Mr. *Greaves*, upon occasion of the *Roman Ounce*, as weighing half of it. Of these *Shekels* the quarter is a *Roman Drachma* of about 55 Grains. And if to this last you add a fifth of it, or 11 Grains; you have, by the *Talmudical Rule*, 66 Grains for a *Deinar* of the Second Temple; the Weight of one of the largest sorts of the *Attick Drachma's* that have been found, and such as *Philo* and *Josephus* may have meant.

But the Consideration of these remaining *Shekels* I shall still postpone, and begin rather with their *Sela* of the Second Temple; not only because *Maimonides* leads me this way, but because by the view of the nearer Money, we may be better able to judge of the remoter.

The Weights, with which the elder *Talmudists* have compared their latter Money, are Grains; by which they measure them respectively,

^a See Part III. Chap. 2. §. 5.

as the proportion is stated in the *Table*: But these Grains themselves are come now to be under no little uncertainty.

Concerning them, I shall take my first Information from their knowing and judicious *Maimonides*^a. And he tells us, that the *Gemarists*, their celebrated Traditioners on the *Mishnah*, all agree in the number of 16 to a *Mea*; and that he learned by a secondary Tradition from his Father, that those were Grains of Barley. And upon this, being to compare them with the *Dirhem* used, as he says, over all Egypt in his time; he takes the natural Barley-corn of Egypt to be his Measure; and finds 61 of them to be of the Weight of that Coin.

§. II. Now, to understand *Maimonides* and his followers, about the Jewish Measures both of Weight and Content, it is absolutely necessary to state the *Egyptian Dirhems* of his time. How they lately stood, we have already seen^b from Mr. *Greaves*: And that they were, in his opinion, the same in the 12 Century, in which this *Rabbin* lived, he lets us understand by saying^c, That it is not improbable, but that the present Weight of them may have continued with the Egyptians, without any diminution, for 6 or 700 years.

There he adds, that he intended farther to prosecute the Subject of those *Dirhems* and *Deinars* of the *Arabians* at some other time. And it is great pity, for many reasons, that the accurate Judgment and exquisite Learning, with which he was furnished, met with those unhappy Times; in which an honest Man was not only discouraged, but disabled from the prosecution of such Studies. And the Reader will regret this the more, when he takes the honest and the knowing Dr. *Pococke*'s Character of him, as he gives it, *Specim. Historiæ Arabum*, p. 158. The most learned (says he) and my most loving Friend, John Greaves; than whom none ever devoted himself, and his Studies, and his Expences, with a more intire Affection to the publick Advantage of Learning.

This Elogy of him I could not forbear producing, in gratitude for the Informations I have received from him; and with a wish, that these Conjectures from them, I am now offering, had been prevented by his solid Conclusions. For I cannot but flatter myself, that he had some such Design in his view, concerning the Jewish Measures, as that, at which I am now aiming.

Now, as to those *Dirhems*, after which I am enquiring, there is a mention of them made that Age, before *Maimonides*, by *Edrifides*, in the Preface to his *Geography*, which was finished, as he says, in the year of the *Hegira* 548, that is, the 1153 of our Style; and wrote at the Command of Roger, King of *Sicily*, for the Explication of a Terrestrial Globe of pure Silver, that Prince had ordered to be made.

^a *Maimon.* in *Becoroth*. Cap. 8. §. 7. Vid. *Surenhus.* Par. V. p. 184, 185

^b Part I. Chap. 4

^c *Greav. Rom. Foot.* &c. p. 115.

The Author says there, as Dr. Pococke informs us^a, that the *Silver of this Globe weighed 400 Ratels of the Grecians*, [the *Roumi's* in the *Arabick*]. And what sort of *Ratel* that was, he explains, by telling of how many *Dirhems* such a *Ratel* consisted; and saying that *each of them weighed 112 Dirhems*.

And from hence, it is, *First*, certainly confirmed, that the Weight of a *Dirhem* was then a known settled *Standard* with the *Arabs*, in the middle of the 12 Century; just as it is reported by Mr. Greaves and Golius to be in *Egypt* at this day. And it is plain also, that counting 12 Ounces to the *Ratel*, after the Eastern manner, this *Grecian* [or *Roumian*] Ounce was composed of 9 *Dirhems* and a third, or 9,3333 &c. And one may be tempted to think, that this was meant to be the *Roman Ounce*, which weighs now 9,15935 such *Dirhems*, and is supposed ever to have continued the same.

For though the incomparably learned and good Dr. Pococke, who produced this passage for no other purpose, than to let us know the Author, and time, and occasion of that Book, (the Epitomy of which is the *Geographia Nubiensis*,) thought it enough for his purpose, to express the word *Rome* or *Roman* in the general sense, as it is used at large in *Arabick* for the *Greeks*; yet very probably the word may be more properly intended here; and so as to mean the *Ratel* or *Libra* of *Rome*, specifically. For it is well known, that this Roger, King of *Sicily*, owned so by the Pope after several disputes, was also Duke of *Apulia* and *Calabria*. And as he was a near neighbour to *Rome*, and had always great affairs with it, and its Bishop; so it may very well be presumed, that he made his *Globe* there, and that its Weight was reckoned up here by Pounds of this City. For this Construction, I am assured by good Authority^b, the words will bear in that place of the Manuscript Preface, which has been inspected for this purpose.

And then it is presently seen, that, supposing the *Roman* pound to have been then, as it is now, = 5256 Grains; the *Dirhem* of that time, the 112th part of it, was 46,92857 Grains, and wanted not a whole Grain of 47,82, the present reckoning.

This is a very small difference; and it would have been very inconsiderable, had the *Arabian* Author rated that pound at 110 *Dirhems*. But in this, it may be, he, being a stranger, followed some vulgar Computation, (as that of nine *Dirhems* and a third to the Ounce,) and which was, with his own Countrymen, more for the honour of his Patron, the more *Dirhems* it reckoned.

§. III. WERE we absolutely certain, that the *Roman* Pound was intended by that *Arabick* Author; the *Dirhem* of *Maimonides* would be pretty nearly fixed by this little piece of History. But the knowledge, wherewith we are furnished by Mr. Greaves, of the Equality

^a Specim. Historiæ Arabum, p. 373.

^b Mr. Gagnier, Deputy Professor of *Arabick* in Oxford.

of our Penny-weight with the modern half *Dirhem* of *Egypt*, may be our best help for the determination of that more antient *Dirhem* now; as it may be hereafter, for the understanding of our own antient Money before the *Conquest*.

For knowing, as we do, not only from *Edrisides*, but from *Maimonides* himself, that this *Dirhem* was the Weight by which they counted in *Egypt* and *Syria* then, just as they do now; we cannot doubt but that, if our modern Penny-weight should be found the same with our Penny-weight of those days, the *Dirhem* also of the South-east of the *Mediterranean*, now in use, must have been the same with the *Dirhem* of that time. For the Equality of our Penny-weight with the modern half *Dirhem* is not by chance: And whence should it be derived, but from the antient Conformity of the same Penny-weight heretofore to its contemporary Standard, the former *Dirhem*?

Now, that our *Troy-weight* agrees with the present *Saracenick* of *Egypt*, and so as to be singularly adapted to it, we have observed heretofore^a: And also, that our Penny-weight is exactly equal to an half *Dirhem*, or 6 *Carats* of that Country; and that this precise Correspondence is supposed, for good reasons, to have been established by *Edward* the First. That it was not since established, we may know well from the Account given us by Mr. *Greaves*^b, who tells us, that in the 2d of Queen *Elizabeth* the Ounce was equal to 60 Pence; that under *Henry* the VIII, it was equal to 45; under *Edward* the IV, = 40; under *Henry* the VI, = 32; and under *Edward* the III, = 26. And that the same *Troy Ounce*, under *Edward* the I, was = 20; or, that a Penny-weight was a Money-Penny, it has already appeared. For, by these facts, we may observe: That the Penny-Coin, and Penny-Weight, so much differing now, are still found nearer together, as we go back to his time; and that thereabouts, if not higher yet, a designed (not casual) accurate Agreement must have obtained.

This therefore seems to have been a time, when our *English* Penny was appointed equal to the modern half *Dirhem*. And that it agreed also with the half *Dirhem* of that time, those will not scruple to believe, who consider, that no other cause for the Equality of our Two-Penny-Weight (which appears by its Name to have been a Money-Weight once) to the present *Dirhem*, can be assigned, but its Agreement heretofore, when it was so much in Money, to that *Egyptian* Standard of the same time.

Neither is this Observation any way weakened by the Definition of a *Sterling* Penny, made in the *Statute* of that King, in the year 1302.

The *Ordinance* made, as it is there said, *by the Consent of the whole Realm, Enacts, That an English Penny, which is called the Sterlin, round, without clipping, shall weigh 32 Grains of Wheat, well dried,*

^a Part I. Chap. 4

^b *Greaves*, p. 117

and gathered out of the middle of the Ear; and 20 Pence shall make an Ounce.

This application of Natural Grains, as a groffer substance, to the weighing of such little parts of Gold and Silver as were not manageable, has been of antient use. But, for its uncertainty, it has been left off: And in *Spain* particularly, in the year 1488, it was, I find^a, abolished by a Pragmatical Sanction: And Brass Grains were substituted in the place of the Natural; as had been long before accustomed at *Athens*, where half the *Chalcus* stood for the *Granum Hordei*, the *Kesm*.

Now the Natural Grains of this *Statute*, when choicely picked and dried, and in proper time, and in a seasonable year, and from an indifferent soil, might tolerably serve to let the People know pretty nearly of what Weight a *Drachma*, for example, of *Athens* should be; and might here with us have served for a common gross *Examen* of the Coins of the several Mints, which were pretended to be of one Weight. But the Mint-master to the King, or to any great Lord, or Community, whose Coin had a certain course, must be supposed (if he was exact) not to have raised his Penny from an Aggregate of such Grains; but to have made it equal to such a piece of Silver, as lay before him; and whose Counterpoise in Brass, or other Metal, might be divided into what little parts he thought fit, and be called Grains.

And for such a piece of Silver I may reasonably, I think, suppose the *Statute* intended the half *Dirhem*; finding it, as we do, to be equal to the Penny *Sterlin* of the time.

And if I should presume, that they had been also the same about 160 years before, in the days of *Maimonides*, who lived to the year 1201; that is, that they had not varied in those 100 and few preceding years, which have continued unvaried for so many hundred years since; I should not be thought unreasonable; especially after the probability, we have had from *Edrisides*, for the same Equality about the middle of the Twelfth Century.

But I need not presume from this *Statute*, what we may learn from another. For that *Ordinance* of King *Edward* is the same *verbatim* with that in the *Statute* of his Father, *Henry* the III, *Anno Regis* 51, *Domini* 1268. And that *Statute* too expressly says, That it was made, according to his Promise, in the beginning of his Reign, upon the sight of certain *Ordinances made in the times of his Progenitors*.

How high this word *Progenitors* may carry the Antiquity of the use of this Weight here in *England*, may be enquired on another occasion^b. It is enough for the present Argument, to see it so evidently certain, that the *Dirhem* of *Maimonides*, and the present *Dirhem* of *Egypt* were of the same Weight.

^a *Covarruv. Collat. Numm. Veter. Cap. II.*

^b *Append. Chap. I. §. 5.*

§. IV. BUT before I proceed to make use of this Information, for the discovery of *Maimonides's* Judgment concerning the *Jewish* Measures, I shall take leave to add here a confirmation of Mr. *Greaves's* Opinion^a concerning the Derivation of the *Dirhem* from the *Greek* Δραχμή; which *Golius*^b seems inclined to fetch from the *Persian*; and to shew what probability it has for a higher Antiquity in *Egypt*, than that of the *Saracenick* Empire itself.

What I conceive is, that this little Silver Coin was fixed in *Egypt*, under the *Roman* Empire, and before the *Saracens* came to be Masters there, at such a time, when the *Drachma's* then used of both forts, the *Alexandrian*, and its half, the *Attick* or *Memphite*, grew to be so much impaired, as to want a Reform; and when the *Roman* Manner of accounting *Mina's* by Ounces or Twelves had been received universally, and the eighth part of an Ounce was indifferently termed a *Drachma*, or *Denarius*. And I imagine that, when they had reduced the Standard for the Fineness of their new Coin to the old one of *Athens* or *Alexandria*, they then regulated its Weight by the old Natural *Mina*, the *Palm Pound* of *Athens*, and probably of *Memphis*. And then they divided it not by a 100, which would have restored that old *Drachma*; but, as a *Litra*, after the *Roman* usage, by 12 for Ounces; and kept so much to that Duodecimal Arithmetick, as farther to divide this Ounce into 12 parts for the new *Drachma*; and yet farther, to divide this *Drachma* (by the usual partition of a *Drachma*, which always has 6 *Oboli*, each of 8 *Chalci*) into 12 more parts, as so many new *Semioboli*, each *Semiobolus* and its 4 new Grains, equal to the modern *Egyptian Carats* and Grains. And then, when this *Radical Litra* was so ordered, I would think that those of *Alexandria*, the most likely to have been consulted about such a Reform, and whose Money might have been sunk from a double *Attick* to five quarters of a single one; readily accommodated those new *Drachma's* to their present *Litra*, by reckoning 15 of them to the Ounce, the twelfth of their *Litra*; as I would also proceed to think, that other great Cities followed this example, as the little Coin happened to have a general Course; and that they reckoned so many of them to an Ounce, as would best fit their several *Litra's*.

This is the Distribution of the several *Litra's* or *Ratels* of *Egypt* and *Syria*, and of their Ounces, into several Sums of such *Dirhems* of 48 Grains, as they stand at this day. And this is the particular Weight now of the *Ratel* of *Cairo*. And it does not seem to me likely, that a Distribution, so complicated with regard to the *Roman* and *Grecian* Accounts, should have been instituted by the *Saracens*. And that they made no change in the *Drachma's* after, appears plainly by the *Cairo Litra*, still equal to the *Attick*, to which they cannot be supposed to have had any respect.

^a See Part I. Chap. 4. §. 7.

^b Lex. Arab. Col. 824.

There is therefore good ground to call these *Dirbems Drachmæ Ægyptiacæ*, as Dr. Bernard generally does; and to look upon the *Ratels* as so many *Litræ*, they all of them being reckoned by 12 Ounces.

§. V. BUT there is but one sort of these *Ratels* that can be strictly taken for a *Litra*: And that, to make good the *Litrism*, must reckon 8 *Dirbems* to the Ounce: And such a one very probably there was of 96 *Dirbems*, as *Drachmæ*. As for the rest of the *Litræ*, they may as well stand in the place of *Minae*; and their 12 Ounces be as well supposed to make up a 100, as 96. And so, we may remember, the *Libra Nummaria* of the Romans signified a 100 of their *Denarii*; whatever the *Denarii* were of their Pound for weight.

This is here mentioned in defence of the Reckoning I have made of an *Attick Drachma*, from the 100, not the 96 of the *Cairo Ratel*; whereby it has been set at 68,86 *Troy Grains*, and not at 71,7, near 72. For though this last Weight be the $\frac{1}{8}$ of the *Cairo Ounce*, and there set down by the *Arabian Physicians*, as a *Drachma Attica*; and though it agrees well with the Computation by *Dirbems*, being completely one and a half of them; yet I have chose to think, that the other *Drachma* was intended, at the first contrivance of the *Cairo Ratel*, to exhibit the true *Attick Drachma*. For, as I have now said, the word *Litra*, hid in the *Ratel* of *Cairo*, does not hinder us from understanding it to be a *Mina*. And when the *Arabian Physicians* take up the Ounce, and divide it into 8 parts, they go indeed in the method of their Profession: But then this 8th part, which is 72 Grains, gives us an *Attick Mina* of 7200 Grains, and much too large to be admitted in other respects; whereas an *Attick Drachma* of 68,86 is much more agreeable to those other Calculations in the II Part, §. 2. And is besides countenanced by another known Weight very near it, which is of 68,314 Grains, and is specially meant by the word *Mithcál*.

For this *Mithcál* of the *Arabians*, as *Golius* tells us^a, is either a *Weight*, in the general sense of its root; or specially, the Weight of $\frac{12}{7}$ of a *Dirbem*. And in this, we plainly see, it answers exactly to the *Greek* ὀλκῆ, which we have met with in *Epiphanius*; and which stands either for a *Weight* in general, or, in particular, for the Weight of a *Drachma*, and of an *Attick Drachma*, if not otherwise qualified.

And moreover this *Mithcál* is not given to us by the *Arabians*, as having any relation to an Ounce of a *Litra*: Neither indeed can it, by reason of its odd proportion to the *Dirbem*, ever make up an adequate Number of *Dirbems* to form such an Ounce.

And from these Premises, I think, it may be very reasonably concluded, that this Weight, which is never suggested to be a part of a

^a Lex. Arab. Gol. Col. 435.

Litra, and which also is incapable of being one; and which, by its Denomination, speaks itself to be a *Drachma Attica*; and, lastly, which taken a 100 times, comes so very near to the *Cairo Ratel*, the *Attick Mina* of the *Saracens*; that this Weight, I say, was not delivered down to them, by the *Grecians*, for any other Weight, than that of an *Attick Drachma*.

For this Digression, in justification of my Centesimal Division of a *Cairo Ratel* by *Drachmæ*, I have taken the first occasion that presented after some knowledge of the *Attick Money*; and have, I hope, made good the Valuation I there made of an *Attick Mina* by a *Cairo Litra*; which is, we now see, attested by another stated Weight of the antient *Grecians*. And in it I have stayed the longer, for the future use I am to make of it, when I come to fix the *Deinar* of the *Jews* upon a different bottom from that they go upon.

§. VI. THIS concerning the Derivation of the word *Dirhem*, and the Equality of the *Cairo Ratel* to the *Attick Mina*, is here occasionally interposed. I return therefore to make use of the *Dirhem* of *Maimonides*, I have settled.

And now, if we presume that the *Dirhem* of the East, in the days of *Maimonides*, was the same with the present, and that he rightly compared the *Egyptian* Corns of Barley with it, making one of them equal to $\frac{47.82}{61}$ of our Metallick; it is plain that a *Deinar* of the *Rabbins* must be $= \frac{96 \times 47.82}{61} = 75.257$; a *Drachma* much higher than the *Thasian*, which Dr. Bernard^a supposes to be the *Tyrian*, and therefore recommends.

It is plain, I confess, that 61 of these Barley-corns were certainly intended by *Maimonides* to be equiponderant to the *Egyptian Dirhem*; for, upon that supposition, the several Sums of five *Sela's*, and 30, &c. are calculated there by so many *Dirhems*: But, if I may have leave to surmise that *Maimonides* took 61 such Barley-grains, (which are always understood to be of the middling size,) as were yet heavier by three only than those designed under that latitude of expression; we shall then have 64 Grains equal to a *Dirhem*; and in that case a *Deinar* = 96 Barley-grains will be = 1.5 *Dirhem*, = 72 *Troy* Grains, the very *Thasian Drachma*.

To this suspicion the Author himself gives some countenance in his *Jad Chazakah*, his consummate Work, and drawn up long after these *Commentaries*. For there^b he reckons near 17 and $\frac{1}{2}$ *Deinars*, that is, 1680 *Jewish* Grains, to be equiponderant to a certain Weight, which he elsewhere^c has often rated at 26 *Dirhems*. And we see that, if we divide that sum of Grains by 64 for a *Dirhem*, the quotient is 26.25 *Dirhems*, little exceeding the given number; but if by 61, the quotient will be 27.54, and exceed it by a *Dirhem* and a half.

^a De Mensur. & Ponder. Lib. II. §. 34, 35.

^b Halek, *Erubin*, Cap. I. §. 12. Vol. I. Fol. 136. p. 2. ex Edit. Venet. 1524.

^c Præfat. in *Menach.* edit. J. Pucc. in *Porta Mos.* p. 435.

And to the same the Author of the *Gloss* upon *Maimonides*, in his Commentary on *Baba Kama*, plainly agrees; as it is cited by *Buxtorf* in his *Lex. Chald.* at the word מנר; where a *Dirma*, or *Derama* is positively said to be the Weight of 64 middling Barley-grains. He says^a, *The Deinar is the Weight of a Mithcál; which is a Derama [and half]: And a Derama is the Weight of 64 middling Barley-grains.*

This short Paragraph consists of 3 members. The first gives the relation between a *Deinar* of the *Jews* and the *Mithcál*, a *Saracenick* Weight: The second, between that and another *Saracenick* Weight, the *Dirhem*: And the third, that between this *Dirhem* and the *Jewish* Barley-grain. And now the *Dirma* of the *Gloss*, which is twice mentioned, and out of all suspicion of false Lexion, I take certainly to be our *Dirhem*; it being a word that is neither *Hebrew* nor *Chaldee*, and yet used here as one well known: And so very near in sound to this principal Weight of the *Saracens*. And this it is, that is positively averred, in the last member, to be equiponderant to 64 Grains of the *Jews*; neither need I examine farther how those other two members will stand: But they too will hold together, after a necessary, but easy Emendation. An Emendation is necessary; for else the *Rabbi* will be made to say Unrabbinically, that their *Deinar* was 64 of their Grains: But if we understand by the *Saracenick* *Mithcál*, a *Darchamy*, which is one of its usual significations; we then need only to put the words *and Half* in the Translation, and וזה in the Original, as they stand, within the Hooks, just after the *Darma* of the second member; and all is perfectly consistent. And we shall then suppose no more, than that the *Jew*, who transcribed this *Gloss*, fell the easier into this mistake, by his ignorance of the two *Arabick* words. This Reading therefore of the place I may, I think, presume to be the right. But had the *Arabick* Professor, Mr. *Gagnier*, above-mentioned, found any Copy of it, manuscript, or printed, in the publick Library at *Oxford*, the Reader might possibly have had a fuller satisfaction.

So probable it is, from what appears already, that 64 of the *Egyptian* Barley-corns were estimated as correspondent to 48 Metallick Grains of *Egypt*: And possibly it may seem yet more probable hereafter. In the mean time, it may be observed concerning our *English* Standard, that by the *Statute* now cited, the middling *Wheat* of *England* is supposed to be of the same Weight of the *Egyptian* Barley; and with us, 32 Grains of them are alike reckoned equiponderant to 24 Grains *Troy*.

Thus far I have viewed the Method *Maimonides* took of stating the Weight of a *Deinar*, by the proportion of the *Egyptian* Grains of Barley to their Silver *Dirhem*; and have found it not absolutely certain, whether we are to take it from him at 75,54, or 72 *Troy*

^a דִּינָר הוּא מִשְׁקָל מִתְקָאֵל שְׁחָא דְרַמָּא [וְהַצִּי] וְהַדְרָמָא מִשְׁקָל ס'ד שְׁעוּרֵי בִּינוּיָא

Grains; though the last be most likely. And accordingly it appears, that a *Zuza*, or quarter *Shekel* of *Moses*, must be stated by *Maimonides*, in pursuance of the *Rabbinical* deduction of a sixth of the *Sela*, at either 62,95, or rather 60 *Troy* Grains.

There is another way, as I see in Dr. *Bernard*^a, which uses not the intervention of a *Dirhem*; but taking the Weight of *Egyptian* (I suppose) Barley to that of their Wheat to be as 2 to 3, and making the Weight of their Wheat-grain equal to a *Troy* Grain, reduces the 96 Barley-grains of a *Deinar* to 64 *Troy* Grains. And by these means, these Calculators have a *Deinar*, which lessened by a $\frac{1}{6}$, that is, by $10\frac{2}{3}$ Grains, will leave a *Zuza*, or quarter *Shekel* of *Moses*, weighing precisely $53\frac{1}{3}$ Grains.

But it may be justly doubted, whether this proportion of 2 to 3 be just, and whether true in all Countries; and how certain it is, that the *Egyptian* Grain of Wheat is equiponderant to our Metallick Grain. For the Wheat Grain of our Country (if we will, as our Statutes intimate, suppose our Penny-weight of 24 Metallick Grains to be equal to that of 32 Wheat-corns) is $= \frac{3}{4}$ of a Metallick Grain. And our Wheat, according to *Pliny's* estimate^b, who reckons the *Gallick* to be to the *Alexandrian* as 12 to 22, may well be to the same *Egyptian* as 11 to 22, or 1 to 2. And consequently such a Wheat-corn will be $= \frac{3}{2}$ of our Metallick Grains: And the supposition of 64 such Grains of Wheat in a *Zuza* will make it equiponderant to 96 Metallick; a Weight so high, that no one has thought of it. And no more than 36,5 will serve to equiponderate $\frac{1}{3}$ *Roman* Ounce, the lowest that any one has set it.

So little Certainty is there to be had from the assignment of 96 Grains to the *Deinar*; though they are allowed to be of Barley, and that of *Egypt*.

For though *Maimonides*, and other of the *Rabbins* have supposed the Barley of that Country; yet we have seen from *Maimonides* himself, what little foundation they have for it from the *Talmud*; their *Gemarists* agreeing to the number of Grains only, not specifying their sort. However, these steps of the *Rabbins*, which I have followed so closely, though they carry us to no precise Measure on which we can rely; yet they plainly appear to aim to bring the *Deinar* to some Equality with a larger *Attick Drachma*, even with the *Thasian*, if not beyond it. As also the Uncertainty of their Premises and Proceedings in settling the *Deinar*, has sufficiently prepared us to question that established Rule of theirs, which puts so wide a difference between that *Deinar* of the Second Temple, and the quarter *Shekel* of the First.

§. VII. As to their *Maimonides* himself, I have that regard for his Judgment, as to imagine that, had he not been confined to his *Jewish*

^a De Mensur. & Ponder. Lib. II. §. 25.

^b Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. XVIII. Cap. 7.

Learning, but had given himself the liberty to look into the *Greek* Authors, and especially those two of his own Nation; he would have let go his Father's Hearsay, and not have reckoned the Coin his *Talmud* gave him, of 96 Grains, by natural Barley-corns of *Egypt*; but by such-like stated nominal ones, the כֶּסֶף, as were used there to stand for the half of a *Chalcus*, or of the 48th part of a *Greek Drachma*.

This way of Account would have immediately brought him to the Weight of the *Deinar* he intended. For the Notion which was generally received, that their Money under the Second Temple was to be reckoned by the *Egyptian* Measures^a, might have very well been understood so, as to mean that their כֶּסֶף was the 96th of the *Deinar*, as the *Alexandrian* was of its *Drachma*; and yet not so as to speak it equal to the *Alexandrian*. And then their *Philo* of *Egypt*, by his equalling the *Attick Drachma* to their *Zuza*, or *Deinar*, would presently have led him to reflect, that the Barley-grain, which made up their Coins, was the very כֶּסֶף by which the *Athenians* reckoned: And it would have also appeared, that the true Weight of their *Deinar* was near the Weight of their *Mithcál* before-mentioned, given us by *Goli*us at 68,3 Grains *Troy*: But of this I am to speak hereafter.

So under the *Egyptian* Manner might the *Athenian* be very well understood; if only from the *Alexandrian*: But I may add, though my present Argument does not stand in need of it, that the *Attick* Manner may probably have a nearer title to be called *Egyptian*. For the *Ratel* of *Cairo* has appeared to be designedly equiponderant to a Cube Palm of Water, equiponderant to an *Attick Mina*: And may induce us to believe, that the Pound of *Memphis*, the old Capital of *Egypt*, had been just of the same Weight.

C H A P. IV.

§. I. *The State of the Money before the Captivity, as wanting a sixth of that after, not well founded. The Authority for such a Difference not sufficient.* II. *No reason to conclude such a real Difference from the Difference of Denomination.* III. *Nor from the Shekels that are found equal to half a Roman Ounce.* IV. *Nor from the Difference of the Maneh in 1 Kings X. 17, and of that in Ezek. XLV. 12. Whereof the one is Nummary, and the other Ponderal.* V. *Concerning the Rabbinical Equality of the Gerah and Mea.* VI. *How the notion of the Rabbinical Difference might have risen.*

§. I. **I**T has been shewn, that there is but little Difference between the Weights of the *Talmudists*, and of the *Jews* that have wrote in *Greek*; as they were under the Second Temple. For those

^a *Maimon. Masséketh Edaioth, Cap. I. §. 2. Vide Surenhus. Par. IV. p. 323.*

that

that set the *Deinar* lowest, and make it equal to $\frac{6}{5}$ of a *Roman Drachmal* Weight; make it equal to an *Attick Drachma* of 65,7 *Troy* Grains; not much lower than I have assigned it. And those, on the other hand, that suppose it equal to 72 Grains, (in which number I may reckon *Maimonides*,) make it not much higher: But as to the Measures before the Captivity, which we may be more curious to know, those *Grecians* and *Rabbins* differ much; not less than the 6th of that *Drachma*, by which the *Rabbins* lessen the antient Measures. It remains therefore, that we should enquire now more particularly, for our better understanding of *Scriptural* Weights and Money, Whether one 6th of that *Sela* is to be deducted, to make the true *Shekel* of the *Old Testament*?

Now this Maxim of the *Talmudists*, varying so much from our *Greek* Information, must be supported against it, either by the Authority of the *Rabbins*, or by Arguments to be brought in its defence. But I shall endeavour, not only to shew the weakness of these supports of their Traditional Tenet; but to produce some probabilities for the confirmation of the contrary Opinion, which, though not necessary to its defence, may contribute to the illustration of it.

As to the *Talmudical* Authority for this Difference of the *Jewish* Measures, I see none alledged from their *Mishnah*, their first-hand, and, with them, their authentick Tradition; though, I, for my part, should credit our *Greek* Information, against any the *Rabbins* might produce out of their own Language, were it found in the *Mishnah* itself. But if the Difference they advance is only from their *Gemarrists*, in their *Talmud*, (a Book that has not much recommended itself by its uncertain Account of the *Sela*,) and from Tradition, so late consigned to Writing, by Persons so little known; it must be too great credulity to take their word for a remarkable piece of Knowledge in the *Jewish* State; of which their Ancestors, five or six hundred years before them, Men of great reputation for skill in the Customs and Transactions of their Country, manifestly appear to have known nothing; and plainly suppose the contrary to be true. I am therefore, in the next place, to see what other Reasons they may have for the maintenance of their different Reckoning.

§. II. ONE Inducement, I know, to the entertaining the Opinion of such a Change in Money by the Captivity, is the great Change of Language, which is likewise supposed to have been caused by it. But this may not be so much owing to their Seventy Years abode at *Babylon*, as to the prevailing of the *Syrian* Language in the *Holy-Land*. For the *Syrian* and *Chaldee*, it is known, are much the same Dialect: And the *Syriac*, we may suppose, had much grown upon the Kingdom of *Israel*; first, when it was cut so short by the Incroachments of the Kings of *Damascus*; and afterwards, when the *Assyrians*, invading them from the North, opened the way farther for the same People into the *Holy-Land*; as *Nebuchadnezzar* also

did into *Judæa*, which he left to be possessed by such Comers. So might the new Neighbours of *Jerusalem* contribute as much to this Alteration of Language, as the returning *Jews*. And possibly the old Names of Money, the *Shekel*, and the *Beka*, and the *Gerab*, might have been changed into *Sela* and *Tobba*, and *Mea*, by a joint concurrence. It is also very likely, that the courser *Syriack*, or *Chaldee*^a, has got the more ground in the Books of the *Jews*, by the help of the famous *Talmud*, composed at *Babylon* some hundreds of years after; where the *Jews* had been forced to take refuge, upon the second Destruction of their City by the *Romans*.

But however, should those new Names of Money have been brought from *Chaldæa*, yet the Measure of their old Money might have been retained, or at least resumed; especially if their *Phœnician* and *Syrian* Neighbours had kept to it; as we may see hereafter they did.

This Inducement therefore to the belief of such a Variation in their Coin being no Proof of it; I proceed to what may be offered as such.

§. III. THE great and the ready Argument for this fancy is from the Coins, which have been found about the Weight of 219 Grains to the whole *Shekel*; and are supposed to be struck before the *Babylonish* Captivity. This is the Evidence on which the *Rabbins* and their followers mainly rely; and which possibly might have led their later Traditioners into the Error they have too confidently recorded. But the curious in this matter do not, we know, allow these Coins to be of that Age^b; neither possibly were the elder even of those, that bear the Date of the *Asmonæan* Princes, coined by them. For it is not unusual to have Money struck, representing famous Persons and Passages of former times; and this done, not in deceit of Posterity, but for the memory, and the honour of their Ancestors. And it is by no means so easy to be imagined, that Money was made of the *Roman* Standard by the first *Maccabees*, and before either *Syria* or *Egypt* became subject to that Empire, (not to say, by *David*, or by *Moses*, and long before there was such a Place as *Rome*;) as it is easy to think, that such memorial Money might have been coined after their being subjected to the *Romans*; either in *Judæa* and the appertaining Principalities, by the *Herods*, or in the great Towns of *Syria* and *Egypt*, where the *Jewish* Communities were numerous, and had great Privileges. For the *Jewish* Princes I have mentioned, who were set up by the *Romans*, would be at least as forward to compliment their Masters by the Weight of their Coin, as to do their Ancestors honour by the Impression. And so might the *Jews* of other Cities, where they had liberty of Coinage, comply: And if they were of any Colony, they were then bound to follow that Standard: And this, I suppose, must be the case of all the Coins of *Greece*, and *A-*

^a Vid. *Pocockii* Specim. Hist. Arab. p. 360.

^b *Spanhem.* de Præstantiâ Numm. Edit. Lond. p. 10, 11. &c. Et vide p. 61. &c.

sia, and *Africa*, that weighed equal to the *Roman*, whatever Impress they may have.

For when the *Denarii* were once current in *Judæa*, with the Image and Superscription of the Emperor; it is easily imagined, that some of the *Jewish* Princes in their Territories, King *Agrippa* in particular, might coin their *Denarii* with *Jewish* Names and Impressions; or at least make Medals of that Weight. And so might the *Jews* of those other Cities have done. These *Shekels* therefore are so far from overbalancing the Authority of the *Grecian Jews*, that they plainly appear designed, not for an Equality with the old *Israelite* Weight, but with the *Roman*; as I have heretofore suggested^a, when I offered to prove the Weight of the *Roman* Ounce from them.

And in defence of that Proof, which infers the *Shekel* to be a *Roman* Weight, because it was not an *Israelite*; we need not rely only, for this last negative Proposition, on the Authority of those *Grecian Jews*, however sufficient; but shall find it farther confirmed, in the next Chapter, §. 19. by other Arguments, which will be likewise as little dependent upon any that have been used heretofore, for the stating of the *Roman* Ounce. And against the Inference, that concludes that *Shekel* to be therefore a *Roman* half Ounce, there lies, as I think, no just exception. The only one that I foresee is, what I have above asserted, That the just Weight of the *Denarii*, at *Rome* under *Tiberius*, was the 7th, not the 8th of an Ounce. But we know, that they were at this time sinking to the 8th; and that most of the *Denarii* of those times are found near that Weight: And we shall not wonder, if they were coined, even then, by the avaricious Governours of that remote Province, for their private gain, at a full eighth; the near, and the easiest aliquot of the Ounce. And much less shall we wonder, if they were then so struck for Medals: But, in *Domitian's* and *Trajan's* Reign, the exception entirely ceases.

The same is to be said, in either case, of the Coins of *Carthage*, &c. if they shall be found equal to the Weight of *Rome*.

§. IV. ANOTHER Reason for this Hypothesis may be the Agreement it procures between some places of Scripture, which cannot be so well reconciled without it.

One of these seeming Repugnancies is betwixt 1 *Kings* X. 17, and the XLV *Ezek.* v. 12: In the first of which places, the *Maneh* is reckoned at an hundred [half *Shekels*] of Gold, [by the very knowing Dr. *Castle*, to whom I subscribe:] And in the other, at 60 whole ones, that is, 120 half ones. And this Difference he there reconciles, by supposing the great Difference between the *Shekel* and the *Sela* to have taken place in *Ezekiel's* time; and that the *Maneh*, which was before of 50 *Shekels*, was now of 60.

^a Part III. Chap. II. §. 5.

did into *Judæa*, which he left to be possessed by such Comers. So might the new Neighbours of *Jerusalem* contribute as much to this Alteration of Language, as the returning *Jews*. And possibly the old Names of Money, the *Shekel*, and the *Beka*, and the *Gerab*, might have been changed into *Sela* and *Tobba*, and *Mea*, by a joint concurrence. It is also very likely, that the courser *Syriack*, or *Chaldee*^a, has got the more ground in the Books of the *Jews*, by the help of the famous *Talmud*, composed at *Babylon* some hundreds of years after; where the *Jews* had been forced to take refuge, upon the second Destruction of their City by the *Romans*.

But however, should those new Names of Money have been brought from *Chaldæa*, yet the Measure of their old Money might have been retained, or at least resumed; especially if their *Phœnician* and *Syrian* Neighbours had kept to it; as we may see hereafter they did.

This Inducement therefore to the belief of such a Variation in their Coin being no Proof of it; I proceed to what may be offered as such.

§. III. THE great and the ready Argument for this fancy is from the Coins, which have been found about the Weight of 219 Grains to the whole *Shekel*; and are supposed to be struck before the *Babylonish* Captivity. This is the Evidence on which the *Rabbins* and their followers mainly rely; and which possibly might have led their later Traditioners into the Error they have too confidently recorded. But the curious in this matter do not, we know, allow these Coins to be of that Age^b; neither possibly were the elder even of those, that bear the Date of the *Asmonæan* Princes, coined by them. For it is not unusual to have Money struck, representing famous Persons and Passages of former times; and this done, not in deceit of Posterity, but for the memory, and the honour of their Ancestors. And it is by no means so easy to be imagined, that Money was made of the *Roman* Standard by the first *Maccabees*, and before either *Syria* or *Egypt* became subject to that Empire, (not to say, by *David*, or by *Moses*, and long before there was such a Place as *Rome*;) as it is easy to think, that such memorial Money might have been coined after their being subjected to the *Romans*; either in *Judæa* and the appertaining Principalities, by the *Herods*, or in the great Towns of *Syria* and *Egypt*, where the *Jewish* Communities were numerous, and had great Privileges. For the *Jewish* Princes I have mentioned, who were set up by the *Romans*, would be at least as forward to compliment their Masters by the Weight of their Coin, as to do their Ancestors honour by the Impression. And so might the *Jews* of other Cities, where they had liberty of Coinage, comply: And if they were of any Colony, they were then bound to follow that Standard: And this, I suppose, must be the case of all the Coins of *Greece*, and *A-*

^a Vid. *Piccockii Specim. Hist. Arab.* p. 360.

^b *Spanhem. de Præstantiâ Numm.* Edit. *Lonæ.* p. 10, 11, &c. Et vide p. 61, &c.

sia, and *Africa*, that weighed equal to the *Roman*, whatever Impress they may have.

For when the *Denarii* were once current in *Judæa*, with the Image and Supercription of the Emperor; it is easily imagined, that some of the *Jewish* Princes in their Territories, King *Agrippa* in particular, might coin their *Denarii* with *Jewish* Names and Impressions; or at least make Medals of that Weight. And so might the *Jews* of those other Cities have done. These *Shekels* therefore are so far from overbalancing the Authority of the *Grecian Jews*, that they plainly appear designed, not for an Equality with the old *Israelite* Weight, but with the *Roman*; as I have heretofore suggested^a, when I offered to prove the Weight of the *Roman* Ounce from them.

And in defence of that Proof, which infers the *Shekel* to be a *Roman* Weight, because it was not an *Israelite*; we need not rely only, for this last negative Proposition, on the Authority of those *Grecian Jews*, however sufficient; but shall find it farther confirmed, in the next Chapter, §. 19. by other Arguments, which will be likewise as little dependent upon any that have been used heretofore, for the stating of the *Roman* Ounce. And against the Inference, that concludes that *Shekel* to be therefore a *Roman* half Ounce, there lies, as I think, no just exception. The only one that I foresee is, what I have above asserted, That the just Weight of the *Denarii*, at *Rome* under *Tiberius*, was the 7th, not the 8th of an Ounce. But we know, that they were at this time sinking to the 8th; and that most of the *Denarii* of those times are found near that Weight: And we shall not wonder, if they were coined, even then, by the avaricious Governours of that remote Province, for their private gain, at a full eighth; the near, and the easiest aliquot of the Ounce. And much less shall we wonder, if they were then so struck for Medals: But, in *Domitian's* and *Trajan's* Reign, the exception entirely ceases.

The same is to be said, in either case, of the Coins of *Carthage*, &c. if they shall be found equal to the Weight of *Rome*.

§. IV. ANOTHER Reason for this Hypothesis may be the Agreement it procures between some places of Scripture, which cannot be so well reconciled without it.

One of these seeming Repugnancies is betwixt 1 *Kings* X. 17, and the XLV *Ezek.* v. 12: In the first of which places, the *Maneh* is reckoned at an hundred [half *Shekels*] of Gold, [by the very knowing *Dr. Castle*, to whom I subscribe:] And in the other, at 60 whole ones, that is, 120 half ones. And this Difference he there reconciles, by supposing the great Difference between the *Shekel* and the *Sela* to have taken place in *Ezekiel's* time; and that the *Maneh*, which was before of 50 *Shekels*, was now of 60.

^a Part III. Chap. II. §. 5.

Now here, not to take this exception, that the *Shekel* of *Ezekiel*, if it had then been so increased, would have been differenced by the Prophet in its Name, and termed, as it has since used to be, a *Sela*; these two places do not appear to want the supposition now in question, being more aptly and readily brought to agree by a Distinction, I mentioned above^a out of *Jonathan* upon the place, (a Man of as high, or higher Authority than any of the Traditionaries,) between the *Maneh* of Weight specified by *Ezekiel*, and the *Maneh* of Money reckoned up in the *Kings*. This *Nummery Maneh* the Paraphrast upon the Prophet distinctly expresses; and reckons the 25 *Shekels*, one of the three Numbers which are there said by him to compose the *Maneh* of 60, to be half the *Nummery*; while he observes the other, the twenty, and the fifteen, to be the $\frac{1}{3}$, and $\frac{1}{4}$ of the *Ponderal*. By this Tradition of the Paraphrast, as credible an Author as any of theirs, we have an easy solution of this Difficulty, by supposing the *Maneh* of Gold in the *Kings* to be *Nummery*; and this in *Ezekiel* to be *Ponderal*, as the Paraphrast plainly does.

He takes notice, that the 20 and 15 *Shekels* are the 3d and the 4th of the *Ponderal Maneh* there meant. But he might have observed of these Numbers, what was more peculiar to a *Ponderal Maneh*, That these three pieces of Weight by themselves did not only make up 60, but would serve to weigh out any thing ponderable to all the Quinaries under 50; and, by the help of a *Maneh*, even the other two, 50 and 55. For a 20 piece in one Scale would equiponderate the piece 15, and any substance of 5 *Shekels* weight in the other, &c. And the *Maneh* piece, with that of 15, against that of 25, would exhibit the Weight of 50, &c. And he might have farther added, that, only by the means of two single *Shekels* more, all the four intermediate Weights might be obtained; either adding them to the next lower Quinary, or subtracting them from the superior. For when 20 counterbalanced to 15 with a Ponderable, declare it to be V; one *Shekel* piece added to the 20 would shew it to be VI; and 2, VII: And one added to the 15 would give IV; and 2, IIV: And so when 25 against 15 had given X; one or two added to the 15, would have weighed out IX, or IIX; and added to 25, XI or XII.

There may be, I am sensible, no great necessity of all this minuteness to shew, that the Prophet's Distribution of the *Mina* was to secure a just Measure in Weight: For he had before compared the *Ephab* with the *Homer*, to preserve the just Measures of Content. But I have the more largely insisted upon the *Ponderal Maneh*, which the *Targumist* has understood in the Text; that his *Nummery Maneh* may be the better received, according to which we interpret that of the *Kings*.

^a See Chap. I. §. 3.

Of such a *Maneh* also, I believe, *Josephus** must be understood, when, speaking of the Golden Beam, taken out of the Temple by *Crassus*, of the Weight of 300 *Maneh*, he tells us, that one of them was equal to two *Litra's* and a half. For, it not being probable that the *Grecians*, much less the *Athenians*, had as yet any *Litra's* of their own, the *Roman Libra* must be here meant; the two and a half of which are equiponderant to 13140 Grains *Troy*. And if we suppose a *Maneh* to consist of 200 *Attick Drachma's*, or so many *Jewish Deinars*, (which are the same in this Author's reckoning,) we have then a *Drachma* = 65,7 Grains; such a one, as was current at *Athens* in their flourishing days, and which is not of less Weight than the *Rabbins* allow their *Deinar*. But if we reckon a *Maneh*, as they direct, at 240 *Deinars*; each *Deinar* will indeed be then equal to 54,75 Grains, = $\frac{1}{3}$ *Roman Ounce*; and the very same which the *Rabbins* make the *Mosaick Zuza*: But it will be such a *Deinar*, as was not, even in the *Rabbins* Opinion, reckoned in *Josephus's* time, and which *Josephus* himself has appeared to know nothing of. I have taken the *Roman Litra*, equal to the modern *Libra*: And I need not observe, that those, who make it less, will by the same divisor have still a lesser quotient for the *Deinar*. This *Maneh*, I reckon in *Josephus* of 2×6570 Grains, is indeed short of twice the *Attick*; either our Hydrostatick of 6840; or the $\frac{4}{5}$ of the *Roman Libra*, which is 7008. But such a Diminution of the *Jewish Maneh* might have been made on purpose, when they came under the *Roman Government*, for an Accommodation of their Account with that of *Rome*. For so a *Libra Sestertia Romana* was a very *Maneh*.

There is nothing else, which I know, that will in the least oblige us to admit such a Change in *Shekels*, *Manehs* and *Talents*; or in halves or quarters, after their Return from *Babylon*. From thence possibly they brought the more commodious Division of a *Shekel* into 24 parts, instead of the old 20, the *Gerah's*; as they might also have found it with the new Inhabitants of *Canaan*, after the Manner of the *Phœnicians*; and so it might have been perfectly established after *Alexander's* time, if not before, in conformity to the *Grecian Usage*. And such an Alteration, in those minute pieces of Money, producing none in the higher, was of no consequence to the stated Payments of the Temple. But it was easy for the *Rabbins*, after the Destruction of the Second Temple, especially to those *Gemarists*, who lived long after, and by their ignorance in *Greek* and *Latin* knew nothing of what had passed in the World since their Captivity, or ever since *Alexander*, to mistake the Change that had been made in the little pieces; and to imagine, that long ago, near a 1000 years afore, they reckoned but 20 of these pieces they then had, to the less *Shekel*.

* *Joseph. Archæolog. Lib. XIV. Cap. 7. §. 1.*

§. V. THE *Rabbinical* Hypothesis of the Equality between the old *Gerab* and new *Mea* is the ground of all the Difference; and ought to be supported by better Authority, than that of the *Gemarists*, before it can be insisted upon for the subversion of an Account, which had been established by antient, and much more knowing Men of their own Nation. It is too, much less easy and natural; and is, if only upon that account, to give way to the other. For the *Rabbinical*, for the sake of an Equality between the minute parts, makes an Inequality between all the rest of the Money; while the *Grecian* preserves all that Equality, and puts all the Difference upon the small Money, by which the *Shekel* was divided upon their Return into the *Holy-Land*; in conformity to the Place they left, and the Neighbourhood to which they came back. And, for ought appears, it may be well supposed that the *Shekel* of *Abraham* was divided into 24 parts, as well as the *Phœnician*; and that *Moses* upon his coming out of *Egypt*, though he reckoned by the *Shekel* of the Patriarchs, and of the *Phœnicians*; yet retained so much of the *Egyptian* Arithmetick, as to break the quarter *Shekel* into five parts: And it may be then said, that, this being the single Alteration the great Lawgiver made, he therefore took such a special notice of the Quantity of a *Gerab*^a. And by this supposition, the *Jews*, after the Captivity, will be found, not to have taken up the foreign Partition of the *Shekel*; but only to have restored the Patriarchal.

§. VI. WHAT other Reasons of this kind the *Rabbins* had, I will not go on to conjecture. Nor shall I enquire, whether they might not also have raised their Tradition of different *Shekels*, from that I now mentioned, of *Nummary*, and *Ponderal Manebs*, which differ in the same proportion; or whether the *Gemarists* might not have been deceived (as many learned Men have been since) either by the sight of such Coins, which are now found to be no sure Testimony; or else by the Account of some late *Greek* Author, falling into their hands, who reckoned by Ounces, which they understood to be *Roman*. I shall only mention a suspicion one may likewise have, that a Motive of another sort might have concurred to incline them to it.

For when, upon the Destruction of the Temple by *Titus*, the *Jews* were constrained to pay the half *Shekel*, yearly due to That, into the *Roman* Treasury, it was then their Interest to bring this Offering to a low Estimate, at some favourable opportunity: And this they might effect, to the Diminution of it by a sixth part, if they could persuade one of the mild Emperors after *Adrian*, who had not been provoked by them, *Alexander* for example; that such *Shekels*, as had been coined by their late Princes, (such as they now shew to persuade us into that opinion,) were the old ones, in which that Duty was to be

^a *Exod.* XXX. 13.

paid by their Law. And such a persuasion might be the more acceptable to the *Romans*; because it gave their Standard so high an Antiquity, and made it as old as *Moses*. For such a Notion from the *Jews* would have been as flattering now to their Masters, as the Coinage had been before: And they might by it claim some kindred with them, as their Ancestors^a had prepared for it before; when in their exigence they challenged kindred with the *Spartans*; who, as *Dionysius Halicarnassensis* tells us^b, had a better Title to that ambitious Pretence. To this suspicion the *Gemarists* have led me; who inform us that, upon the Return from *Babylon*, that Duty was first paid in half *Darcons* (of Silver) or *Sela's* for some time; and afterwards, as long as the Temple subsisted, in half as much, a *Tobba*, or double *Deinar*; and that the people were not obliged to pay more than $\frac{5}{6}$ of that *Tobba*, or $\frac{1}{2}$ an old *Shekel*, but only from their own consent.

But, to conclude this too minute and very long Enquiry, there appears nothing that should hinder us from admitting that Account of the *Jewish* Money, which their *Greek* Writers have given us; or induce us to allow the Variation the *Talmudists* set up.

C H A P. V.

§. I. *The Phœnician Money proposed, for a Medium by which the Knowledge of the Jewish may be attained, in Three Considerations.*
 II. *The FIRST CONSIDERATION compares the eldest known Phœnician with its Contemporaries on either hand, the Jewish and Profane; without regarding the Special Determination of their Weight. And so (1) the Phœnician was the same with the Hebrew. III. And (2) it was the Original Pattern of those Profane, by which we may be informed.*
 IV. *The remaining Considerations concerning the Determinate Weight of them: taken distinctly in the Two Rabbinical Periods. And here the SECOND CONSIDERATION begins with the Second Period, as best known: And in it, First, compares the Phœnician with the Profane; the Attick, Alexandrian and Babylonian. V. And with the Euboick of Herodotus. This the same with the Tyrian, (1) from the special Appointment of it. VI. And, (2) from its Daricus, the common Aliquot of the Eubœan and Attick Talent. VII. This Talent of Eubœa, not unlikely to have been the Phœnician; from the Old Settlements of that Nation thereabouts. VIII. This and the Phœnician most likely to have given the Measure to Solon's Money. IX. This Eubœan was the Alexandrian of E-*

^a 1 Maccab. XII. 6, &c.

^b *Dionys. Halicarn. Edit. Græc. Robert. Steph. p. 84.*

gypt: *And probably so ordered, not so much in regard to the Attick, as the Tyrian.* X. *The different States of the Babylonian Talent no Argument against this of the Euboick. The Value of Gold to Silver in Herodotus explained.* XI. *In this Second Period the Phœnician (Secondly) compared with the Jewish, appears to be the same. (1) From the Weight of the Jewish given by the Rabbins, which cannot be (as is pretended) the Babylonian.* XII. *And (2) from the name of the Deinar.* XIII. *The Rabbins seem to have mistaken Egypt for Chaldæa.* XIV. *The THIRD CONSIDERATION concerning the first Period, when the Phœnician and Sacred Money were the same. No Difference between the Phœnician of this Period, and the other, is affirmed by the Rabbins; or probable from the Babylonian Conquest.* XV. *Such a Difference, improbable from Solon's Appointment of his Money.* XVI. *And farther improbable from the Euboick.* XVII. *And especially from its Daricus.* XVIII. *Not at all probable, that the Hebrew Shekel of this Period was the Half of a Roman Ounce.* XIX. *A general Conclusion concerning the Jewish Weights.*

§. I. **W**E have hitherto endeavoured to learn the *Jewish* Weights from their own Authors; those of their Nation who have wrote in *Greek*, and their later Writers, the *Rabbins*. And as we have found, that the *Greek* Authors, who give their Money at a Par with the *Attick*, differed not much from the *Rabbinical*, about the Money of the Second Temple: So we have seen no prevailing Reason, why these last should disagree from them, about the Money under the Old Temple; and depress it so low, as to make it but five sixths of the other. And I am now going to look after some foreign Authorities, that they may help to decide the Question: And propose, for it, to use the Intervention of the *Phœnician* Money; as of that which was not likely to differ from its near neighbour, the *Jewish* of its time; and may also be found compared by Writers, both with the *Babylonian* on the East, by which the *Rabbins* reckon from the Captivity; and with the *Attick* on the West, by which the *Grecian Jews* reckon from the Beginning. And this Enquiry I shall prosecute by three distinct Considerations. The first shall consider the Relation between them in the earliest Days, *at large*, and without any special Determination of their Weight. The other two shall measure them by some *certain Weight*; taking them, as they stand severally, in the *Two* several Periods of the *Rabbins*.

§. II. **T**HE Comparison I am to make of these *Tyrian* Measures with the Sacred, on one hand, and with the rest of the Profane, on the other, may begin from very early Days; and from the first Mention

tion that was ever made of *Money*, the Silver recorded in *Genesis*^a to have been paid by *Abraham*. It is described in the Text as the *Silver of the Merchant*; that is of a certain Fineness; and is given out by the *Shekel*, as by a certain Weight. Neither is it necessary to my purpose to know, whether the Number of *Shekels* was paid out of a Mass, in a Piece amounting to that Weight; or in a Sum of so many single Pieces: the *Shekel*-Weight, and its Parts, or Sums, being the Subject of my present Enquiry. Although it is not likely, that such a Mercantile People, of whom I am now speaking, should not very early have set a Mark upon the Silver, to ascertain the Degree of its Fineness; and should have been very long before they divided it into Pieces so marked, for current Use, and prompt Exchange.

That these *Shekels*, or the *Silver current with the Merchant*, must be meant of the *Phœnician Merchant*; and that the *Scriptural Shekel* was the same with the *Phœnician*, whatsoever Weight it was; we may know both by the positive *Affirmation* of the *Rabbins*, and by the *Situation* of the *Holy-Land*.

This Position, That the Elder *Jewish Money* was equal to the *Phœnician* of its time, is supposed by the primary Traditional Authority of the *Jews*, the express Words of the *Mishnah*^b, which direct *the Shekels of the Sanctuary to be taken according to the Maneh of Tyre*. This indeed is understood by the Commentators to mean the Fineness of the *Shekel*; but it is because the Weight of the *Tyrian Shekel* was not understood by them. For so says *Maimonides* in his Comment upon this Text^c: *According to the Maneh of Tyre; that is, The thing is to be weighed by the Shekel of the Tyrian Coin. But we do not know how the Tyrian Coin of that time stood; and therefore we say, that the Meaning is, That all that is here weighed, is to be of the finest Silver that can be had.*

This Testimony from the *Mishnah*, for the Equality of the Oldest *Phœnician* and *Hebrew Money*, is Authentick with the *Rabbins*; and cannot be traversed by them. But the Truth of what they affirm is otherwise evident, from the Neighbourhood of the *Holy-Land* to *Phœnicia*; and not only from the Commerce, but Unity of the Antient Inhabitants.

For it is well known, that the Country of *Phœnicia* was of old the celebrated Place of Traffick on those Coasts: And it must be allowed, that the Markets of its nearest Inland Neighbours centred there; and that, among them all, the *Silver of the Merchant* must have been the Silver of the *Phœnician Trader*. And then, of all their Neighbours, the *Holy-Land* was the nearest, and the most necessary to that Maritime People. It was a fruitful large Country, running parallel to the other narrow one, from North to South; and divided from it, only by a protended Ridge of the *Libanus*. And it was,

^a Gen. XXIII. 16.

^b In *Becor.* Cap. VIII. §. 7.

^c Vid. *Surenhus.* in *Mish.* Par. V. p. 185.

we may presume, the Granary of it then, and supplied it with ordinary Provisions; as it was, we know, afterwards the *Country which nourished them of Tyre and Sidon*.

So nearly concerned were these two Countries by Commerce: But it should seem, that they were more nearly related; and that the Land, commonly called *Canaan*, was nothing else but the *Inland Phœnicia*; and the other was, properly speaking, the *Maritime*. This fully appears from what *Grotius* produces upon *St. Matt. XV. 22.* and particularly from that of *Stephanus de Urbibus*, where it is said of the word *Chnâ*, (which is presumed to stand for the word *Chand*;) that *so Phœnicia was called*. For, in support of the antient Agreement of these two *Oriental* and *Grecian* Names, the *Arabick* word *Kanaa* may be brought for a witness; whose principal signification is to be *very Red*, or *Ruddy*^b; and particularly so of the Face, by Paint; or the Hands, by Mulberries. And to this the Φοίνιξ exactly answers, which is rendered in *Hesychius* by Πυρρόν τῶ χρώματι, and Ερυθρὸν Βάμμα: And so Φοινικεύς, which is Πυρρόν, and Αἱματώδες: And also Φοίνιον, (from whence the *Uterque Pœnus*;) which is likewise Πυρρόν, Ερυθρὸν; and Φόνος, which is *Blood*, or *Death by Wound*. And this last signification I mention, in reference to the same in *Kanaa*, which is to *Kill*, and, I suppose, from the same Metaphor. This little Criticism the Reader will please to pardon; for he may think, as I do, that my Argument for the Equality of the Moneys spoke of, did not want it.

I shall only add, that if the Money of those Countries was equal at first, and in *Abraham's* time; there is no reason to surmise any difference in *Moses's* time, or during the whole First Period. For this Weight or Money, so took up in *Canaan*, had it been different from the *Egyptian*, (though it is as likely to have been the same,) the *Israelites* might well have used, among themselves, at least, in *Goshen*: But by the same they must certainly have reckoned in the *Wilderness*: Unless we will create a difference between the *Shekels* of the *Pentateuch*, where none is made; that is, between those paid by *Abraham* in *Genesis*, and those mentioned in the other Books of the *Law*.

§. III. AFTER this Comparison of the Old *Phœnician* Money with the *Scriptural*; I come now to compare it with the Antient Profane of other Nations. And here it may be remembered, that those of this Country, commonly called *Phœnicia*, were not only the great leading Merchants of the *Holy-Land*; but were the great Traders and Navigators of that Part of the World, in which we are now concerned: The Commerce between those of the Continent on the East of them, as far as *Persia*; and on the South, even into *Egypt*, which had not itself much dealing with Foreigners; and between those on the West, as far as the *Mediterranean* Sea extended; being

^a *Acts* XII. 20.

^b *Gal. Colum.* 1968.

chiefly,

chiefly, if not solely, managed by them. From thence all the *Grecians* owned they had learned the Skill to Write, and to Account: And from thence they derived their Measures, their Weights, their Talents and *Mina's*, &c. with the very Names, and with the same Proportions. And so a *Mina* is nothing else but the *Phœnician Maneb*: A *Stater*, as a *Tetradrachm* in Silver, or a *Didrachm* of Gold, fully answers to the *Shekel*, whose Verb in the *Oriental* Language signifies *Pendo*, *Appendo*, ἵστημι. I may also venture to add, that a *Talent*, the *τάλαντον*, with its *τάλαω*, *Fero*, plainly corresponds with the *Arabick* signification of *Tfalang*^a, which is *Gravitas*, and *Gravium Tolerantia*; and that the *Tfadi* in this Word might as easily be turned into a *T* with the *Grecians*; as it was in *Tfour*, when they called that City *Tyre*.

That the *Greeks* took up the Manner of Counting their Money and Weight from the *Phœnicians*, though they varied from them, and among themselves, in the Quantity; is, I think, undeniable. And the same is to be affirmed of all the now mentioned Inhabitants of *Asia*, whether on this side, or the other, of Mount *Taurus*; wheresoever they are found to have reckoned in this Manner. The *Egyptians* I do not mention: because I would not enter into the Controversy about the rival Knowledge of those Nations; and because the *Egyptians*, though they agreed in the same Measures, (as probably they did,) yet cannot be so well supposed to have communicated them to the distant Parts of the World.

This Notice now taken of the Antient Predominancy of the *Phœnicians* in Navigation and Trade, which continued with them unto the middle of the Second Period; is not only proper on this Occasion, but to be remembered for another, which will presently offer.

§. IV. THIS Comparifon of the *Phœnician* Money, on either hand, has not yet determined to us the fpecial Weight of any. It has fhewn, that all the Profane Moneys, the *Chaldean* to the Eaft, and the *Grecian* and others to the Weft, have been ordered from the beginning, correfpondently to it: But has not yet difcovered, which of thofe various Talents and *Minae*, &c. have kept to their Original; that we may learn it from fome one of them. And the Equality, that has appeared, on the other hand, between the *Phœnician* and the Sacred, leaves the Determination of either under great difficulty; by reafon of the Difference, which is affirmed by the *Rabbins* to have paffed between their Antient and Later Moneys, and that which may likewife be pretended in the *Phœnician*. For it is from the Later Moneys that we muft chiefly expect Information. And if we find the *Jewifh Tobba* and its Contemporary *Tyrian* to be equal; the *Rabbins* will not let us conclude, that the Antient *Shekels* therefore were; nor will their Favourers prefently allow us, that the Antient *Phœnician*

^a *Col. Colum. 1423.*

was equal to the Later; lest the *Hebrew* Money, which they must confess equal to the old *Phœnician*, should likewise prove equal to the Later.

As for the *Tyrian*: it cannot well be surmised to have received any change, unless by the Conquest of *Tyre*, made by *Nebuchadnezzar* at the time of his Destruction of *Jerusalem*. And I may therefore aptly distinguish the Comparisons, I am further to make between Profane Money and the Sacred, by the same famous Periods, before and after the Captivity. And in the *Second Period*, with which I shall begin, I shall first compare the *Tyrian* Coin with its Profane Derivatives, whether *Grecian* or *Babylonian*; and then with its Contemporary *Jewish*.

Among those Profane Coins, the *Attick* of *Solon*, the Measure so much celebrated by the *Grecian Jews*, is of chief Consideration: And to this the *Tyrian* is given for equal, by *Heron*, in the Words produced by *Scaliger*^a *De Re Num.* In which the Author positively gives the *Tyrian* Talent, as equal to the *Attick*; and absolutely so (as *Scaliger*, I think, rightly understands the Place) in Weight, Number, and Value of its Pieces. By the help of this *Attick* we also know, within some compass, what Proportion the *Tyrian* bore to the *Babylonian*. For *Pollux*^b, informing us that 70 *Attick Minæ* were equal to the *Babylonian* Talent, gives us to understand, that, according to the Account he followed, (and whence he had it we may see presently,) the *Attick Mina* was to the *Babylonian*, as 60 to 70. And *Ælian*^c expressly tells us, that 72 *Attick Minæ* were equal to a *Babylonian* Talent; and, consequently, that the *Attick Mina* was to the similiary part of the *Babylonian* Talent, their *Mina*, as 60 to 72. And further, *Xenophon* in his Expedition of *Cyrus*, (about the middle of the *First* Book,) making mention of a *Babylonian* Piece of Money, called *Siglus*, describes it equal to seven *Oboli Attici* and a half; and, by his comparing this *Siglus* with the parts of an *Attick Drachma*, lets us know, that the *Mina*, or Centenary Sums of these similiary parts were the one to the other in the Proportion of 60 to 75. And this *Siglus*, we may well think, was nothing but an *Oriental Shekel*; a Word that is, we know, of general signification; and which, as it is parallel sometimes to a *Tetradrachm*, and sometimes to a *Didrachm*, might also answer in these parts to a *Drachma*, and be their Ολκμ.

And thus we find the Weight of the *Babylonian* Money, in respect of the *Tyrian*, (if the *Attick* and *Tyrian* are equal,) to be, according to *Pollux*, as $\frac{7}{6}$; according to *Ælian*, $\frac{6}{5}$; and according to *Xenophon*, $\frac{5}{4}$.

These indeed are considerable Differences. But though we may not be able to reconcile them; yet they are within such limits, as

^a Page 43.

^b *Poll.* Lib. IX. Cap. 6.

^c *Var. Hist.* Lib. I. Cap. 22.

may sufficiently ascertain the *Babylonian* Money for our Purpose: as will be shewn hereafter, §. 10. As for *Heron's* positive Testimony of that Equality of the *Tyrian* and *Attick*, in which we are principally concerned; two Objections, I see, may arise against it: the one, against his Person; and the other, against his Reckoning of an *O-riental* Talent.

That against his Person, as a late Author, and not well known, is not to be received too easily: from the *Rabbins* especially, who depend upon others not only later, but less known, and whose Knowledge may be justly suspected. Whereas this is a Writer, whose Credibility we have no reason to question; who lived not so late, as to fail of Antient Documents for his Information; and, treating about Measures, cannot be presumed to have spoke of them at adventure. But less will the Objection lie against him from his Calculation, in his reckoning of an *Oriental* Talent, as precisely equal to the *Attick*, which is said by the *Grecian Jews* to be double of it, and by the *Talmudists* not much less. For the *Rabbins* have already informed us of a Profane *Maneh*, which is half the Sacred; and left us to understand, that among the *Tyrians*, where there was a greater *Mina*, equal to the Sacred, (as in the First Period it was undoubtedly,) there was, at the same time, a lesser, which was just its half. And that the *Rabbins* have not given us a wrong Account of these lesser sub-duple *Mina's* and Talents, we may rest well satisfied; by seeing, that both *Pollux* and *Ælian* join also in calculating by them. Thus by *Heron's* Testimony, is the *Tyrian* Talent of the Second Period proved equal to a double *Attick*. And thence it will assuredly follow, that it was compleatly equal also to another Talent of great note, the *Alexandrian* of *Egypt*, set up in the middle of this Period.

§. V. THERE remains still a *Grecian* Talent, mentioned by *Herodotus*, and not much spoke of elsewhere, the *Eubæan*; which may appear to be the *Tyrian*: and, at the same time, will prove to be a double *Attick*, or the *Alexandrian*: And all this by such Considerations, as will much confirm the Information of *Heron*, now cited.

Herodotus^a tells us in his History of the *Persian Darius*, who lived towards the beginning of this Period, and compleated the Restoration of the *Jews*, which is supposed to have settled their New Money: That this Prince, being a great Manager of his Revenues, and surnamed therefore the *Chapman* or *Retailer* by the *Persians*, divided his vast Empire into so many Provinces; and ordered the Tribute of each by so many Talents, if brought in Silver, to be paid by the *Babylonian* Talent; and if in Gold, (which he most desired,) by the *Euboick*; a Talent that was, says he, to the *Babylonian*, as six to seven. And now, that this *Euboick* Talent was the same with the *Tyrian*, may appear; if only from the contradistinction of it, here made, to

^a *Herod. Lib. III. Cap. 89—95*

the *Babylonian*. For that other so notable Talent of that wide *Asiatick* Empire, by which all those several Nations were to bring in their Tribute, in the Metal most desired by the Emperor; what could it be, but that of the *Phœnicians*? a People of his, whose Money had been long known, and every where current; and by whom he maintained the Command and Commerce of the *Mediterranean*. No other Talent can, I think, be set up here in competition with the *Phœnician*: If any; they must be either the *Egyptian*, or the *Athenian*, or the *Lydian*.

As for the *Egyptian*, whatever it was, if not the *Phœnician*, it was a Species of Money little known at that time in *Asia*; that Nation having as yet had but little Commerce with the rest of the World. And had it been meant by *Herodotus*, it was very unlikely to have been called the Talent of *Eubœa*; an Island, which can the least pretend, of all the Parts of *Greece*, to have had such a particular Correspondence with *Egypt*.

Neither could it be the *Attick* of those days. For that Money was but lately erected by *Solon*; and cannot be thought, in so short a time, to have got that Currency in *Asia*, and *Egypt*, as to be made one of the two Standards. For the *Athenians* were at this time a little People; whose naval Power, and Commerce, and Riches, and great Name grew after this *Darius*, and upon the Defeat of his Son *Xerxes*.

The best Pretence may be made by the *Lydians*, whom *Cyrus* had lately made the Subjects of the *Persian* Empire: who had abounded in Gold and Silver; and, as *Herodotus*^a tells us, *were the First, he knew, that coined those Metals*; the *First*, I suppose, he means, who had adorned and guarded such Pieces with an Image and a Legend, and had made them *Numismata*, injoining the Receiving of them. But neither is it likely, that this *Lydian* Talent was intended, under the Name of the *Eubœan*, by *Herodotus* in this *Third Book*. For he had spoke so particularly of the *Lydians* in the *First*, that we cannot think he would have expressed their Money here by the Name of *another Place*; and which was much less known either to the *Persians*, or *Greeks*.

§. VI. SO may this *Euboick* Talent, by itself, appear to be the *Phœnician*: But it will much more; if we take with it the Golden Pieces then in Course, and called *Darici*.

These are known to be the Pieces of which *Herodotus* speaks^b, when he says, that this *Darius* refined his Gold to all Purity, and coined it into Money; and that his Deputy in *Egypt*, seeing his Master desirous to perpetuate his Memory by this fine Gold, presumed to do the same there in Silver, and lost his Life for the Emulation.

^a *Herod. Lib. I. Cap. 94.*

^b *Idem, Lib. IV. Cap. 166.*

These Golden Pieces are so well known for the *Perſian Darici*, that they are commonly ſuppoſed to have their Name from this *Darius*. And here now we have Golden Pieces, that muſt neceſſarily be thought to have been certain ready Aliquots of that Golden Talent, by which the Officers of the Revenue collected it. And what Aliquots they were of that Talent, we cannot long doubt; when we remember they are always reckoned equal to an *Attick Aureus*; and that therefore three Thouſand of theſe, or ſix Thouſand of their Halfs, are the Weight of an *Attick* Talent. And now, if it has been in any ſuperior Degree probable, from the Appointment of the *Eubæan Mina*, that it was the *Phœnician*; and likewise from *Heron*, that the *Attick* was the ſame *Phœnician*: we have it in a much higher Degree probable, that the *Euboick* was the *Phœnician* alſo.

In prejudice of the Concluſion I have made from this Golden Coin, it may poſſibly be ſurmized, That it was originally an *Attick Aureus*, and ſo ſome Aliquot or other of the *Eubæan* Talent; and only copied by *Darius*.

But this Surmiſe can take no place; if only for the Reaſon which has been already given, why the *Athenian* Talent could not be meant by the *Eubæan* of *Herodotus*. For, was this *Darius* the firſt Prince in the *Eaſt*, who coined this Money; yet it is utterly unlikely, that he, ambitious as he was of being famed for it, ſhould have choſen an *Athenian* Type for his Pattern: not only becauſe they were then (as has been ſaid) a little People, and not yet ſo conſiderable in Trade, as others of the *Grecians*, and were beſides his Enemies, and in his Contempt; but becauſe he had a Standard ready of his own Empire, by which the Negotiations of its wealthieſt and moſt trading Provinces had been long managed, and to which the *Greeks* had been well uſed.

§. VII. THE Equality of the *Euboick* and *Tyrian* Talent, ſo far advanced, may yet ſeem more probable, if we enquire whence it may have riſen.

For, that *Eubæa* was as likely, as any other Part of *Greece*, to have entertained the *Tyrian* Measures, is manifeſt from the antient Stories of *Cadmus* and *Palamede*. *Cadmus*, who is the firſt that is mentioned to have introduced the Uſe of Letters, and other *Eastern* Inſtitutions, muſt, in his way to *Thebes* by the *Euripus*, have rather touched upon that *Iſland*, which was fruitful and open; than upon the ſide of *Attica*, which was barren and rocky, and without Havens. And *Palamede* afterwards, who was King of the Southern Part of it, at that Entrance of the *Euripus*, where the old famous Towns of *Geræſtus* and *Eretria* ſtood^a, is recorded to have added to the Alphabet: And has the honour to be mentioned by *Sophocles* and *Euripides*, as the Inventor of Weights, and Measures, and Numbers;

^a *Strabo*, Lib. X.

and as of Numbers, by *Plato*; (I suppose they mean the Restorer of them to the *Tyrian*;) and therefore they possibly remember him, because he was followed in it by their City; and by *Solon*, an Ancestor of *Pisistratus*, *Plato's* Cousin. For as to the *Ægean* Weights and Money, attributed to *Phidon* King of the *Argives*, and used in *Peloponnesus*, it was of a later Date; and the Coin in no honour with the *Athenians*, as *Pollux* tells us.

§. VIII. AND that the *Euboick* Money was the same with the *Tyrian*, may seem not only not improbable, but likely; from the Reformation of the *Attick Drachma* by *Solon*, who made it about a Quarter less than it was before. For when he reduced the old *Athenian* Coin, for the ease of the insolvent Debtors, and made a Hundred new *Drachma's* out of Seventy three old ones^a; (and whether Seventy three, or Seventy five, is not material now;) he might very probably, in his regard for the poor Debtors, have had an eye to the *Tyrian* Standard; and proposed to himself such a Regulation, as he might recommend to be the fittest for general Commerce; and whereby, at the same time, the oppressed Insolvents were to be discharged of Twenty seven *per Cent*. And this Reformation might be also more especially recommended to the *Athenians*; because it was, at the same time, conformable to the Money of their great neighbour Island; and from whence (if I may derive *Eubœa* from *Bœs*) they seem to have taken their antient Money, that which was marked with such an Image, as it is said, in *Theseus's* Time. For I forbear to add, that this Animal might have been the Representative of either the *Astarte*, or *Io* of *Cadmus*; according as he may be thought to have come into *Bœotia*, either from *Egypt*, or from *Phœnicia*^b.

And so from this Probability of *Solon's* designed Equality between his and the *Tyrian* Money, That other for it, before mentioned at the latter end of §. VI. may be in some Measure increased, and heightened in its Degrees.

§. IX. THIS *Euboick* Talent has hitherto been compared with the *Attick*; as the Eastern Talent, the *Tyrian* and *Babylonian*, have been by the *Greek* Writers: Wherein the Half has been considered, instead of the whole, and gone under the same Name. But the Money, we are next to compare, is the *Alexandrian* of *Egypt*, known to be a *Double Attick*: And I shall therefore propose the greater, or whole *Phœnician*; and its equal, such an *Eubœan*; for a Parallel to this *Alexandrian*. And what I here offer at, is chiefly to see, whether it may not be probable, that this Money there erected was the *Tyrian*, by the very Appointment of it: And further, from the View of this Money, to come the better prepared for the last Part of this Consideration; when we are to compare the *Tyrian* with the *Jewish*.

^a Vit. *Plutarch*, in *Solone*.

^b *Marsham* Can. Chron. Sæcul, IX.

And

And that the Standard of that of *Alexandria*, a City afterwards so renowned, was originally intended to be the *Phœnician*; is very probable from the Circumstances of *Time* and *Place* of its Foundation.

For the Great *Grecian* Conqueror, who had just come from the Destruction of *Tyre*, was now in *Egypt*, which he had since subdued, erecting a City, and that which was to carry his Name; built in a Place much more commodious for Trade, than that of *Tyre*, and, as we may therefore think, *instead* of it. And no Weight or Money could be so convenient for universal Commerce in the *Mediterranean*, as that which had been used by the *Phœnicians*, (with whom the *Carthaginians* are to be reckoned,) on the one hand: and which also might the most nearly agree with some well known Standard of the *Greeks*, the now Conquerors, on the other; such as that of the *Athenians* was, who for some time had been Masters of the *Ægean* Sea, and of all the Trade of those Quarters.

This Agreement of the *Alexandrian* with the *Attick*, its Half, I securely mention, as some Reason of its Establishment. For the *Darici*, which have been of use to us, in the Equality of the *Euboick* and *Tyrian* Money, will help to persuade us here, that it was not the principal Reason.

For, as it may be first observed, that the *Tyrians* had yet retained a great share of the *Mediterranean* Commerce, in the East, and South; so the *Darici*, which have appeared already to be prior, and not only equal, to the *Aureus* of *Athens*, may contribute now to shew us, that, in the Appointment of this *new Greek* Money, the Whole *Tyrian*, and not the Half, was chiefly considered.

That Coin, the *Daricus*, with its *Archer* on Horseback, was soon well known among the *Greeks*; if only by the power it had upon some of their chief Governments: where it made a greater impression, than whole Armies of Archers could have done in the Field. And this was the Money, that *Philip* King of *Macedon* chose to imitate, when he coined the Gold of his *Thracian* Mines, and substituted his *Philippei* to the old *Darici*, for the like effect: Whether they were coined, after the Type of the *Darici*, either in a vye with the Elder *Darius*; or out of his designed Competition with the Contemporary. And after the same Model, and in Imitation of his Father, his Son, the Conqueror of *Persia*, had his *Alexandrei*.

It was not very necessary above, when we spoke of those Golden Pieces under *Darius*, and their exact Equality to the *Attick Aureus*, to advertise, That *Solon's* Weight could never have been, at that time, made the Standard of the *Asian* Empire. Neither should it now be surmised, though the *Attick* Money was grown since to be generally known, and current, that the Type of their Golden Coin should have been the Pattern to those *Macedonian* Kings. For that Republick, how potent soever it had lately been, was neither so much feared, or loved by those two Princes, as to have that honour shewed them. The Names of their Coins, *Philippei* and *Alexandrei*, declare

the *Darici*, for the Type they regarded: And the Preparation of the Father, and the Success of the Son, shew what Empire they had in their View.

Thus does the Equality of the Double *Attick Mina*, to the *Alexandrian*, shew it to be *Tyrian*. And this Probability, as a fresh Testimony, conspiring with those many given before, may be allowed to make up a full and satisfactory Evidence of what I have been endeavouring to prove.

I may still add, that the *Eubæan Mina* in this *Section*, being looked upon singly, as equal to the whole *Alexandrian*, and not to its half, the *Attick*; will furnish us with a reason, why *Herodotus*, who, as *Plutarch*^a complains, was a Favourer of the *Athenians*, chose however, when he was to express the *Tyrian Money* by a *Greek Parallel*, to put the *Euboic* for it. And this *Phænomenon* (if I may so call it) may be another Consonancy of the *Hypothesis*; and, agreeing with what has otherwise appeared, join to verify it.

§. X. THE Design hitherto pursued has been, to gain the Knowledge of the *Tyrian Talent* of the Second Period, by the *Eubæan*; and to shew it to be *Attick*. And, in these Comparisons, the *Babylonian Money* has been mentioned, though under some Uncertainty: And therefore, because it is pretended by the *Rabbins* to have been the Money of the *Jews* in this Period, ought to be particularly enquired after.

And, first, we may reflect, that no such Use has been made of it, as that any Uncertainty in its Weight should create any Doubt of the Equality of the *Tyrian*, or *Euboick*, to the *Attick*.

For in the Fourth *Section*, the three different Accounts there given of the Proportion of the *Babylonian Talent* to the *Attick* hinder not, but that the *Tyrian* and *Attick* may be equal; as *Heron* has told us. Neither (in the Fifth) will that different State of the *Babylonian*, in respect of the *Attick*, impeach the Argument for the Equality of the *Tyrian* and the *Euboick*, that is drawn from the general Contradistinction of the *Euboick*, whatsoever it was, to the *Babylonian*. And neither (in the Eighth *Section*) will the *Daricus* be ever the less an *Aliquot*, or any other *Aliquot* than that assigned, of the *Euboick*, or *Tyrian*; by reason of those Variances concerning the *Babylonian*.

And in the remaining Part of this Second *Consideration*, where the Equality of the *Jewish* and *Babylonian Money* is pretended by the *Rabbins*; and in the Third *Consideration*, where the Money of the First Period is said by them to be $\frac{5}{6}$ of the *Babylonian*: it will be enough for our purpose to know, that the *Babylonian Talent* is, in respect of the *Attick*, as $\frac{5}{4}$ at most, and $\frac{7}{6}$ at least, of it; as it is given by those *Greek Authors*. It is not necessary therefore here to enquire nicely, Which of these Estimates of the *Babylonian Money* by the *At-*

^a De Herodoti Malignit.

tick is to be preferred; whether that of $\frac{5}{4}$, or $\frac{6}{5}$, or $\frac{7}{6}$. But it may be suspected, that the highest of them, that given by *Xenophon* of $\frac{5}{4}$, was not intended to be nicely exact; from the *Occasion* of his giving it. For it is upon the account of a great Scarcity of Bread-corn in *Cyrus's* Army, now come near *Babylon*, that he tells us, that a Measure of Meal, the *Capitha* of the Country, equal to two *Attick Chænix's*, was sold for four *Sigli*; and that each of them was equal to seven *Attick Oboli* and a half. And it was sufficient for his Intent, to express the Price of the Measure by such a Sum of *Attick Drachmæ*, and its usual Parts, as were nearest to it, though not exactly adequate. And so $\frac{5}{4}$ of a *Drachma* might therefore have been put for a *Siglus*; because the Excurrent $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *Drachma* was an *Obolus* and a half: whereas in the Estimate of $\frac{6}{5}$, the Excurrent $\frac{1}{5}$ was inexpressible, in the ordinary Parts of an *Obolus*, its *Chalci*, &c. This Reckoning accordingly he gave, for the Price of an *Attick Chænix*, the daily Sustenance of a Soldier, in two *Attick Drachmæ* and a half; though above that Price, which the Proportion of $\frac{6}{5}$ would have given but in an irregular Fraction, and by a Difference which was in that case to be neglected. More Minuteness in the Calculation of a *Siglus* was neither necessary for the Apprehension of the Reader, nor fit for the Dignity of an Historian.

And it may be further observed of these different Reckonings by $\frac{7}{6}$, and $\frac{7}{6}$, and $\frac{7}{6}$ *Drachmæ*: That, as the middle 7,2 is not expressible in *Oboli*; so neither are any other between the extremes; neither 7,1, or 7,3, or 7,4. For 48, the Number of *Chalci*; or 96, the *Hordea*, are not divisible by 10. And consequently it may be observed, that the Equality, delivered by *Herodotus*, between a *Siglus* and seven whole *Oboli*; which would have compleatly answered *Xenophon's* Intent; was not thought exact enough by him, when he added the half *Obolus*.

But I have gone too far, in this Comparison of the different Accounts of these two Authors. And it may be of more Use, to consider the different Value of Gold to Silver, which is assigned by them, near the same Places I have now cited. For *Xenophon*, not far from his Account of that Dearth, says, That *Cyrus* had promised *ten Talents* to an *Aruspex*, if it proved true, what he foretold, that *Artaxerxes* did not fight him in *ten Days*: And that, after that time, he paid him 3000 *Darici* accordingly. And by this Author we therefore find, That in his time 6000 Golden *Drachmæ* of *Athens*, or a *Talent in Gold*, were equivalent to 10 Talents in Silver. But our other Author, *Herodotus*, in his reduction of the *Indians* Tribute in Gold, which was 360 *Euboick* Talents, to 4680 in Silver, making the Silver to be thirteen times the *Weight* in Gold, seems to have given that Proportion of the Value.

This Difference seems too great, to have passed in so few Years, as were between the Battel of *Cyrus*, in 401 before our Saviour, and the Tribute set up by *Darius*, whose Reign began in 510. And it

is therefore much more probable, to reckon the Number 13, as a Composite; and made up of the ordinary Value of that time, and the extraordinary superadded by *Darius*. For his Præmium of 1 in 7, for payment in Gold, must be brought into the account; as well as the ordinary Value of it. And for that reason, the 360 Talents of Gold, when they are brought in account with Silver, must first be reckoned, by the Imperial Allowance, to be seven Sixths of 360; and so pass for 420. And then the ordinary Value of these 420 Talents of Gold is to be taken in Silver; which, if Gold be as 1 to 10, will give 4200 Talents; and if 1 to 11, 4620; but if 1 to 12, 5040.

And still, further, it is to be considered, That neither may this Value, of about 11 to 1, have been the constant Price. For the Præmium, that the Emperor gave for it, might well have enhanced its Value for the present among his Subjects, as much as might make up the Difference of 10 and 11: And so Gold may have been before to Silver, as 10 to 1.

§. XI. THE *Tyrian* Money of this *Second Period*, which has appeared equal to the Double *Attick* and the *Alexandrian*, I come now to compare with the *Jewish* of that Time; and to see, whether it was not the same with them.

And, First, we shall find it, as the *Rabbins* give it, so near them; that it must be reckoned for the same, much rather than for the *Babylonian*. For the *Deinar* is, we know, stated by them two ways: Either with respect to the *Roman Drachma*, as commonly; or to the *Egyptian Dirhem*, as by *Maimonides*. And if we take the Modern *Roman Drachma* of 54,75 *Troy* Grains; and increase it with a 5th, as the *Rabbins* do; we have near 66 Grains for the *Deinar*: A Weight which is commonly owned by the older *Drachmæ*; and which wants not much above a Grain, of that given by Mr. *Greaves*^a; nor above Four, even of the highest that can be assigned, that of 70. And if we go, with *Maimonides*, by the *Dirhem*; and allow the Reckoning of the *Jewish* Grains by Barley of *Egypt*, and suppose 64 of them to be a *Dirhem*; we have then a *Deinar* of 72 *Egyptian* Grains, the Weight commonly esteemed in *Egypt* to be the *Attick Drachma*; and which, being something under that number of *Troy* Grains, will not exceed the *Attick Drachma* of 68 *Troy* Grains (the most likely Weight of it) by 4 Grains.

Either of these *Deinars* seem to have been intended for those respective *Drachma's* of *Athens*: But the highest of them cannot be, as the *Rabbins* would have it, a *Siglus* of *Babylon*. For according to the Proportion of 6 to 5, which they, and *Ælian* give, between the *Babylonian* and *Attick* Money; the *Attick*, if but of 66 Grains, will require a *Siglus* of 79 Grains; which is too high: And the *Siglus* of

^a See Part II. Chap. 1. §. 4.

72 Grains, which *Maimonides* supposes, will require 60 Grains for an *Attick Drachma*; which is far under the True; and the same 60 for a quarter *Shekel* of the *Rabbins*, which is by almost all of them reckoned under 55. Thus far is the *Babylonish* Money from being the *Jewish* of this Period; if we take it for a $\frac{6}{5}$ of the *Attick*: And it will not be much nearer, if we take it at the lowest Proportion, for a $\frac{7}{6}$.

§. XII. THUS do the *Rabbins* either by their Calculation from the *Roman Ponderal Drachma*, or from the 96 Grains, agree to bring the *Deinar* very near to the *Attick Drachma*. But that it was precisely the same, the Name *Deinar* may serve to prove.

In the *Rabbinical Table*^a, we see, it is put for half a *Tobba*; and, if it be, or be not, the *Babylonian Siglus*, is however, by its Situation, and Proximity to the *Attick Drachma*, a Parallel to those *Drachmæ*. It is also, if we go lower, divided, like a *Drachma*, by 6 *Meabs*, for so many *Oboli*; and has its *Meab* divided into 16 Grains, answerable to so many Half *Chalci*, called too by the *Greeks* *Barley Grains*. By this Parallelism how *Maimonides* might easily have been led to the Equality of this half *Tobba* with the *Attick Drachma*, has been suggested already^b: And that he might, if his *Rabbinism* would have suffered him to have taken foreign Instruction, have been perfectly assured, I am now going to shew.

For he could not be ignorant of this, that the *Deinar* was not a Word brought from *Babylon*; but an *Exotick* to all the *Oriental* Languages, and had come from the West, the opposite Point; and from *Rome*, a very remote City on that side. A little more Knowledge too in the History of the East would have informed him, that this Word *Denarius* could not have been received there into the signification of any *Drachma*, neither in *Judea*, nor yet in *Syria*, until those Parts were subjected to the *Romans* by *Pompey*, in the Year before our *Saviour* Sixty three. And he might besides have reflected, that though a *Drachma*, after they came under the *Roman* Dominion, might then sometime, in loose and inaccurate speaking, have been called a *Denarius* by a *Roman*; yet it could not be so named by the People of the Place, specifically, and as a Piece of certain Weight, except it were equal to it. And, that a *Denarius* of that Time, at the highest, and of 62 Grains and a half, was equal to one of his *Babylonick Drachmæ* of 72, he could not have allowed.

We Christians know, if only from our Gospel History^c, that, in the Reign of *Tiberius*, the *Roman Denarius*, the *Tribute Money* to the *Empire*, was not the same Species with the *Drachma*, by which the *Poll-Money* to the *Temple* was paid. For the Payment by *Didrachms*^d and *Staters*, whatever they were, was the same, we may suppose, it

^a See Chap. I. of this Part, §. 4.

^b Chap. III. of this Part, §. 7.

^c *Matth.* XXII. 19.

^d *Ibid.* XVII. 24.

had been before the Coming in of the *Romans*; and the *Rabbins* will grant that it had been long before: And those *Grecian* Names, introduced by the Conquest of *Alexander*, and still retained by the *Jews*, strongly imply, that they and the *Denarius* had now in proper Speech a different signification.

We also have seen, that a *Drachma*, the *Attick*, though always equal to the *Denarius*, yet was never, in common account, styled by that Name; till the *Denarii* of the later Emperors, who lived in the Third Century, and long after the final Dispersion of the *Jews*, had risen up to be equal to the *Attick* Standard *Drachmæ*. This has been observed heretofore^a. And it is not very probable, that the Style of a *Deinar*, by which the Weights and Moneys of the *Jews* are now reckoned, should have been in Use with them, before it was in the *Roman* Empire.

And from these Observations I may, I think, with great probability conclude, That this *Deinar* of the *Rabbins* was nothing else, but the $\Delta\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ of the later *Greeks*, such as is mentioned, *Part* III. Chap. 5. §. 5. and also in *this*, Chap. 2. §. 5. And that its very Name, used, as it is, for a Species of Weight, speaks it plainly to be the standard *Drachma* of *Athens*.

§. XIII. THE most likely Time, for the beginning of such a general acception of the Word $\Delta\eta\mu\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ with the *Greeks*, seems to have been, when the *Roman* Empire became the *Grecian*; from the Removal of the Court to *Constantinople*; and the Invasion of *Italy* and the Western Parts, by the Northern Barbarians. And from this Time it may be rationally judged to have been taken up by the *Rabbins*, either of *Palæstine*, or of *Egypt*; where the greatest Synagogues, or Schools of them, may be supposed to have been.

In *Trajan's* Time, the *Jews* might have been suffered to live quietly, and have their Synagogues in those Places. But their Turbulencies and Rebellions having provoked *Adrian* to their Extermination; and their Tumultuous Insurrection continuing to make the good *Antonines* their declared Enemies: the *Babylonian* Empire was their near, and only sure Refuge; where they might enjoy, in some Degree, a free Exercise of their Religion. And from the Descendants of those Refugees, the greatest Part of the Traditions, we have delivered to us, came; as we may well suppose by the Language, as well as the Name of one of their *Talmuds*. When, and where the Compilations in *Hebrew* were framed, I am not concerned to enquire. For the *Mishnah*, it seems, has nothing to say of their old Money, but that it was *Tyrian*: And what that *Tyrian* was, none of their Traditions have informed them. This seems to be probable concerning the *Mishnah*, their *Digest*: That it was a Book not known in the Time of *Epiphanius* and St. *Jerom*, though some of those Traditions might

^a Part III. Chap. 5. §. 5.

have been consigned to Writing before; and that the Comments therefore upon it must have been very late. And now, from the Ignorance of those *Rabbins* concerning the *Tyrian Coin*, we may well judge them to have been trained in no *Palæstine* School. And from the Expression of the supposed *Babylonian Drachma*, by a *Deinar* and its 96 Grains, we may know the Author of it to have lived in the *Roman Empire*; and in *Egypt*, we may then presume: the *Jews*, who were always willing to sojourn there, having had for some time a liberty to return; and *Alexandria* having for a long while been the famous Seat of all Learning, especially the Mathematical.

Upon these Considerations, I am apt to think, that some *Gemarists*, of this Country, whose Memorial was transcribed afterwards into the *Talmud*, may about the Time of *Epiphanius*, and at the latter end of the Fourth Century, or later, have expressed the *Jewish Drachma* of the Second Period by this *Deinar*, as by a Species of Weight then well known for an *Attick Drachma*; and that this continued to be well understood there, as long as the *Greeks* were Masters of the South-East of the *Mediterranean*, notwithstanding the Change that had been made by the Institution of the new *Drachma*, now for distinction termed *Ægyptiaca*; but which, as it seems by the *Arabick Word Dirhem*, had sometimes before that Conquest gone simply under that Name. And it may easily be imagined, why the Word *Deinar* ceased to be understood in the sense of that *Drachma*, at some small distance of time from the Invasion of those Eastern Barbarians. For there came in with them an Inundation of Ignorance: And how much of antient Knowledge was like to be spared, we may learn from *Omar's Order*^a for the Burning of the *Alexandrian Library*; who measured the use of all Learning by its service to their upstart ridiculous *Alcoran*. And it is therefore no wonder that, when they had made no use of any other *Drachma*, but that new one, the *Dirhem*; and measured the *Attick Mina* itself, which they took to be the *Cairo Litra*, by 144 of them; they forgot what the Meaning of a *Deinar* was: and understood not, what certain Weight those 96 Grains must be, that were not the Grains of a *Dirhem*. The Word *Deinar*, indeed, they took into their Language^b; but principally so, as it had formerly signified a *Golden Coin*. For the *Verb* now chiefly connotes *Abounding in Gold*, and *Shining like Gold*; and the *Noun* is taken for a *Money Aureus* in general; and in particular for a *Coin of two Dirhem Weight*: this Coin having, as we may guess, its Name of *Gold* from those *Denarii* in Gold of the *Greek Emperors*, which have been mentioned above, and weighed an *Attick Drachma*; but weighing very differently, and consisting of 96 such Grains of which the old *Denarius* was not 70. And this Change, if I may have leave to go on and guess, was, I suppose, made, to melt down and efface the Memory of the old Lords, the Empe-

^a *Abulphar. Pocockii, Latin. pag. 114.*

^b *Gellii Lex. Colum. 870.*

tors of *Rome*; and to place, instead of it, a Coin, that should so far imitate the *Attick Aurei*, as to weigh the same number of *Dirbems*, which those did of the *Drachmæ*: and such a Golden Coin as this had, I may believe, been struck before by the *Greeks* themselves. And this Change is no greater, than one, on the other side, I have before intimated^a, of the *Mithcál*: For this Word, whose general signification in *Arabick* is a *Weight*, coming afterwards to signify the special Weight of 68,314 Grains, that of the *Attick* *Ολλυ*, is thence transferred to signify the famous Golden Coin, that of two *Dirbems*, the now named *Deinar*.

This Notion of the *Greek Deinar*, from whomsoever of the *Gemarrists* it came into the *Talmud*, was so lost in a little time with the *Saracens*, by the Use of the other; that the *Rabbins* of that Empire, who made it a Point of Religion not to learn any thing of their Affairs from the *Greeks*, had they had the Opportunity, could not be able to discover it. This we may see from *Maimonides*, a great Master of Calculation, and of all the Oriental Languages; who, as it has been observed^b, had no farther help towards the Knowledge of the 96 Grains of their *Deinar*, but that they were Grains of Barley: Of what Country, his Father did not pretend to have heard.

Of the *Attick* Artificial Grains, the half of the *Chalcus*, the *Rabbins*, it seems, to this time knew nothing: And their *Talmudick* Position, that their *Deinar* had been *Babylonian* Money, must have misled them to the Grains of that Country. And the like Situation and Fertility of *Chaldæa* and *Egypt* (a Similitude remarked of old by *Herodotus*, and now well known under the *Mahometan* Chaliphs) directed them to go no further than *Egypt*, for the Weight of this Grain, if understood to be natural. This way *Maimonides* took, and upon these Inducements: while other, less knowing *Rabbins*, might have imagined, that the Weights of those two Countries had been in old Times always the same; or, at least, that the Measures of *Alexandria* had been adjusted by its Founder to those of his great Metropolis *Babylon*.

But however the *Rabbins* may have mistook; this, we have seen, is certain: That, in the Second Period, the *Jewish* Weights were the *Alexandrian*: the *Darcon*, *Sela*, and *Tobba* of the one, being the *Tetradrachm*, *Didrachm*, and *Drachma* of the other; and the *Deinar* being also nothing but the *Triobolum* of *Alexandria* reckoned in Grains, after the manner of its equal, the *Attick Drachma*.

§. XIV. THE *Phœnician* Money of the *Second* Period being thus settled: I now go up to that of the *First*; and to see whether there was any *Difference* between them. And a *Difference* between the two *Tyrian* it will now be necessary for the *Rabbins* to surmise; if they will maintain the *Difference* they set up between the Moneys of

^a Chap. III. of this Part, §. 5.

^b Chap. III. §. 7.

their own Nation. For after it has been Preliminarily agreed, that the *Hebrew* and *Phœnician* of the First Period was the same; if the *Phœnician* of this First be equal to that of the Second, and consequently be *Attick* also: the *Jewish* of the First will be likewise *Attick*; and therefore equal to the *Jewish* of the Second, which has been proved *Attick*, in the precedent, the Second Consideration.

Of this Consequence the *Rabbins*, who regarded not the *Greek* Writers of their own Nation, and consulted not any foreign Authors, were not aware; and therefore securely left the Determination of this Question about the *Tyrian* Money under great Uncertainty; professing not to know what the Old was, and appearing to know as little of the Latter.

The *Rabbinists* therefore, who are now concerned, in defence of one Difference, to maintain another, have not so much as any Authority from their own Traditions to oppose to this Equality; which yet they are not at liberty to deny, except they can disprove. For it must be always presumed of this old *Mercantile* People, that they did not change their Measures, except some Cause be shewn.

This we are sure of: That no other Competitor in the Skill of Trade can be named, whose Measures they should prefer, and voluntarily take up, instead of their Own. And if Force be pretended, they have none to alledge but that from *Babylon*; such, as they say, made that Variation in the *Jewish*.

And here they are already precluded from supposing such a Change, made by *Nebuchadnezzar* at *Tyre*, as the *Rabbins* would have at *Jerusalem*; a Change into the *Chaldean* Measures: For this will not hold, as has been shewn just now, in the *Eleventh Section*.

Neither have they a like Cause, to what they pretend at *Jerusalem*, for any Change whatsoever. For here is no Transportation (to *Babylon*) of a Nation, though overpowered by Land, yet free at Sea, and safe with their Ships in neighbouring friendly Coasts; and whose Return to their old Management of their Trade, it was the Interest of the Conqueror to procure. Here was no long Aboding at *Babylon*, to introduce a different Reckoning, and inure them to it: Nay, there was no Conquest at all; but, after a Siege of thirteen Years, which shut them up only by Land, they were, upon a Surrender, permitted to live under a King of their own, and with their old Laws and Usages.

For these Reasons, the Equality between the *Tyrian* Weight of the two Periods, may, I think, be taken for granted; and I may have leave to rest upon the strong Presumption for it, as a sufficient Proof; and which is not to be set aside by a bare Possibility, but by some great Probability to the contrary. But yet, though it needs not be supported by any Arguments, it wants not such as will dispose us to a readier Belief of it.

§. XV. FOR, first, the *Attick* Weight of *Solon*, which, as we have seen^a, was in all fair Probability reformed by him according to the *Phœnician* Pattern, was so regulated before the Taking of *Tyre* 16 Years, as *Petavius* reckons; and equal therefore to that of the First Period. And, had the Reformation been made 16 Years after, it cannot be supposed that *Solon* would have ordered it by such a new Model, had he known it; one so unknown before on the *Mediterranean*, and so unlikely to continue.

§. XVI. AND, secondly, if the *Rabbinists* make a difficulty, though a causeless one, of allowing *Solon* to have reformed his new Coin to the *Phœnician* of the First Period: yet it must be granted, that the *Euboick* of *Darius*, who began his Reign not Seventy Years after the Taking of *Tyre* by the *Chaldeans*, nor a Hundred after *Solon's* Regulation; was equal then both to the *Attick* and *Tyrian*. And this Money, as we have seen, has a fair Title for itself, and consequently for its *Attick*, to be the antient *Tyrian*.

§. XVII. AND, lastly, the *Daricus*, the famous *Aliquot* of the *Tyrian Mina* in the Second Period, the *Aureus* of *Solon*; if it shall with any Probability appear to have had a place in the First, will shew the *Mina* to have been the same. This Coin is commonly supposed to have had its Name from the *Persian Darius*, who took such care about it; but is said by the *Scholiast* of *Aristophanes* to have been elder, and to have been so called from another *Darius*, who is thought to be the *Mede*, dispossessed of *Babylon* by *Cyrus*: And I may add, that possibly it need not be barred from a pretence to a yet higher Antiquity, for want of another *Darius*, elder than this, to give it a Name. For, after all, the Word *Daricus* may have originally been nothing else but a *Drachma*: not from the *Greek*, as a Handful of *Oboli*; but from the Oriental *Daraka*, which has in it the signification of a *Footstep* or *Impression*; and, connoting near the same with *Tobba*, and so going for a Coin, might well have been taken with it for the Weight of a half *Shekel*; especially if, as *Epiphanius* tells us, this was the first Money that was struck. But, whencesoever a *Daricus* was denominated, it appears to have been a Coin or Measure of Weight very early, by the account we have of *Homer's* Golden Talent, which is reckoned by *Pollux* and others at three *Aurei* of *Solon*.

And now, if this Talent of Gold was a Species of Weight but in the *Poet's* Time; it was so, by the account of the *Arundelian Marble*, about the Year 900 before our Saviour, in the Reign of *Jehoshaphat*, and when the Kings of *Babylon* were not much known to the *Jews*. But if the *Poet* speaks as in the Time of his *Heroes*, and of

^a Sect. 8.

the End of the Siege of *Troy*, this Talent will be found to have been extant near 300 Years before, and as old as *Jephthah* the Judge.

It must also be taken for a *Phœnician* Piece, at the lowest Date. For that People, at that Time, continued to be the great Traders on the *Mediterranean*, and are the only ones mentioned by *Homer*.

And therefore, if of that lesser *Phœnician* Piece of Gold we take the *Aureus* of *Athens* to be an *Aliquot*, it must in all reasonable Probability be allowed to have been an *Aliquot* of the greater Talent, which consisted, we know, of 6000 *Beka*'s.

For in this Case, where the only doubt is, whether the *Beka* was the *Attick Didrachm*, or wanted a 6th of it; an *Attick Didrachm* of Gold, if found at that Time, must at first sight be acknowledged for the *Beka*.

Thus may the *Didrachm* of *Athens* be discerned to have been a *Phœnician Beka*; and 6000 of them, equal to a double *Attick* Talent; and half that number of *Beka*'s, the lesser Talent of the *Phœnicians*, (called the Profane with the *Jews*;) to have been equal to a single *Attick*. And by this Reckoning, the *Homerick* Talent itself, weighing six *Attick Drachmæ*, will be an *Aliquot* of the *Attick*, and the 1000th Part of it.

The Design I here aim at is sufficiently served, if the Knowledge of *Homer*'s Talent be allowed to make some Proof of the Equality of the *Beka* and the *Attick Didrachm*: neither is it necessary for me to enquire, why this Piece of Gold was called a Talent. But if it has not been thought unlikely, that a Weight of Gold, equivalent to a Talent of Brass, might therefore be called a Talent; and that the Value of Gold to Brass might antiently have been, as a 1000 to one, (according to what has been intimated *Part II. Chap. 1. §. 3.* and observed *§. 12.* of this *Chapter*;) the Reason of the Denomination may then add a new Argument for the Equality of the *Attick* and old *Phœnician* Weight.

This last Conjecture, as it is conceived with diffidence, and proposed with great submission; so is not at all necessary to make out the Intention of this Third Consideration. For it has, I think, been otherwise proved, and with sufficient Evidence, that the *Tyrian* of the First Period differed not from the *Tyrian* of the Second.

§. XVIII. THE Equality between the *Tyrian* Money of the two Periods, though the *Rabbins* have nothing to say against it from their own Learning; yet needed to be proved, against what may be said in their behalf by others. For, not to conceal their Advantage, the *Greek* Learning may furnish them with, there is a well known Species of Money, which may serve their Turn, if it may be allowed to be the old *Tyrian*. It is the *Æginean* Money, very antient and current over all *Peloponnesus*: which is exactly $\frac{2}{3}$ of a Double *Attick*; and may be set up by the *Jewish Hypothesis* for the First Period, by those who will grant us a Double *Attick* for the Second. For as they may

allow, what we have now suggested, that the Weight of a *Daricus*, or *Attick Didrachm*, might have been a *Drachma* with the Latter *Tyrians*; so may they contend, that this *Æginean* Weight of a single *Drachma*, and $= \frac{5}{6}$ of that, was the *Drachma* of the Elder. And so (as we have heretofore observed) a whole *Attick Drachma*, of 66 Grains, for the Second Period, will afford us a *Roman Drachma* of 55 Grains, for the First.

But this Supposition, that will suit that Hypothesis so well, (for it equally holds, whatever *Attick Drachma* we shall choose,) is absolutely destroyed by that constant Equality of the *Tyrian* Money, which has been now asserted.

And in the Proceedings of this *Chapter*, we likewise see particularly confirmed (as was promised above *Chap. IV. §. 3.*) the Truth of the Position, which denies the Coins, found equal to half a *Roman Ounce*, to have been the *Shekels* of *Israel*, of the First Period. For here that *Shekel* has been proved, without any regard to the *Roman* Weight, to be the Standard *Tetradrachm* of *Athens*; and this exceeds, as we otherwise know, the highest *Roman* half Ounce, as much at least, as 4×67 Grains exceed 4×55 .

But there is no need of a special Confutation of this groundless, unaccountable Fancy of the *Rabbins*, who set up an Equality between the antient Money of the *Israelites* and *Phœnicians*, and between the late *Denarius*, the *Drachma* of *Rome*: A Town which had no existence in a long time after; and whose first Money was Brass, for an Age after *Alexander* the Great; and, when it was made Silver, was taken up from the *Athenian* current diminished Coin; and fell down afterwards by Chance, and by several Degrees, to be the 8th of their Ounce. By *Chance* I say: For it cannot be imagined, that there was any design of Approach to the old *Hebrew*, though there might be to the old *Dorick*, in all these Changes; more than there was of a compleat Agreement, when it came to be a *Drachma* under *Adrian*, and the *Antonines*: Princes, who, if they may be imagined ever to have enquired after the old *Hebrew* Money, can never be thought inclinable to have conformed their Coin to any *Jewish*. And if it was a *Chance*, it was a wonderful one; and just as likely, as if the *Rabbins* had told us, that those *Emperors* were their *Profelytes*.

And now, to sum up the Result of the Three Considerations, which have lengthened this Chapter: If it has appeared by this *last*, that the *Tyrian* Money was the same in Both Periods; and by the *precedent*, that in the Second Period the *Tyrian* and *Jewish* were the same, and equal to *Solon's Attick*; and by the *first*, that they two were equal in the First Period; it necessarily follows, that there was no Difference between the *Jewish* Money of those Periods, and that they were equal to the *Attick* in either; as the *Greek* Writers of the *Jews* had informed us before.

§. XIX. BUT

§. XIX. BUT it is high time to put an end to this tedious Enquiry into the State of the *Jewish* Money. By it, I think, it has evidently appeared, that the Traditions, by which only the *Rabbins* were informed of their antient Measures, are of small Authority, and very imperfect; and also, for want of the Knowledge that *foreign* Learning would have furnished, not well understood by their ablest Masters: that the Elder *Jews*, who have wrote in *Greek*, deserve in all respects to be most credited by us; and that the Account they give, is supported by foreign Authors; who cannot be suspected of Conspiracy, nor accused of Ignorance.

And now we are so well assured of the antient constant Equality of the *Hebrew* and *Attick* Weights and Money, there is no need to frame a particular Table for the *Scriptural*. For if we turn their *Talents*, *Manehs*, and *Shekels* of Money, into Quarter *Shekels*; and enter with them, as with *Drachmæ*, into the *Attick* Tables, (the first or the last, as we best like,) we have the Sum of their Money expressed in ours.

So much labour is spared in Calculation, by this Equality. But the Time, that has been spent in the Establishment of it, will be still less regretted, when we see how serviceable it will be in the Knowledge of the *Jewish* Measures of *Content*, to which I am now going.

CHAP. VI.

§. I. *The Denomination and Proportion of the Mosaical Measures of Capacity, according to the Rabbins.* §. II. *The Determination of a Lög by Maimonides, as it now stands in his Commentaries on the Mishnah, manifestly wrong.* §. III. *A Conjecture concerning the Correction of his Calculation proposed:* §. IV. *And set aside; as not very likely, and not agreeing with the Quantity he seems to have intended in his Jad Chazakah.* §. V. *Another Conjecture more agreeable to that Intention.* §. VI. *His whole Proceeding is groundless and arbitrary.*

§. I. **I**N the Account of these *Concave* Measures, we shall find much the same Difference between the Calculations of the *Talmudists* and the *Grecian Jews*, as we have seen in their Measures of Weight. I shall therefore propose and examine them separately: And, First, consider the Account given by the *Rabbins*.

Now as to the *Order* and *Proportion* of the Vessels; they, for ought I see, generally agree in the State of them, which is exhibited in this TABLE.

<i>Corus</i>	1								
<i>Letbek</i>	2	1							
<i>Ephab</i>	10	5	1						
<i>Seab</i>	30	15	3	1					
<i>Hin</i>	60	30	6	2	1				
<i>Omer</i>	100	50	10	$3\frac{1}{3}$	$1\frac{2}{3}$	1			
<i>Cabus</i>	180	90	18	6	3	1,8	1		
<i>Lóg</i>	720	360	72	24	12	7,2	4	1	
<i>Rebiith</i>		—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1
<i>Ovum</i>		—	—	—	—	—	—	6	1,5 1
<i>Cós</i>		—	—	—	—	—	—	16	4 $2\frac{2}{3}$ 1

§. II. As to the *Determination* of the *Capacity* of any one of them, by a known Quantity; the *Talmudists*, I perceive, are not well agreed: having, as it seems, less Information from their Traditions concerning these Measures, than they had concerning the others. I shall therefore, in this Enquiry also, think it most adviseable to see what *Maimonides* has to say; hoping at least to find, if not very certain Principles, yet the most certain, the *Rabbinical* Learning can afford us.

This Great Master of theirs gives indeed the Measure of a *Lóg* with the utmost appearing Accuracy, in Hydrostatick Weight, and Cube Inches; and for this, I suppose, he is so generally followed: but neither are his Calculations, as they are now read, consistent: nor seems He to have had any certain Foundation for any.

He says^a, that he used all his diligence to find the Content of a *Rebiith* exactly; and determines the Quadruple of it, a *Lóg*, to be = to an upright Vessel, whose bottom is a Square of 4 Inches, or 16 square Inches; and its Height 2,7 Inches; and the Weight of the Wine, or Oil, contained in it, to be $4 \times 26 = 104$ *Dirbems*. And here he gives the Weight of Wine and Oil to be the same: But in another part of his *Mishnick* Commentary^b, he makes the *Rebiith* of Wine to weigh 26 *Dirbems*; and of Water, almost 25; and of Wheat, 21. These Proportions of the Weight of the three Species, Wine, Water, and Oil, being different from the received, persuade me to think there is an Error in the mention of them; and that the *Rebiith* of almost 25 *Dirbems* was said by *Maimonides* not of Water, but of Oil. And I shall therefore compute the Measure of Water, as well as Wine, at 26 *Dirbems*.

^a Præfat. ad Tract. *Menach.* edit. à *Pocock.* in *Porta Mos.* p. 434, 435. *Masseketh Peab,* Cap. VIII. §. 5. Edit. *Surenhus.* Par. I. p. 72.

^b *Masseketh Edaioth,* Cap. I. §. 2. Edit. *Surenhus.* Par. IV. p. 323.

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This Correction seems to be wanting at first setting out; but there are greater Incongruities that need it. For, taking it for highly probable, that these *Dirbems* are the present, and also that the Inches are the same with ours; (he expressly mentioning, and more than once, that his *Digiti* are *Pollicares*;) it must then necessarily follow, that 104 *Dirbems* do equiponderate 43,2 Cube Inches of Water; whereas we know that 144 of them = to no more than 27,182.

§. III. THESE Numbers of *Cubes* and *Dirbems* are so inconsistent together, that they could not have been assigned by *Maimonides*; nor is it easy to guess how they should be reformed. The slightest and readiest Change seems to be this; to make the *Dirbems* 144, instead of 104, putting 4×36 for 4×26 ; and then to form the *Cubes* from the same Base 16, but by the Height of 1,7 instead of 2,7. For thus $16 \times 1,7$ makes 27,2 *Cubes*, and these we know = to 144 *Dirbems* = 4×36 .

By this Alteration we have a true Equiponderance between the *Dirbems* and *Cubes*; and a *Lóg* almost = to a Palm *Cube*; a Vessel that must be thought the readiest and most proper Measure of *Content*, for those who used that Length for a Measure of Distance. And if this *Cairo* Pound should be determined for the Weight of a *Lóg* in Water, under the First *Temple*, as it is the Weight of our present Pint; we then have ready the $\frac{6}{5}$ of it, near the *Attick Sextary*, for its Weight, under the Second; which will agree with *Josephus*, &c. as for that Time.

§. IV. FOR the easiness of the Alteration, and the convenience of its Measurements, one would be ready to believe that this was the Mind of *Maimonides*. But it may be justly wondered, if such a Vessel had been intended by him, why he raised it upon a Square of 3 Inches, or a Palm, and of its third, to the height of one Inch and another Fraction; and did not express it directly by the whole Number 3 Inches, and plainly by the Cube of a Palm.

But that the Measure of a *Lóg*, intended by *Maimonides*, fell very short even of this, and what it really was, we know from him in his consummate Work, *Jad Chazakab*^a; where supposing the *Deinar* = 96 Grains of Barley, he gives the stated Weight of Water, contained in a *Rebiith* or Quarter *Lóg*, to be 17,5 *Deinars*; and makes therefore the *Lóg* = to 70 *Deinars*.

This Calculation of a *Lóg* immediately from so many *Deinars*, which he here delivers, seems to be all the Foundation he had from Tradition, for the Expression of it, he had given before in his Commentaries, by the *Dirbems* and Inches of *Egypt*.

Going therefore upon this ground, as the surest the *Rabbins* have, and taking the *Dirbems* of *Maimonides* to be equal to the Modern,

^a Halak. Erubin, Cap. I. §. 12. See Chap. III. §. 6. of this Part.

of which I think there can be no doubt; and but using only our own Inches, if we will now reckon a *Deinar* at 75,54 Grains *Troy*, as in all probability it was rated by this Author; then $70 \times 75,54 = 5287,8$, divided by 253,3, will give us 20,87 of our Cube Inches for the *Lóg* designed. And this, we see, wants above 6 such Inches of our Palm Cube. But if we measure the *Lóg* by 104 *Dirhems*, (as he does in his Commentary^a;) it will then be = 19,7. And, as if we reckon by lesser *Deinars*, the lesser will the *Lóg* be; so, if we suppose the *Deinar* to be greater, and = 80 Grains, which is much higher than it is carried by any; yet then $70 \times 80 = 5600$ divided by 253, will give but little more than 22 of our Inches, which will still be under 27.

Hereabouts, in our Cube Inches, of necessity must the *Lóg* be, by the Reckoning of *Maimonides*. And if his Inches differ not from ours, as in all probability they do not, it appears presently, how enormously excessive his Number of 43,2 Cubes must be; being near twice as much more than it can rise from its true Foundation.

And the *Lóg* reckoned at about 20 of our Inches (should we question the Equality of ours, and those of *Maimonides*) will by no means agree to any other 43, that may be surmised. For if 43,2 of *Maimonides's* Cube Inches are put equal to twenty of ours; the Length of it will be no more than 0,462 of ours, a Length too small to be allowed by any *Rabbin*; so far will it be from exceeding ours, as *Gedaliah* would have it.

§. V. To return therefore to the Construction of the Solid, which *Maimonides* in his Commentaries gives us for a *Lóg*: We see that it is not unreasonable to suppose, that he intended the Measure, whose Water was to weigh 104 *Dirhems*, to be a Solid, containing about 20 of our Cubical Inches. And then we consequently know, that the Height of a Parallelepipedum, of that Content which is given by the *Dirhems*, if it has 16 square Inches for its Base, must of necessity be = $\frac{20}{16} = 1,25$; and so the Height for the Content of 20,87 such Inches, given by the *Deinars*, will be = 1,304.

And here then, finding it very reasonable to think, that *Maimonides* had, in his Calculations drawn from his Experiments about the Quantity and Weight of Water, set down 1,3 Inches for the Altitude of his Vessel; I should go on to guess, that his Transcribers, not caring, or not able, to examine the Computation, had made the mistake of writing 2,7, for 1,3. Neither will this last Conjecture for the *Integral* seem very unlikely; if we consider, that two Inches might be made of one in the original *Arabick*, only by adding two final Letters to the Word signifying an Inch, and so putting it in the Form of a Dual; and that, if any mistake was made in the Decimal *Fraction*, and a wrong Numerator wrote in the place of 3; it could

^a See above, §. 2.

be no other than this 7, or 1, or 9. For 0,2, and 0,4, and 0,5, &c. must, according to custom, have been expressed by other Fractions of primary lesser Numbers; as by $\frac{1}{5}$, and $\frac{2}{5}$, and $\frac{3}{5}$, &c.

There is, I know, an Objection that may arise against the change of 3 into 7, from the particular manner of expressing this $\frac{7}{10}$ in one place; which is by two Fractions, a $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{5}$ added^a: But then too it may be considered that a mistake may have easily passed here; and that, if instead of a $\frac{1}{2}$ and a $\frac{1}{5}$, we substitute $\frac{1}{2}$ without or less by a $\frac{1}{5}$, we have the $\frac{3}{10}$ very regularly expressed.

All this is offered in honour to *Maimonides*, for a Correction of the palpable Inconsistence of his Numbers, as they now stand; and which seem to have been too securely transcribed by the latter *Rabbins*, and from them by others.

§. VI. BUT all this Enquiry may well appear too nice. For so is the whole Proceeding of *Maimonides*, when he estimates *Contents* by those Weights, judged to be by his *Commentator*^b on the Place in his *Jad Chazakah*, above-mentioned; who informs us, that there is no ground for such a Computation in the *Mishnah*, no nor in the *Gemara*; but that all this was added from the subtle Speculations of some other *Rabbins*, Masters of their Schools, and Great Men, such as *Maimonides* himself was; and that all were not once of the same Mind about it, though it be delivered there by him for general Doctrine.

And now, if their *Talmud* has been so far from giving them any Authority to apply Measures of Weight, to the raising a Measure of *Content*, that their own Authors have thought fit to question and dislike the Method, as novel to them; and if, as they have no antient Vessel to produce for a Standard, so neither have they any certain Lengths from their Traditions, by which they should erect one; and if those, which are taken up by *Maimonides*, were not only taken up by him at his own discretion, but delivered to us in such a manner, as not to be reconciled with what himself lays down, and much less well ascertained; if this be true, we manifestly see how little we are to rely upon the modern Doctrine of the *Rabbins*, for the Vessels of the First *Temple*.

^a *Maimon. Comment. in Mishn. Tract. de Sabb. Cap. VIII. §. 1. Vid. Surenhus. Par. II. p. 32.*

^b *Maggid Mishnah.*

C H A P. VII.

§. I. *The Hebrew Vessels plainly given by Josephus, as equal to their parallel Attick.* §. II. *This Equality, as to the main of it, agreed to by Epiphanius:* §. III. *And confirmed by St. Jerom.* §. IV. *The Equality of the Vessels otherwise probable: first, from a Similitude in the Reckoning of them:* §. V. *And chiefly from the Equality of the Attick and Hebrew Weights.* §. VI. *The great Probability for the Truth of this Equality.*

§. I. **S**O uncertain is the Quantity of the *Jewish Concave Measures*, as they are determined by the *Rabbins*. The *Greek Historian* of that Nation, *Josephus*, gives a plainer Account of them; and very consistent with that he has given us of the *Jewish Weights*; making them also equal to the *Attick*. He^a manifestly speaks the *Lóg* equal to an *Attick Xestes*, when he expresses the Quarter of a *Kab* (in the Second Book of *Kings*, Chap. VI. 25.) by it: And likewise^b when he sets a *Hin* of 12 *Lógs*, at a Par with an *Attick* double *Chous* of 12 *Xestæ*: And also a *Bath*^c, the same Measure for Liquids (as appears from *Ezekiel* XLV. 11.) as an *Ephab* is for dry, and consequently of 72 *Logi*, or 72 such *Xestæ*; not to add, that he^d puts 10 of these *Ephab*'s in a *Corus*, as equal to 10 *Medimni*: These Testimonies of Equality in these Measures are sufficient to let us know, that the *Jewish Vessels* of any certain number of *Lógs* were equal to the *Attick* of the same number of *Xestæ*; and that, if there be an Expression, of one or two of them, that seems to import a Difference; it must either be wrong read, or not right understood.

An *Omer* or *Gomer*, for example, which is declared to be the Tenth of an *Ephab* in *Exodus*^e, and goes by the Name of a Tenth-deal, *Assaron*, in *Numbers*^f; and can be nothing else but the tenth of 72 *Xestæ*, or 7,2 *Xestæ*; is yet, under that very Name, expressed in *Josephus*^g, as he is now read, by 7 not *Xestæ*, but *Cotylæ*. And this Difference must, in all probability, have risen by some Error of his Transcribers. *Epiphanius*^h, giving an account of that *Assaron*, makes it consist of 7 *Xestæ* and a fifth, which is exactly its due Quantity; and leaves us to suspect, that in *Josephus*, *Ζεῦγας*, at least, should be read in the place of *Κοτύλας*; and with, or without a Fraction, as the Author may be supposed to have either designed Exactness, or been content with a near ordinary Approach: *Ordina-*

^a Archæolog. Lib. IX. Cap. 4.

^c Ibid. Lib. VIII. Cap. 2.

^e Exod. XVI. 36.

^g Archæolog. Lib. III. Cap. 6.

^h De Mensur. & Ponder. Edit. Petavi. Vol. II. p. 182. De quo loco vid. ipsius Petavii Animadv. & Villalpand. de Hebr. Mensur. Lib. III. Cap. 12.

^b Ibid. Lib. III. Cap. 9, 10.

^d Ibid. Lib. XV. Cap. 9.

^f Numb. XV. 4, 6, 9.

ry I say, because, though the fifth part of a *Xestes* be a simple Fraction, and Arithmetically regular; it is yet no proper part of that Measure, nor can it be expressed by the lower Measures. But *Theodoret*, on the other side, seems in his Copy to have read Κοτύλας, as it stands now in ours. And if we therefore choose to make no change, and take in the πέντε ἡμῶν κοτύλας Ἀττικῆς, which he cites as from *Josephus*; we may then conjecture, that the πέντε now in *Theodoret*, was an abbreviated πένταρας in a better Copy; and that δέξα before πένταρας had been once read: and by this Reckoning we then have 14 *Cotylæ* and a half, or 14,5; which exceed the due Quantity, 7,2 *Xestæ*, or 14,4 *Cotylæ*, but by a tenth of the *Cotyla*.

Such various Conjectures there may be about the Expression of *Asaron* by *Josephus*; and yet no Doubt remain concerning his Intention to express, in some manner, the same 7,2 *Logi*.

The like is to be said of the *Seab* or *Satum*, which is estimated by the *Rabbins* at 24 *Logi*; and those are, by the common Reckoning of *Logi* by *Josephus*, 24 *Xestæ*. For *Josephus*, happening to express their *Seab*, not by an *Attick* Measure, but by an *Italick* (as he calls it) *Modius* and a half; and consequently, if this *Italick* be understood to be a *Roman Modius* of 16 *Roman Sextaries*, giving us 24 *Roman Sextaries*, instead of the 24 *Attick*, may well be imagined to have neglected the difference there was between the *Sextaries*; and, content with a near round Number, to have understood the *Satum* to be the *Attick Tritæus*. And with this Reckoning we may be satisfied, in good reason; without enquiring why he names not the *Tritæus*, or what the *Attick Modius* was; a Word the Lexicographers render uncertainly, and in the general, as some Measure or other.

We have therefore, for the Equality of the *Jewish* and *Attick* Vessels, a full and positive Testimony from *Josephus*; and how much his Authority is to overweigh that of the *Talmudists* in these Matters, we have already seen in our Consideration of their Ponderal Measure.

a Quæst. XXX. in *Exod.*

b *Archæolog.* Lib. IX. Cap. 4.

c I find by Mr. *Eisenfchmid*, that the Knowledge of the *Modii* seems yet to be full of difficulties. And, was I concerned to enter into the Consideration of it, I should make the following Enquiries: WHETHER, with some of the *Greeks*, a *Hemimedimnus* might not of old have been called an *Amphoræ*, from its handy Portability by its Anse or Ears; as we find, by him, there was at length such an *Attick Amphoræ*: WHETHER, among those *Greeks*, this *Amphoræ* might not have had its *Teirce*, and this called by them a *Modius*; of which therefore six went to the *Medimnus*: WHETHER the *Roman Quadrantal*, as it was called an *Amphora* also, was not therefore divided into three *Modii*; and six of them to go to a *Medimnus Romanus*, if there should be any such Measure: WHETHER in the Description, *Cornelius Nepos* (*) makes, of an *Attick Medimnus*, by six *Modii*, the *Modius Romanus* is to be meant; or not rather the *Attick Hectæus*, which might not yet have been properly called a *Modios*, and could not be rendered in *Latin* a *Sextarius*, this Word being otherwise used; and which *Hectæus* the elegant Author expressed therefore in a *Latin* Word by *Modius*, but in the old general Sense of it; the *Modii*, he meant, being sufficiently distinguished by his assigning six of them to the *Medimnus Atticus*? WHETHER in *Fannius*'s Description of the *Roman Amphora* the Cube, after the Words *hujus dimidium fert Urna*, these Words *ut est ipsa Medimni Amphora* should not be taken as a kind of Parenthesis, speaking the *Attick Amphora* to be half its *Medimnus*, as the *Roman Urna* was of that Cube? And WHETHER afterwards, when he says 20 *Amphoræ* make a *Culeus* to us, he means not by *nobis*, *Medicis*, *Atticam rationem sequentibus*; and intends not by his 20 *Amphoræ*, 10 *Medimni Attici* for his highest Measure of Liquids, like the *Phœnician Corus*? And, lastly, WHETHER the *Hebrew Satum* was not termed a *Modius*, after the *Roman* Conquest, by the latter *Jews*, who finding a like *Teirce* in the *Roman Amphora*, the great Measure of the Imperial City, applied that Name of *Modius* to their famous *Teirce* of an *Ephab* or *Bath*, their high Measure; just as they are seen to have formed their *Rediish*, after the Example of the *Roman Quartarius*.

(*) In *Vitâ Pomponii Attici*.

And this preference of his Credibility, is what is observed to be his due, upon the Occasion of the Concave, the *Hin*, by *Theodoret*^a, a Man of Judgment, and a *Syrian*: Saying, *In these Matters Josephus is to be believed, as one that exactly knew the Measures of his Nation.*

§. II. THIS great Overbalance of Authority may be sufficient, against the Evidence of the *Rabbins*; who have no Reason for their own Position, against that of *Josephus*.

The Pretences that have been sometimes used for the *Rabbinical* Reckoning of the *Jews*, from the Sayings of some Christian Writers, as *Epiphanius* and *Jerom*, on the Subject of Weight, are too produced sometimes upon this of *Capacity*. But these Authors will be likewise found here, rather to confirm, than to disprove the Opinion, against which they are brought.

As for *Epiphanius*, we have already seen, in the View we had of his Account of Weights and Moneys, how much he has been injured by his Transcribers; and the same Mistakes are to be expected about *Concave* Measures: Not to say, that upon a strict Examination, the Author may appear to have been guilty of that Inaccuracy and Confusion, which is observed by *Petavius*^b; and to have put down together, and without distinction, what he had gathered in his Common-place Book, from several Writers, and about different People.

He begins with the *Corus*, whose Quantity he defines by 30 *Modii*, (a Measure with him uncertain, as will be presently seen,) and not by the *Ephab* or the *Bath*; as the Scripture doth expressly; and *St. Jerom* upon the Place accurately. The *Lethék* too he defines by 15 *Modii*; and so both are in their due proportion. But, to pass over what he says of a *Great Gomer*, the same with a *Lethék*, (a *Corus* he must have meant, had he not described it by 15 *Modii*;) and also what he says of a *Batus*, which he derives from a *Hebrew* Word connoting the *Bruising of Olives*, an *Ελαϊοτελεσιον*, as from the *Arabick* *Batta*, *Secuit*, *Abrupit*^c; but not from the Scriptural *Bath*, which corresponds plainly with the *Arabick* *Beita*; (a Word that has indeed in it the Notion of *Breaking* or *Rubbing* off, but signifies also *Dimensus est*, *Modo suo definivit*^d;) after all this, he comes to speak of the *Hebrew* *Modius* or *Satum*. This likewise he does a little confusedly, by the mingling his *Cyprian* Measures; and also something unwarily, by his fetching either the *Medimnus* or *Modius* from the *Roman* Word *Medium*. And then he makes the *Hebrew* *Modius* or *Satum*, as I understand him, of two Sorts: the one, according to him, the *Exact* and the *Precise*; and the other, the *Larger*. The Measure of the *Exact* one was, he says, found out by the *Hebrews*, (some *Rabbins*, I suppose, he means,) with great Accuracy of Observations, to be equal to 22 *Sextaries*. For this sacred Measure, says he, is no-

^a Quæst. LXIV. in *Exod.*

^b Animadvers. in *Epiphan. de Mensur. & Ponder.* p. 425.

^c *Lex. Gol. Colum.* 214.

^d *Ibid. Colum.* 354.

thing else but the 22 Works of God, performed at the Creation in six Days, which he particularly enumerates; and answers to the 22 Generations, he specifies, from Adam; and to the 22 Letters of the Hebrew Alphabet; and to the 22 Books of the Old Testament, particularly by him distributed. Thus, says he, the *Modius* is exactly reckoned by the *Hebrews*: And is *professedly* so; as being derived in that Language from *Profession*. For he seems to take the *Modius*, as if it were *Módeh*, from *Jadab*, and not from the plain Hebrew Word, *Middab*. Nay he adds, if *Petavius* does not misunderstand him, that this *Profession of Exactness* is made by the *Vessel*, when it is struck even.

These are the Reasons, he says, that shew the *Exact Hebrew Modius* to be = 22 *Xestæ*. And this they certainly shew; that this was the Number he intended; and that by these *Modii* or *Sata*, he gives an *Ephab* or *Batus* less by six *Xestæ*, than *Josephus* reckons; and a *Lethek* consequently less by 30, and a *Corus* by 60.

But afterwards, when he comes to an *Artaba*, a Measure he had undertook to explain; at the same time he says, it was called so by the *Egyptians*, he tells us, that it was made up of 72 *Xestæ*; and also, says he, with great exactness and agreement: in as much as there were 72 Men who built the Tower of Babylon; and 72 Languages by which Mankind was divided. This, he says, was the *Metretes*; and, if I do not mistake, he says, it held the three Measures of Flower made ready by Sarah; and that those Measures were ten *Gomers*; further adding, that of this Great Measure, (for so he called it,) a *Gomer* was the tenth, as containing seven *Xestæ* and a fifth. And now in this last Account, the *Metretes* or *Artaba* is, we see, a sacred Measure, having also a Mystery for its larger Number of 24 *Xestæ* to its third part the *Satum*; and entirely agrees in it with the *Batos* of *Josephus*, having the same three Measures as were his *Sata*, and the same *Gomer*, &c. as his. And at last our Author, having given an Account of several Vessels, in which we are not concerned; and having faultily (as he is now read) stated some of the rest; concludes all with telling us, agreeably with *Josephus*, that a *Vessel* of 6 *Xestæ* is the 12th of a *Metretes*.

Here is therefore, as to the main of the *Hebrew* Reckoning, more Agreement, than Difference, between *Epiphanius* and *Josephus*. For *Epiphanius* differs chiefly in the *Modius*, or *Satum*. But there, where he takes up, on very subtle Reasons, a nice *Satum* of 22 *Xestæ*, he intimates also a *Larger*; and may well be supposed to have understood this of 24; a Number, which the *Rabbins* at this Day still retain.

But however this *Lesser* Reckoning of the *Sata*, may make a Difference in the upper Accounts; and lessen, in proportion, the *Lethek*, and *Corus*: yet we see, that the chief Measure of the *Hebrews*

a I read his Text so: Τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ μέτρον ὁ Μωϋσῆς ἔχει, καὶ τὸ μέτρον τὸ ἅγιον, τοῖς μέτροις σιμωδάλις. — Ταῦτα δὲ μέτρα, εἰς τὴν Γόμερ ἀναγείναι. Τὸ δὲ Γόμερ δέκατον ἢ τὸ μιστὸν μέτρον, — ὃ γίνεται ἐκ τῶν ἑξῶν καὶ πέμπτου.

(the *Ephab* or *Batos*) reckons with *Epiphanius* the same Number of *Xestæ*, as it does with *Josephus*. And it is, after all, certain, that these two Authors agree in the chief Point, at which I am aiming; the *Equality* of the *Hebrew Lóg* with the *Attick Xestæ*. For it can never be imagined, that a *Xestes* is intended by *Epiphanius* to express any other Vessel of the *Jews*, than *that*.

§. III. THERE is in St. *Jerom*^a no Difference, as I see, but what ought to be ascribed to the Copyists. The Measure of the *Satum*, about which *Epiphanius* varies so much, this *Latin* Writer expresses, by a literal Translation of *Josephus*, to be a *Modius and a half*: leaving it to be presumed, by his not specifying the *Modius*; as well as by his adding, *juxta morem Palæstinæ Provinciæ*; that it was the *Roman*.

But the *Hin* indeed, in his Commentaries upon *Ezekiel*^b, as the printed Editions run, is strangely misrepresented. Here, after he has repeated the symbolical Command of the *Spirit* to the Prophet, in these Words, *Sextam enim partem Mensuræ Hebraicæ, quæ appellatur Hin, jubetur per singulos dies bibere*; he immediately subjoins, *Porro Hin duos Xóes Atticos facit; quos nos appellare possumus duos Sextarios Italicos: ita ut Hin Mensura sit Judaici Sextarii, nostrique Castrensis; cujus sexta pars facit tertiam partem Sextarii Italici*. And in this Sentence, consisting of a *Position* and an *Inference*, both of them are made to affirm, that a *Hin*, which *Josephus* reckons at 12 *Xestæ*, was but 2 of them: For a *Sextarius Italicus* is most probably the *Atticus*; and if it be the *Romanus*, there is, we know, no considerable Difference, that will make any odds in this case. This is spoke out expressly, in the *Position*: and constructively, in the *Inference*; where a *Hin* is said to be a *Judaick Sextary*; and the sixth of this, to be a third of the *Italick*; that is, one of this, to be two *Italicks*.

But it is manifest, that all this is wrong, and was never intended by the Author.

For, first, the *Position* itself plainly disagrees with its own Explanation; it truly saying, and according to *Josephus*, that a *Hin* makes 2 *Attick Xóes*, but faultily explaining these *Xóes* in *Latin*, by rendering them two *Sextarii*, instead of two *Congii*.

And then the *Inference* is not only improper, but absurd. It is improper and nugatory, if it is only a Repetition of what the *Position* had laid down; and says no more, than that a *Hin* is equal to two *Italick Sextaries*.

And it is likewise absurd, if we consider nearly, what this *Sextarius Judaicus* is. For if it be understood to be the 6th of a *Hin*, of which the Prophet speaks; it will be a gross Absurdity, to make a whole *Hin* its own sixth. And if it be taken in a general Sense, and

^a Comment. in *Matt.* XIII. 33.

^b *Ezek.* IV. 11.

as a *Jewish* Vessel, that may be put, if but in Parallel, with the *Roman* or *Attick Sextarius*; this must be less than the sixth of an *Hin*, and the Absurdity greater.

For these Reasons, as in the *Position*, *Congios* ought certainly to be read for *Sextarios*; so the *Inference* ought certainly either to have its *Sextarii* (*Judaici*) changed likewise into *Congii*, or to begin thus, *ita ut sexta pars Hin Mensura sit Judaica Sextarii nostri Castrensis*; *cujus*, &c. For this sixth of the *Hin* is the Measure the Prophet speaks of; and to which the *Position* ought to be applied by the *Inference*. It is also a very noted Measure of the *Jews*; and may be well styled *Mensura Judaica*. And, in either case, if, as the *Position* has premised, the *Hin* be 2 $\chi\acute{o}s$; this sixth will be 2 *Attick Sextaries*; and be entirely agreeable to what follows. For it may well have been equal to a *Roman Camp-Sextary*, and to two *Italick Sextaries*; in as much as a *Choinix* of three *Cotylæ* was the daily Allowance in *Greece* for a Common Soldier; and two *Sextarii* therefore, or four *Cotylæ*, were no unlikely Allowance for a *Roman Soldier*, especially of the *Pretorian Bands*. And here I take a *Sextarius Italicus* to have been commonly known, at this time, for an *Attick Xestes*; as a *Mina Italica* was, for an *Attica*: though a $\chi\acute{o}s$, which *St. Jerom* does not call an *Italick Congius*, but says, he might, seems therefore not yet to have been so called, in ordinary Language.

Thus does *St. Jerom* manifestly agree with *Josephus*, in pronouncing a *Hin* to be equal to two $\chi\acute{o}s$ *Attici*. And so plainly do the contrary Expressions, which put a Difference between the *Hebrew* and *Attick* Vessels, appear to be so many *Errata*, and not to have come from his Hand.

§. IV. AND now, being secure of the Authority of *Josephus*, for the Equality of the *Hebrew* and *Attick* Measures of Content: I shall proceed to see, whether there may not be some additional Probabilities to strengthen it; such as we had for the Equality of the *Weights*.

And so much, in the first place, must be allowed by those who deny the Equality, that there is, at least, a manifest *Analogy*: The *Rabbins* reckoning the same Number of *Lógs* in the upper Measures, as the *Atticks* do of *Xestæ*.

There is also, besides this substantial Analogy, an observable *Similitude* in the Order of the *Reckoning* the lower Measures from the higher; which appears by their *Denominations*.

This, as has already been observed^a, appears plainly in the *Attick* Vessels, descending from the *Medimnus*; as in the *Hemimedimnus*, the *Triteus*, the *Hecteus*, and the *Hemibecteus*. And though, when this *Hemibecteus* got to have a Name of its own, and to be called a $\chi\acute{o}s$ ^b, (for that from the *Aliquot* of a *Medimnus* begun to grow too long, and to be reckoned by Parts, that could not be expressed by

^a Part II. Chap. 2. §. 2.

^b Ibid.

Digits;) they kept not their former Course, nor reckoned thence downward; because, I suppose, the *Half*, the *Third*, and the *Sixth* of it, could not conveniently be the Names of those lower Vessels, as being used already for the higher; and though those lower Vessels, by their more frequent use, came to have their proper Names from other Views; yet the *Roman Sextary* has discovered^a, that there was antiently among the *Greeks* such a regard.

The same Method of Denominating the lower Vessels by the upper, appears not indeed in those *Hebrew* Vessels just under the *Ephab*: For the Third is called *Seab*, and the Sixth the *Hin*, without any such respect upwards. But, not to say that there is a notable Measure below the *Hin*, the *Affaron* or *Tenth-deal*, so called from the *Ephab*; for this may be said to have been caused by the *Tithing* of an *Ephab*: the Vessels below the *Hin* are openly denominated by their Relation to it; the *Half Hin*, the *Third* of a *Hin*, the *Fourth*, and the *Sixth* of a *Hin*. These are their antient *Scriptural* Names; and it is the *Twelfth* only that has another Name, the *Lôg*.

So much Analogy and Similitude of Reckoning there is between the old *Hebrew* and *Attick* Vessels; which is not indeed, of itself, sufficient to prove an Equality; (for very probably there was the same Analogy and Proceeding in most of the *Greek* Vessels, however they had varied from the *Phœnician* Quantity;) but which may be some further Inducement for us to believe, that those, whose Measures of *Weight* are not only *Analogous* and alike, but *equal* to the *Phœnician*; had also preserved the same *Equality* in these *Analogous*, and alike Measures of *Content*.

§. V. BUT this Argument, from the Equality we have seen established between the *Weights* of the *Athenians* and *Phœnicians*, will grow much stronger, if we consider the known Determination of the *Attick Vessels* by the *Attick Weight*. For, notwithstanding the Censure of Novelty and Singularity, passed by some *Rabbins* upon *Maimonides*, from his measuring Content by Weight: yet it was, we know, of certain notorious Use at *Athens*; and there, without doubt, as old as *Solon*. Neither is there any reason to question, but that the same Relation of *Weight* to *Capacity* had been in Use before his Reformation; and that what Number of old *Drachmæ* had weighed out the Water of the old *χῆς*, the same of the new *Drachmæ* weighed out the new *χῆς*. For the Way, by which the Reformation of *Solon* could uniformly produce a general Ease to the Insolvents, was this, by abating the Debts to be paid in *Vessels*, as Corn, Wine, Oil, &c. in the same Proportion, as the Debts of *Weight* were abated.

And now, as this Hydrostatick Constitution of the *Attick* Measures of *Capacity*, cannot be probably thought to have been the Invention

^a Part III. Chap. 6. §. 4.

of *Solon*; so neither is it likely to have been the Contrivance of any Elder *Greek* in the more ignorant Ages: but must in all reason be attributed to the *Phœnicians*. For these are the People, from whom the *Greeks* had the Knowledge of Measures; and who, as it has been observed heretofore^a, are upon many accounts more likely to have applied the Use of Weight to the Measures of *Content* of Water.

This Argument for the Equality of the *Hebrew* and *Attick Vessels*, from the well established Equality of their *Weight*, seems to have in it so much Probability; that, were we destitute of any other Information, it might of itself give a sufficient Assurance of the Truth.

§. VI. AND now, to sum up the State of this Question about the *Hebrew Vessels*: In the first place, it has in the last Chapter manifestly appeared, how little we are to rely upon the *Modern Doctrine* of the *Rabbins*, for the Vessels of the *First Temple*.

And then, if, at the same time the *Rabbins* are unable to give us any Satisfaction, we find an express Determination of their Measures by *Josephus*, one of their own Nation; who had lived before their *Mishnah*, and during the *Temple*; and must have known their Measures, as well as any even of that Time, had they any of that Age to consult: One that ought to be consulted by them, if they would know any Certainty of their own History, more than they have in the *Bible*; and would be consulted, if they were not by their Superstition as averse from attending to him now for their better Information, as the Zealots their Ancestors were from harkening to him for their Preservation heretofore: a Man of great Authority in his Time; and whose Authority we have the greater Reason to acknowledge, by the Experience we have had of the Truth we have learned from him about the Coins, &c. where his Modern Brethren had so much failed: We, I say, whatever the *Rabbins* will do, ought, upon the sole Strength of his Authority, to admit whatsoever he has delivered to us upon this Subject, even though the *Mishnah* had any thing to oppose.

So much Credit, I say, should certainly be given to his Testimony; had we no other collateral Consideration to come in and confirm his Evidence.

But when his highly credible Information is backed and supported by an Argument as strong, of a different Nature, and from another Quarter; we see to how high a Degree the Probability of that Equality, they on both sides advance, is risen; and how near it comes to, what in other Subjects is sometimes called, a Demonstration.

To conclude therefore this Enquiry concerning the Measure of the *Hebrew Vessels*: we see, that the *Reduction* of them to ours is easy, by putting a *Lóg* in the Place of the *Xestes*, and proceeding in the Method used for the *Attick Vessels*, *Part II. Chap. 2. §. 5.*

^a Part I. Chap. 1. §. 3.

C H A P. VIII.

§. I. *The Length of the Phœnician Palm, concluded from the Hydrostatick Nature of the Hebrew half Maneh.* §. II. *The Difference of the Holy and Profane Maneh, well founded.* §. III. *The Difference of the Neat and Gros Hundred, for a Mina or Profane Maneh; and of a Neat and Gros Sixty, for a Talent.* §. IV. *The Content of a Cube Vessel, made from the Attick or Phœnician Cubit.*

§. I. FROM the result of the last Chapter, some light may be given to the Measure of the *Hebrew Palm*; whose Length we could not venture to settle, with any sort of Certainty, in the Beginning of this *Part*; and this is a Consideration, that may lead us into some farther Knowledge of the *Jewish Measures*.

There is, we have seen, a *Cubit*, called by the *Jews*, as well as the *Arabians*, the *Middling* one and the *Just*; to which the *Hebrew* is supposed equal: and the *Palm* of this *Cubit*, if it was the old one of *Memphis*, has been conjectured, from the *Cairo Litra*, to have been equal to ours. And to this I may add, that the *Παλαιῆς* of the *Septuagint* and *Josephus*^a is to be taken for our *Palm*; if it was the *Attick*: and that the *Attick Παλαιῆς* ought to be understood in *Josephus*, because it is put by him undistinguished, and in the *Septuagint* too, because the *Alexandrian Palm* may be judged to have been the single *Attick*, though the Measures of *Weight* were double.

But now we have, without the help of the Equality of the *Palm* Lengths, established the Equality between the *Attick* and *Hebrew* Vessels, we are at liberty to look back and see, whether a like Argument, to that which has been used for *this* Equality, will not infer the *other*.

There it was concluded, from the Knowledge we have that the *Atticks* imitated the *Phœnicians* in the ordering of their Measures; and that any thing of Mathematical Contrivance, and especially Hydrostatick, in the ordering of that Weight, must have come from thence; and also from the now settled Equality of the *Attick* and *Phœnician Weight*: that, if an *Attick* Vessel was artificially determined by Water of such a Weight; a Parallel Vessel to it, among the *Phœnicians*, had been before determined by the same Number of the same Weights, in use with them. And here likewise we may conclude, if we shall find the Weight of a 100 *Drachmæ* at *Athens*, to have been taken from the *Weight* of a *Cube of Water*, the *side* of which *Cube* was a noted Measure of *Length* there: that the *Weight*

^a Compare 2 *Chron.* IV. 5. with *Joseph.* Archæolog. Lib. VIII. Cap. 3. §. 5.

of a 100 of the same *Drachmæ* in *Phœnicia*, had been first taken there, from the *Cube* of some noted *Length* of that Place; and also, that the above two noted *Lengths* were equal.

That is to say, If the *Phœnician* Vessels had their *Content* of Water regulated by the *Attick Weight*; and the Primary *Attick Weight* was determined by the Weight of Water in a certain *Cube*: the same *Phœnician* Weight was not only actually determined by the same *Cube* in *Phœnicia*; but must be thought to have been so appointed there originally: For to that Place the Invention of Measures was always ascribed; (and such a Determination may well be called an Invention;) and from thence had *Solon* took his Measures.

I do indeed assume here, that the *Attick Mina* was of such an *Hydrostatick* Constitution; and have, I confess, no Author to vouch for it. But that it was actually designed with such a Relation to the *Palm* of that Place, we are sufficiently assured by the Fact. For we have had good Authority^a to think, that our *Palm* was the *Attick* nearly; and that a Sum^b between 6800 and 6900 of our Grains was the Weight of their *Mina*: and we know^c, that a *Cube* of Water from our *Palm* does equiponderate to such a Sum of our Grains. And that a Relation, so nicely apt as this, between a *Mina* and a *Palm Cube*, should have happened by mere Chance, is hardly to be imagined.

Such an *Hydrostatick Pound* the *Cairo Litra* openly discovers itself to be^d, by its Number of *Carats*; and from that I have stated a *Palm*, equal to ours, to have been the *Palm* of *Cairo*, and also of *Memphis*^e; for the Reckoning of that *Litra* by *Dirhems* appears to be more antient than *Cairo*. The *Attick Mina* has too, I think, been very probably computed at above 6800 Grains; not only from that *Cairo Litra*, which has been all along held for *Attick*, in the repute of the *Arabick* Authors, but from the *Mithkâl*^f; not to mention the *Coins*, which happen to have been preserved^g; and which, carrying the Estimate of the Standard *Drachma* higher than before, may support even this farther advance to 6840, and allow our *Palm Pound* for the *Mina*.

Such a *Hydrostatick Relation*, as this, between the *Mina* and the *Palm* of *Athens*, I suppose the *Egyptian* Mathematicians, when they settled the *Cairo Litra* by the *Dirhems*, not to have invented; but to have owned, and artfully exhibited. And the Relation, as has been observed, will still hold; if the *twelve times twelve Dirhems* did not exactly hit the *Mina*: in as much as a small Variance in the *Mina* will cause a very inconsiderable and imperceptible Variation in the *Palm*.

For this Reason, I have not pretended to determine the *Attick Mina* absolutely; but left it under a Latitude, with its *Palm*^h; and

a Part II. Chap. 1. §. 1.
d Part I. Chap. 4. §. 6, 7.
g Part II. Chap. 1. §. 4.

b Ibid. §. 5.
e Part IV. Chap. 3. §. 4.
h Part III. Chap. 4. §. 5.

c Part I. Chap. 2. §. 7.
f Ibid. §. 5.

have framed a *Table* for its Reduction to our *Money*^a, if it should be reckoned at 7000 *Troy* Grains; and another likewise for their Measures of *Content*^b. And this I did, craving the same Allowance for the *Phœnician* Measures, if any one should think fit to take them Higher.

For I have not proposed our *Palm*, and its *Cube* of Water, to be *Standards*, to which the *Athenian* and *Phœnician* Measures should be exactly equal. And the Line I have drawn from our Country to *Athens*, and thence to *Phœnicia*, is not intended, as I have before advertised^c, to be strictly Geometrical, and without Latitude: but such a one, as is always used in Natural and Civil Subjects, a Line of Direction; which is supposed to take, in its way, all that is very near to it on either side. And it is with this *Allowance*, that I conclude the *Hydrostatick* Proceeding of their Measures to have been the same at *Athens* and in *Phœnicia*; when we find the Measures themselves, if not *punctually* the same, yet certainly in a very near *Approximation*.

§. II. AND now, if the *Cube* of a *Phœnician Palm* shall be granted to have determined the Weight of a hundred *Attick Drachmæ*; or, which is all one, 25 *Jewish Shekels*: we see then, that the Difference of *Manehs* and *Talents*, made by the *Rabbins*, of *Profane* and *Holy*, had real ground: and that the *Greek* Authors, who compared the single *Attick Mina* with a *Babylonian* or *Phœnician Maneh*, as equal to it, or not far from equal, proceeded rightly; though those Nations might commonly reckon by a *Maneh*, double of that to which the Comparison was made. For, to give an Example in the *Phœnician Maneh*: That the Lesser, called by the *Jews* the *Profane*, was of Primary Appointment, is evident from its Equiponderancy to a *Palm Cube* of Water: while the other, called the *Holy*, (because it only was in use with the *Jews*,) could be of no such Original, nor from any noted Length; and must have been taken up, as the double of the *Profane*; and as the whole Weight the Balance bare, when the *Cube* of Water in one Scale was counterpoised with that solid Piece of Stone or Metal, that was to be used for it, in the other Scale.

§. III. IT is evident likewise, that the *Difference*, the antient Tradition of the *Jews* has made, between the *Nummary* and the *Ponderal Maneh*, as they call it, (by which Difference, the Argument for a Difference between the *Moneys* of the *two Periods* is laid aside^d;) has a certain Foundation; and is no other, than that between the Weight of a *Cube Palm*, which is 25 *Shekels*; and the Weight of a *Logus*, which is 30 *Shekels*, or $\frac{6}{5}$ of that *Cube*.

a Part II. Chap. 1. §. 8.

b Ibid. Chap. 2. §. 5.

c Part III. Chap. 4. §. 5.

d Chap. 4. of this Part, §. 4.

This *Maneb*, by which Things of Price are weighed, is the Primary and the Neat; and the other, for common Ponderals, is the Gros; and each of these *Maneb*s is reckoned by 60 to the *Talent*. But the Number of *Minæ* in a *Talent* may be alike differenced with the *Minæ*; and 60 be the Neat, and another of $\frac{6}{5} \times 60$, or 72, be the Gros. For so a Neat *Talent* of Gros *Minæ*, $60 \times \frac{6}{5}$ *Minæ*, is equal to 72 Neat *Minæ*. And further, as 72 is a Gros *Talent* of Neat *Minæ*, so there may be a Gros *Talent* of Gros *Minæ*; and such is the Weight of Water in a *Medimnus* or *Batus*, being that of $\frac{6}{5}$ of a *Palm Cube* multiplied by $\frac{6}{5}$ of a *Sixty*, and may therefore be styled the *Concave Talent*.

§. IV. THE Observations of the two last Sections, drawn from the *Hydrostatick* Constitution of the Lesser *Phœnician Maneb*, serve to clear something of what had been said before, concerning the *Weight*.

The same Consideration may too help us to the better Knowledge of the Superior *Phœnician Vessels*, above the *Ephab* and *Batus*. For though I have remarked before, speaking of the *Roman Vessels*, that the *Congius* and *Amphora* were professedly formed from the half Foot, and Foot; but that the *Greeks*, who raised their Weight of a *Mina* from the Content of a *Cube Palm*, seem not to have ordered their Measures of *Content* by any Cubical Relation to it: It may however be a Curiosity not unuseful to see, what *Content* the *Cube* of an *Attick Cubit* will produce; and also to enquire more narrowly, whether the *Medimnus* might not have been formed from it.

The *Attick Medimnus* (and what is said of *Attick Vessels*, is said of their Equals the *Phœnician*) consists, we know, of 72 *Xestæ*; and equiponderates therefore to 72 fix fifths of a *Mina*; that is, 72 and 14,4, = 86,4 *Minæ*: and consists therefore of 86,4 *Palm Cubes*; a Number, whose Cubick Root is inexpressible by a *Palm*. But this Number is found adequately contained in the Number of *Palm Cubes*, of which the *Cube* of a *Cubit* consists. For the *Cube* of a Length of 6 *Palms* is equal to 216 *Palm Cubes*: and in this whole Number, the former for the *Medimnus*, that of 86,4, will be found to be as 1, in 2 and a $\frac{1}{5}$.

This Number 2,5 is the Number of *Medimni* in a *Cube* from the *Cubit*; and suits very well to the upper *Phœnician Measures* of *Content*. For two of those *Cubes* will make a *Lethék*; and four of them will make a *Corus*; and six of them, if the *Rabbins* please, will be a *Mickveh*; and eight of them, or twenty *Medimni*, will be a *Concave* equal to the *Cube* from the Length of two *Cubits*. And of those *Vessels* arising from a single *Cubit*, that of 4 *Cubes* is the Principal. For the *Cube Vessel* being a *Sestertius Medimnus*, 4 of them make a *Medimnus Denarius*. And it is also remarkable not only for the notable Number of 10 *Medimni* contained in it, but also for its Figure, as well as *Content*; being the Medium between the *Cubes* of one and two *Cubits*, and being a semiregular Solid formed by Integrals

of both *Cubes*, by the Height of one *Cubit*, and the *Basis* of two. This is the peculiar Nature of that *Chomer*; and that it was of Principal Use, we know from the Prophet *Ezekiel*^a, who orders the faulty Under-Measures of an *Ephah* or *Batus* [a *Medimnus*] to be adjusted by it.

Under that regular great Vessel of a *Cube Cubit*, the *Medimnus* is the next, and consists, we know, of 72 little Vessels, which are $60\frac{6}{7}$ of the small *Cube* of a *Palm*, and each of them standing upon the Square of one *Palm*, to the height of $\frac{6}{5}$, may be called a *Gros Palm Vessel*.

Now this *Medimnus*, though it be such a broken Part of the great *Cube*, yet may seem to have had its Constitution from it; if we do but look upon the Formation now given of the *Cube* of a *Cubit*, as consisting of six *Palms*. For the thirty six times 6 *Palm Cubes*, are 36 times 5 *Gros Palm Vessels*, the Weight in Water of 5 *Gros Mina's*. And the Square Number 36 straight appearing to be half the *Gros Talent*, the Number 72, it was according to right Analogy, to make this the Number by which the *Gros* little Vessels should be reckoned; and all of them then, instead of 5×36 , being made $72 \times \frac{5}{2}$, the seventy two became the Number of the little Vessels, for a Principal Vessel next under the *Cube*, and twice and a half of this was contained in that *Cube*.

In like manner indeed, a *Medimnus* of another sort might have been raised. For the Square 36, as a Number of *Palm Cubes*, will make 30 *Gros Palm Vessels*, to be multiplied by the six; which 30, being half the Neat *Talent* Number Sixty, would have made a *Medimnus* of 60, and that contained a whole 3 times in the aforefaid great *Cube*. But such a *Medimnus*, though rising so regularly, did not, we see, obtain; either because the other was the larger room for more Subaltern Measures, and was also equally partible into them; or because it was thought more congruous, to reckon the *Gros Palm Vessels* by the *Gros Talent*, as has been suggested above.

The Concinnity of these Proportions of the *Cube Cubit* to the two Principal Vessels, the *Chomer* above, and the *Medimnus* below, may help to recommend the Hypothesis I have gone upon, as consonant likewise to Truth. And for such it may in some sort challenge to be admitted, unless it comes to be contradicted by stronger Evidence. Now such Opposition it may, I know, be surmised to meet with from those Places in the *Scripture*, where the Content of Vessels formed by *Cubits* is expressed by *Bati*; as in the Description of the *Brazen-Sea*, and the *Ten Lavers* in the 1st Book of *Kings*, Chap. VII. and in the 2d of the *Chronicles*, Chap. IV. But possibly it may be found to agree, at least as well as any other Hypothesis, which all, upon Examination, have as great Difficulties, not to say, greater.

^a Ezek. XLV. 11.

The *Sea* is described as a Cylinder, *five Cubits high, and ten Cubits over round all about*, and circularly so; for the *Line, which compassed it about*, [the Perimeter,] was 30 *Cubits*, (the round Number by which the Circumference of a Circle is vulgarly expressed from its Diameter,) though to be computed nearer by Artists; and so as, when it was worked by *Hiram*, to be about 31,416 *Cubits*. Now, according to this Measurement, the Area of the Circle consisted of $\frac{31.416}{2} \times 5$ Square *Cubits*; and the Solid of the *Sea* was those Squares multiplied by 5 the Height, and making 392,7 *Cube Cubits*. And this Number of *Cubits* might easily have been reckoned 400, and even so made by forming the Base a little Spheroidically, to give the Water a Declivity to the middle, where it might be let out.

Four hundred *Cube Cubits* seem therefore to have been the Content of that great Vessel, whatever the *Cubit* was. But these are there reckoned at 2000 *Bati*; so that one *Cubit* is equal to five *Bati*; whereas, in our Account, it is but half as much; and the 400 of the one equal to a 1000 only of the other.

This is indeed a great Difference. But there may be a fair Reconciliation offered by a Change in the Reading of the Original Text; and that, without the Alteration of a single Letter. For the Difference between *Two Thousands* in the *Dual* and *Thousands* in the *Plural* consists in the different Pronunciation of the same Word, as the Sound is directed by little Pricks added to the Writing, which no body takes to be Authentick. The *Chaldee* Translation has indeed in this Place 2000 in Words at length; and it is very likely that the *Masorites*, who punctuated the Original, put the Word in a *Dual* Signification upon that Authority. But, not to say that this Authority is not so great, as that the Probability of our Computation of Weights and Measures should yield to it; I shall only observe, that it is no Absurdity to think, that the Translation was misunderstood by the *Masorite Rabbins*, and that the word *Beith* might in the *Chaldee* Language have signified a Vessel parallel to the *Half Hebrew Bath*, as we have seen^a the *Siglus* of the same Country to have been parallel to a Quarter *Shekel* in Silver, a Half in Gold, of the *Jews*. For, in a Language of many Dialects, Words proceeding from a Root of general Signification may well be applied in different Countries to different Particulars. So it seems to have been with a *Shekel*; and the same may be well supposed to have happened to the Radix of *Bath*. For that the *Arabick Beita* has in it the general Signification of *Measure*, we have noted above^b; and it may be further evident from the various *Greek* Words, by which the *Bath* of the *Jews* is rendered in the Version of the LXX, where it is termed a Κοτύλη, a Χοῖνιξ, a Χῆς, a Κεράμιον, and a Μετρητής.

This Variety of Significations, given in the Version commonly called the LXX, is not to be wondered at. For its Manner is, very

^a Chap. V of this Part, §. 4.

^b Chap. VII of this Part, §. 2.

often, to give some one Meaning of the Original Word, though not proper to the Place. And besides, if we may take it for a mixt Composition, made out of several Versions, by *Jews* of several Countries of the *East*, speaking *Greek*; the several Renderings of the Word *Bath* may easily be thought to have proceeded from the divers Measures, to which it was applied in divers Places.

All this, that may serve to bring the *Chaldee* Translation into an Agreement with the Calculation I have made, is not necessary here; it being sufficient for my Purpose, to have shewn that the *Original* agrees with it, though the *Chaldee* may not.

But something of these Remarks may help us to solve a Difficulty, which presses any other single Hypothesis, as well as Ours; and arises from the *Chronicles*, where the *Sea* is reckoned, under the same *Cubital* Dimensions, not at a 1000, or 2000, but 3000 *Bati*. Various Solutions of this Doubt there are, which I shall not stand to examine, but only offer another to be compared with them. And the Conjecture is this, that the 3000 *Battim*, as the Plural is now pronounced with a double sharp *T*, may have been otherwise pronounced by a soft *T*, thickening towards a soft *D*, as in the *Badus*, which *Josephus*^a specifically estimates as the *Rabbins* do; and that the sharp Reading might have signified *Μέτρον*, after the *Attick* Use, (the *Tyrian* probably,) three of which made the *Badus*. The LXX indeed, I confess, reckon 3000 *Metretæ*. But it is not necessary here, nor usual elsewhere, to take that Word in the strict Acceptation of a *Medimnus*. And whereas *Josephus* also counts 3000 *Badi*^b, he might either have wrote so many *Battous*, and his Copyists may have changed it into *Badous*, correcting it, as they thought, by conforming it to the Measure he had before ascertained; or he himself might have passed over this Matter more perfunctorily: as he will be seen to speak a little confusedly upon the Subject of the *Ten Lavers*, whose *Cubital* Dimensions I am next to compare with the same *Hebrew* Vessel, *Bath*.

One of these *Lavers* is there said to contain a *Bath* 40 times, and to be *in* (or of) *Cubits* 4. This Vessel both *Josephus* and the *Rabbins* suppose to have been Cylindrick, understanding the four *Cubits* to be meant both of the Height and the Diameter; by which Account, the Vessel will be found to be 50 *Cube Cubits*. And if it be equal to 40 times a *Bath*, such as the *Jews* agree to, and by which they reckon the *Sea*; a *Bath*, which, in their Reckoning there, will be the 5th of a *Cube Cubit* in the *Kings*, and the 7,5th in the *Chronicles*, will be here more than a *Cubit*, Five Quarters of it; a Proportion that will be admitted by none. *Josephus*, it is true, avoids this Conclusion by putting so many *Xôes* for so many *Baths*, and leaving that *Xôs* undetermined. The *Rabbins* too and others have their Methods of Solution, which go upon Suppositions very extraordinary. But, if I

^a Archæolog. Lib. VIII. Cap. 2. §. 9.

^b Ibid. Cap. 3. §. 5.

may have leave to reckon upon the *Laver*, as standing at the Height of one *Cubit* upon a Square Area of Four to the side, the Dimensions, without more ado, would be exactly agreeable in our Hypothesis; and $1 \times 4 \times 4$, or 16 *Cube Cubits*, be at first sight equal to 4 *Denarii Medimni*, or 40 *Simpli*. And this leave, one would think, may easily be granted. For the Base of the Work supporting the *Laver* is described before, as standing upon a Square of 4 times 4 *Cubits*, at the Height of three. And consequently, the 4 *Cubits*, spoke of the *Laver*, may be well thought to answer the side of the Square Area of the Under-work, and to express only a side, not the Area of the *Laver*; and then one *Cubit* might have been very well understood to be left for the Height of it; both because no Number of *Cubits* was mentioned for it, and also because a Height of 4 was immediately seen to be inconsistent with any due Proportion between a *Cube Cubit* and a *Medimnus*. And to this Consideration we may add another, that the Number 16 *Cube Cubits* was no strange Number for the *Cubes* of a *Cubit*, being nothing else but twice the *Cube* of 2 *Cubits* Length. So little disagreeable, upon very easy Postulata, is our Constitution of a *Cube Cubit* to the *Scriptural* Accounts; if I may not say, it is so agreeable, as to confirm all the Proceedings that have hitherto brought us to it. And here I put an End to this long *Enquiry* after the *Jewish Measures*.

AND so I have, in order to attain some competent Degree of Certainty about the *Sacred Measures*, (after I had provided myself with so much Knowledge of the *Modern*, as was necessary to understand the more *Antient*;) proceeded thence to the *Attick* and *Roman*; and endeavoured to form such a clear Notion of them, as to know what they were, when they should be produced to express the *Jewish*. And, thus prepared, I have at last applied myself to determine, in the best manner I could, the *Sacred Measures*; the most famed, and most Antient of the World.

And now we are risen up so High, and find ourselves at the Head, from whence all the Skill and Practice of Measure hath been derived; it may be a delightful Prospect, to look down and see, by what Steps and what Variations these Measures have been communicated to distant Countries and Ages: we descending back again by the Direction of the same Line, which has brought us hither.

For, in this View, we find all the Measures of the *old* known *World* taken up in Imitation of the *Phœnicians*: and that, after some Changes, which had passed in *Greece*, as well as other Countries, the *Athenians* thought fit to reform theirs to the *Original* Standards: and that the *Romans* afterwards, when they came to regulate their ruder Appointments by the Practices of better policed Coun-

tries, chose to conform themselves, as near as they could, to these *Athenian* Usages: and that, at length, the *Roman Measures* themselves, being received in the *Eastern Empire*, and mixt with the *Grecian*, came under a new Form; the while they were altered likewise in the *Western Empire* by Provincial Usages, and the Invasion of Northern Strangers: and that, at last, the Weights and Money of the *East* came, by the *Saracens*, into the *West*; and joining with those they found here, about a Thousand Years ago, left to Us and to our Neighbours much of the same Manner, by which the Modern Measures are now reckoned.

This, no doubt, may evidently be shewn, in our Neighbouring Countries, by those that are skilled in the History of their Measures: and has in part appeared already in Ours; as has been intimated in *Part I. Chap. 4.* concerning the Modern Measures of *Egypt*.

To apply this Knowledge of the *Egyptian* Weights, I had learned from those able Persons Mr. *Greaves*, Dr. *Bernard*, and *Golijs*, to the Discovery of the *Sacred* and the *Phœnician*, was my principal Design. But the obvious *Conformity* between the *Saracenick* Measures and *Ours* could not but engage my Notice: And the conjectural Reflections, that I then incidentally made, are subjoined in the following *Appendix*.

A N
A P P E N D I X
I N T W O
C H A P T E R S:

CONCERNING THE

Denominations, and Computation of our *English Money*; and
concerning our *Measures of Content*.

C H A P. I.

§. I. *A Remembrance, concerning the Agreement of our Weight with the Egyptian.* §. II. *The Computation of the Libra by Denarii and Solidi, in Gaul, how begun.* §. III. *The Gallican Denarius increased, by Charles the Great, to a Half Dirhem.* §. IV. *Notwithstanding the Variations of Money, this Carolin Ounce of Ten Dirhems continues to be near the Silver Ounce of France; and is our Troy Ounce: and appears, by the Dutch Schelling, to have had place of old in the Netherlands.* §. V. *Those Carolin Denarii, the Half Dirhems, in common Use here before the Conquest; and received early by the Angli.* §. VI. *Agreeable to this Supposition, a new Derivation proposed of the Word Sterling.* §. VII. *The West Saxons and the Mercians, agreeing with one another in Pence and Pounds; agreed also in Pounds with the Angli.* §. VIII. *In an Argument for this Equality, the Saxon Mancufa is produced, and examined: and the Thrimfa and Sceata stated accordingly.* §. IX. *The Siclus, mentioned by Writers of the Middle Age, was a Saxon Schelling.* §. X. *The Denomination of the old English Ounce or Pound, not likely to be taken from Troy in Champagne. A Postscript, in Confirmation of the last six Sections.* §. XI. *The Sum of a Mark, mentioned in the last Section, considered: and its Original, and its Name, guessed at.* §. XII. *Upon that occasion, the Sum of Four Pence taken notice of; and also its Name of Drachma in Latin,*

and Groat in English: together with that of Obolus, for a Half Penny. §. XIII. The several Sums of these Groats, why heretofore in frequent Use.

§. I. **T**HE Account of the *Modern Measures of Weight* in *Egypt*, premised in the *First Part* of this Discourse, was absolutely necessary to the understanding of *Maimonides*, concerning the *Hebrew Measures*. And, particularly, the View of the *Cairo Ratel* has not been unserviceable in settling the *Jewish Maneb*, or even the *Attick Mina*.

In the same Account it has too incidently appeared, that our *English Weights* themselves have been derived from those of *Egypt*; that our *Grains* are theirs; our *Penny Weight* exactly their *Half Dirhem*; and our *Troy Ounce* but as an *Onnce* of theirs, consisting of so many *Dirhems*; as is also very nearly the present *French Ounce* for Silver; that our *Averdupois Pound* is almost the same with the *Ratel of Cairo*; and that the same *Number of Grains*, which are found in a *Cairo Ounce*, are reckoned in most of our *Western Ounces*, how different soever they may be in Weight.

And now, having dispatched my Principal Design, I shall take leave to make that farther Use of this Information, as to try to illustrate by it the State of our *English Money*, and its several Denominations; both those it now retains, and which it had before the *Conquest*.

And here I shall endeavour to shew, *First*, The Rise of the *Gallican* Reckoning of a *Roman Pound* of Silver by *Solidi* or *Shillings*; and of a *Shilling* by 12 *Denarii*: *Secondly*, The Change made of the *Roman Pound* into a *Saracenick*: *Thirdly*, The early Reception of the *Saracenick Pound* in this *Island*: How it was counted after the *Gallican Manner* by the *Angli*; and was otherwise reckoned by the *Saxons*, who had a nearer regard to the Manner of the *Saracens*, and by the *Mercii*: How the same *Sterling Pennies*, used by the *Angli*, were kept up here, after the *Conquest*, for Hundreds of Years: And how they still remain the same, in the *Penny Weight* of Silver so called, though not in the *Coin* of that Denomination.

§. II. **W**E have seen, that when the *Roman Denarius* fell to be the $\frac{1}{8}$ of an *Ounce*, it had then given it the ordinary Appellation of a *Drachma*; and that the Weight of the $\frac{1}{96}$ of the *Roman Pound* was thenceforth called by that Name.

It is known too, that in *France* the *Denarii* under the *Roman Empire* sunk so low, as to become the $\frac{1}{20}$ of a *Roman Ounce*, and the 240th of the *Pound*: and also that thereupon a new Computation of Money was made, by 12 of those *Denarii* to a *Solid*, and 20 *Solids* to that *Pound*.

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This Computation by *Solids* began, we know, from a *Golden Coin*. And to such a Coin the $\frac{1}{5}$ of a *Roman Pound* in Silver was declared equivalent, by an *Imperial Constitution*^a. And it was also ordered, to restrain the Prodigality of Largeſſes to the People, that no Pieces of Silver ſhould be coined, to be ſo ſcattered, greater than thoſe which uſed to be coined at *Sixty* to the Pound^b.

It is very likely, that thoſe Pieces of 60 to the Pound were coined, to answer the 5 parts of a *Roman Pound* in Silver; each of which was equivalent to a *Solidus* of Gold. For the $\frac{1}{5}$ of a Pound of Silver, repreſenting ſuch a *Solidus*, might itſelf be very well divided, as a *Solidus* or *As*, into 12 parts; and the Pound therefore made up of 5×12 , or 60 of them.

Neither will it be ſtrange, if I ſhould add, that theſe little Pieces, though ſo much greater than a *Drachma*, as to be but 5 to the Ounce, might however have been called *Denarii*: the Word *Denarius* having been long ſince applied to Pieces of different Weight; and the Word *Drachma* being now appropriated by the *Westerns* to a certain Weight, the $\frac{1}{3}$ of an Ounce.

So this Name might have been given to 12 of thoſe Coins of 5 in the Ounce, though they were not the Current Money: the Name of *Drachma* being left to the Pieces of 8 in the Ounce. But much more might it be given afterwards; when, upon ſinking of the Coin, a new Current Piece was made, equal to an half of that Sixtieth, = $\frac{1}{120}$ Pound; and was fallen under the *Drachma*, and become the tenth of an Ounce. And then, eſpecially if we ſuppoſe the *Solidi Aurei* diminiſhed in the ſame proportion, there were now 10 *Solidi*, each of 12 ſuch *Denarii*, contained in a Pound.

And conſequently in *Gaul*, where the Coin ſunk from the $\frac{1}{10}$, to be the $\frac{1}{20}$, of an Ounce; and from the $\frac{1}{120}$, to be the $\frac{1}{240}$, of the Pound: it was to be expected that theſe little Pieces ſhould be termed *Denarii*; and 12 of theſe be ſtill called a *Solid*; of which *Solids* there would be then 20 to the Pound.

Thus might the *Solidi* and *Denarii*, in the *Gallick* Reckoning of a *Roman Pound*, have aroſe. And ſo much has it obtained ſince; that very different Pounds, thoſe of our Country, of *France*, &c. are ſtill computed by *Solidi*, for the $\frac{1}{20}$ of the Pound; and by *Denarii*, for the $\frac{1}{12}$ of the *Solidus*.

§. III. So far we have computed the *Roman Pound*, as the *Gauls* did. But both We and the *French*^c have long ſince uſed one larger for Goldſmiths Weight; an Ounce of which is 480 of our Grains, whereof the *Roman Ounce* is 438: Ours being to theirs near as 12

^a *De Argenti Pretio, quod Theſauris inferitur.* Cod. Theodoſ. Lib. XIII. Tit. II. Tom. 5. p. 21. Edit. Lugd. 1665.

^b *De Expensis Ludorum.* Ibid. Lib. XV. Tit. IX. Tom. 5. p. 382.

^c That the *French* under *Charlemagne* & *Louis le Debonnaire* took up a new Pound, the ſame which is uſed now: See *Le Blanc*, Trait. Hiſtoriq. des Monnoyes de France, p. 83, 84, & 99.

to 11; so that, whereas the *Gallick Denarius*, the $\frac{1}{240}$ of the *Roman*, is = 21,9, almost 22, of our Grains; our *Denarius* is = 24.

Now the Rise of this new Pound, we may easily imagine to have been occasioned in the following manner.

While the *Roman Denarius* was falling from the $\frac{1}{8}$ to the $\frac{1}{10}$ of an Ounce, or from 54 of our Grains to 44; it was taken up short by the *Egyptians*, before it fell quite so low, and fixed at 48 of our Grains, or at a very little less than $\frac{1}{9}$ of that *Roman Ounce*; and still continued to be styled a *Drachma*, after the *Grecian Usage*. I have taken it likewise for probable, that a *Dirhem*, or *Drachma* of *Egypt*, had been settled, as it now stands, long before the Time of *Charles the Great*: and we may remember, that the great Commerce of the Western Part of *Europe* was managed in his Time by the *Saracens*; and that their *Dirhem* was the most known current Piece, of certain Weight, and of the finest Silver. And therefore, when *Charles the Great* undertook to reform the *Gallick Coin*, which had been much impaired under the former Line of the *Franks*; it is easy to suppose, that, instead of reducing the faulty *Denarii* to the $\frac{1}{240}$ of the Pound of *Rome*, which City had long since lost its Dominion and Correspondence, he brought them rather to agree with the *Dirhem* of the *Saracens*; and to be of the same known Fineness, and also just half the same Weight. And by this small Increase of the *Denarii*, 240 of them reckoned, as before, to the Pound, made a new Pound, of 120 *Dirhems*; and a new Ounce, of 10 *Dirhems*; such as they still are with our Goldsmiths to a near exactness, and with the *French*, very little less.

This *Oriental Ounce* of 10 *Dirhems* is still the *Standard Ounce* of *England* for Gold and Silver: as it is also in *France*, with a very minute Difference. And with us, a half *Dirhem*, still called a *Penny Weight*, shews the Weight of our *Sterling Penny*: though the present current *Penny* is fallen so much under it, as that a *Penny Weight* makes now 3,1 of the Money *Pennies*.

It is true, that our Money Pound weighs at present a little less than 4 of our Ounces: And consequently that the present *Livre* of *France*, which is but $\frac{1}{12}$ of our Nummery, is equal to no more than a third of one such *Oriental Ounce*. The *Low-Country Schelling* too, which is about the Weight of our present *Sixpence*; and not much less than the *Oriental Dirhem*; as it consists of 12 *Pennings*, (two of which make a *Stuyver*;) and is to be reckoned for a *Solidus*; so, if we take twenty of these *Solidi* for a Pound, it gives a Nummery *Libra* of 2 *Oriental Ounces*.

§. IV. BUT as Our, and the *French Ounce* of Silver, which remain still the same thorough all these Variations of Coin, do, by their Equality to 10 *Dirhems*, shew plainly the Original of our former Money: so does this *Schelling* of the *Dutch* confess the same Rise; appearing not by its Weight only, but by its Subdivisions also,

to

to have been intended for a *Dirhem*. For its *Penning* is = to a *Carat* = $\frac{1}{12}$ of a *Dirhem*; and two of them, or a *Stuyver* is near = to a *Danek* = $\frac{1}{6}$ of a *Dirhem*; and their *Duyts*, 8 of which go to a *Stuyver*, are = to the *Grains* of the *East*.

Such a Correspondence, as this, between the Parts of a *Schelling*, and those of a *Drachma*, as divided by the *Greeks* into 6 *Oboli* and 48 *Chalci*, is observed by *Gronovius*^a. And it only remained for him to say, that it was itself nearly equal to the *Dirhem*, the *Drachma* of the *East*; which had retained the Partitions of a *Grecian Drachma*, as well as its Name. *Kilian*^b also, I see, had rendered *Schelling* by a *Drachma*: but he ought not to have added *Æginæa*; which was $\frac{5}{3}$ even of the *Attick*, and much more of this *Dutch* one. The Word too he derives from their *Schellen*, as signifying a well sounding Metal. But I would rather offer to fetch it from the Word *Schicle*, which with the *Saracens* signified a *Weight*: this *Drachma* being a *Dirhem*, and the standing common *Weight*, to those *Oriental* People, of all their several Ounces.

§. V. THIS *Dutch Schelling*, and its Conformity to a *Dirhem*, I have the rather mentioned; that the Antiquity of our Use of that *Eastern* Piece may the better appear; and also that the various reckonings of our Money here, before the *Conquest*, may be more clearly understood.

We know from the *Digest* of the Laws of this Country before the *Conqueror*, which goes under the Name of *Leges Henrici Primi*, that the three great People, the *Saxons*, the *Mercii*, and the *Angli*, reckoned their *Denarii* and their *Solidi* very differently; though all of them probably (as I shall shew hereafter) to the same Pound.

The *Angli*, it is clear, used the *Gallican* way of Account; having 12 *Denarii* to a *Solidus*, and 20 *Solidi* to a Pound. And as I have presumed, that our *Sterling* Weight was taken into Use from the *Saracens*, by *Charles the Great*, in *France*; so I take it to be highly probable, that it had been received likewise by our *Angli*.

For the Ordinance above^c cited of *Henry III*, Anno 1266, which describes the *Sterling* Weight as it now stands, describes it as that which had been formerly so ordered at several times by his *Progenitors*; and had been sometime established by the Consent of the whole *Realm* of *England*. And the Measures, mentioned in this Ordinance, had not, it seems, been well observed in his time: for they are now said to be appointed by virtue of a general Promise he had made about fifty Years before, in the first Year of his Reign, That all good Statutes and Ordinances made in the time of his *Progenitors* aforesaid, and not revoked, should be still held. And it is obvious to think, that they had not been well kept, as neither had other old Statutes, in

^a *Gronov. de Pecuniâ Vetere, Lib. III. Cap. 8.*

^b *Etymolog. Ling. Teuton. in verb. Schellingh.*

^c Part IV. Chap. 3. §. 3.

his Father King *John's* time; whose disorderly, unfortunate Reign might have made such a Promise necessary. Neither is it indeed probable, that such an Ordinance should have been made in his Uncle King *Richard's* time, who was violent and indigent, and no great Reformer. The Condition of the Times, as well as the Word *Progenitors*, will rather incline us to refer such Ordinances to his Grandfather *Henry II.*^a, under whom our Law began to have some Settlement: if not also to *Henry I.*^b, who was a wise Prince, and preparing for Legal Establishments; as we may know by his Collection of Laws I just now mentioned.

This I say, taking this King's *Progenitors* in its proper sense. For I see that great Care about Measures is, by *Knyghton*^c, attributed to his Grandfather's Predecessor, and Cousin, King *Stephen*. That Prince, this Author says, *settled Measures of Length and of Land, and made Appointments de Ansulis Bilancibus, &c.* and may be presumed therefore by the *&c.* to have settled the Pound or Penny. Yet, if we observe, that the Appointment of the *Sterling* Penny and Ounce, no inconsiderable Appointment, would have been specially mentioned by the Historian, had they been meant by him; we may rather presume that *Progenitor* was strictly meant; and the Appointment referred to *Henry the First*. And if we will suppose, that King *Stephen* settled the Ordinance about Measures, yet it may be supposed too, that he, as a *Stranger*, and never well settled himself, did not introduce any new Measures, but only reestablished and anew fixed the old, with the good Liking and Consent of the whole Realm. For such an Ordinance, if made by him, needs not be esteemed to have appointed this Penny: but only to have prescribed a general *Currency* of that Money to the whole Realm of *England*; which had before been in Use with the Nation of the *Angli* only, and might then have been interrupted by the *Danes*; those reckoning, as I now said, after the *Gallican* Manner; and which the *Normans* therefore would prefer.

For that a *Sterling* Penny was the Current Money of the *Conqueror's* time, we know by those *Denarii Sterilenses* mentioned so often by the *Conqueror's* Contemporary, *Ordericus Vitalis*^e; and by which he reckons that *King's* Revenue from this Island, as by a Sort of Money different from that of *Normandy* or *France*. For as to the *French* Money at this time; it was falling so fast, that 8 Ounces, or a Mark, were going to be a Pound in Account.

^a Unam Monetam & unum Pondus constituit (Henricus II.) per totum Regnum. *Black Book*, as cited by *Heorne*, Collect. of Curious Discours. printed An. 1720. p. 80.

^b Henrici I. Annus 25, Christi 1125, tum ob alia notabilis, tum Falsariorum, qui Monetam per totam Angliam corruperant, detractione. *Wharton. Angl. Sacr. Par. II.* p. 49.

^c Hist. Angl. Scriptores X. Colum. 2391.

^d This *Auncel*-Weighing, contradistinguished from the *Bilanc*, is remembered by the Statutes that forbid it. And the *Trutina* of it is nothing else, but what is called *Romana* in *France*, and *Campana* at *Rome*; and is our *Stellier*, and the *French* Crochet: A Steel Beam, on which the moveable *Weight* hangs by a *Ring*, on one side; and the *Ponderable* by a fixt *Hook*, on the other. The *Ring* and the *Hook* are both signified by the *Ansula* in *Latin*; and the *Hook*, as one may guess, by *Crochet* in *French*: and the *Beam*, possibly, by the *Dutch* *Stael*, and our *Steel*.

^e Hist. Ecclesiast. p. 523, & 602.

^f This Change is placed between the Years 1076, and 1093, by *Le Blanc*, p. 24, &c.

So great Reason there is to think, that the *Conqueror*, at his Invasion of *England*, found here our *Sterling* Pence in Use: and this is further confirmed by that Coin of *Ethelred*, of the same Weight, which was observed by Mr. *Lambard*^a; and the like to which was seen by Mr. *Greaves*^b. And this is the Weight which Dr. *Bernard*^c assigns, for certain, to the Pennies of our old *Saxon* Kings.

§. VI. BUT that our Penny *Sterling* had a peculiar respect to the *Dirhem* Standard, may possibly be probable from the Derivation of the Word. That it comes not from the starling *Bird*, as *Linwood* would have it, is commonly judged. And to fetch it from the *Star*^d of the *Jews*, which signifies in the general only an *Obligation in writing*, seems to be wide of the Purpose. For the Etymology would have been more likely, had the *Hebrew* Word signified a *Mint Indenture*; and were not all Sorts of Moneys coined by such Indentures? The most probable Conjecture, which remains, is, that *Sterling*, or *Esterlin*, as the *French* write it, is to be understood as *Easterling*. And if this be received, I should not however think it properly applied to the *North-East*; the Coasts on the *German* Sea and the *Baltick*: where there was not that Trade in those Days, as afterwards was managed by the *Hans* Towns; and where all the Money then stirring, was got by Robbery and Piracy, from these Parts. I should rather incline to think, that the rich *South-East* Sea, the *Mediterranean*, was intended; and that the Money was such, as was used by the powerful Navigators and great Traders there.

But there is still another Derivation that may be offered: which the Hypothesis, I propose, suggests; and which, if it be admitted, will help to prove it. For we have seen^e, that our Standard Penny is a very *Half-Dirhem*; and besides know, that a *Gallican Solid*, twelve of them, make the half of a *Cairo Ounce*; the noted Ounce in *Egypt* for Goods of Value. We know also, that such a half Ounce is reputed as a *Greek Stater*^f, and by those *Saracens* called therefore an *Estár*, the Initial Letter of which Word is not Radical. And thence we may fairly proceed to guess, that when this *Half-Dirhem* was taken into the place of the *Gallick Denarius*, and became the *Duodecimal* of the new *French Solidus*; it was, for distinction sake, termed a *Denarius Sterilensis*, or *Sterlinck* Penny, or *Esterling*; from the *Estáron*, of which it was also the *Duodecimal*. And then, if this Derivation shall hold, we may reasonably conclude, that the Name of a Penny, which now ceases not to express the *Weight* of a *Half-Dirhem*, did not fail, in those early Days, to stand for such a Penny, as I suppose that of the *Angli* to have been; who reckoned their Pounds by the *Gallican* Manner, when they once had taken up the

^a *Lambardi Glossarium, Cantabrig.* 1644.

^b *Rom. Foot and Denar.* p. 116.

^c *De Mensur. & Ponder.* p. 167.

^d שטר.

^e Part I. Chap. 4. §. 4.

^f *Ibid.* §. 8.

Saracenick Weight. For before, as in the time of *Bede*, I may suppose them, if it be necessary, to have gone by the *Roman*; and to have lacked One in Twelve, of the new succeeding Money.

§. VII. So stood the *Denarii* and *Solidi* of the *Angli*: 240 *Denarii*, or 20 *Solidi*, making up the *Saracenick* Pound, which we call the *Troy* Pound, of 10 *Dirhems* to the Ounce.

The other two Nations had a different Reckoning from that of the *Angli*; and agreed not neither with one another. For the *West Saxons* counted 5 Pence to the *Scilling*, their *Solidus*; and 120 *Scillings* to their Pound; which therefore consisted of 600 *Denarii*: and the *Mercii*, 12 Pennies to their *Solidus*, and 50 *Solidi* to their Pound; which likewise consisted of 600 Pence.

In this these two Nations agreed, (as has been observed by Mr. *Somner*^a;) that their Pence, and consequently their Pounds were equal. But it is still commonly thought that their Pound was much greater than that of the *Angli*; as much as 600 is greater than 240: it being still presumed that the *Penny* of these People, and of the *Angli*, were both alike. And the Presumption seems fairly to be grounded upon these Reasons: (1st,) that the fifth part of a *West Saxon Scilling* was in the *Saxon* Language called a *Penning*, by which Name the *Sterling Denarii* of the *Angli* have always gone, as it appears by the old Statutes I have now cited; and (2dly,) that no other Pennies of the *Saxon* Days, have been ever found since.

But notwithstanding all this, I know not, whether it may not be as probable, that the Pounds of these Nations were the same with that of the *Angli*, our Pound *Troy*; and the Pence different.

What I would offer to be considered is no more than this: whether it may not be probable, that the *Scilling*, the 120th of the *Saxon* Pound, was equal to the *Sterling Two Pence* of the *Angli*; or, which was all one, to the *Saracen Dirhem*.

That the *Holland Schelling* corresponds very nearly with that *Saracenick Dirhem*, we have seen already; and that possibly the Word *Scilling*, as signifying the *Little Weight*, might come from those *Arabians*. And, besides, we find this Word to stand in the *Saxon Gospel*^b for the (Loft) *Drachma*: which *Drachma*, as it stood in the *Latin*, from whence the Translation was made, could not then have been understood for more than the $\frac{1}{8}$ of a *Roman* Ounce; and much less for 5 *Sterling* Pence, which is more than twice that *Drachma*. And it is by no means so probable, that an *Attick* old *Drachma*, much less an *Æginean* or *Alexandrian Drachma*, should have been thought of by King *Alfred's* Translator; as that a *Dirhem*, the *Saracenick Drachma*, the half of which was well known to be the *Sterling Penny* of the *Franks* and the *Angli*, should have been meant by them.

^a Diction. *Angl. Sax.* in verb. *Scilling*.

^b *Luke* XV. 8, 9.

According

According to this Hypothesis, the *West Saxons*, reckoning not by the *Half-Dirhem*, but the whole, come nearer to the *Saracens*: and it is very likely they were better acquainted with them, than their more *Northern* Countrymen. For the South and Western Coasts lay more open by Sea to their Commerce; and were better furnished for it by their *Tin* and *Lead*. And the *Saracens* appear not only to have traded there in that Metal of *Tin*, but to have worked its Mines: as may be collected from what *Camden* tells us; that in *Cornwal* the old Mines worked out are called *Attale Saracen*, or the *Leavings* of the *Saracens*, in the *Cornish*: in *Arabick* it may be, the *Pits*^a of the *Saracens*. What may seem most incongruous, in this Equality of a *Saxon Scilling* to a *Dirhem*, is the Division of the *Scilling* into 5 Parts: by which a *Dirhem* is not reckoned. But of this some Reason may be given; if we observe, that in the *Gallick* Reckoning of 20 *Denarii* to a *Roman Ounce*, two of them and a half must have gone to a *Roman Drachma*; that is, five halves of a *Denarius*, or five *Gallick Quinarii*, and ten *Sestertii Nummi Gallici*. For then there is nothing more to imagine, than that this new *Saracenick Drachma*, when it came in Use here, was parted into such Pieces, as the *Roman Drachma* had been: and that, conformably, a *Scilling*, as a *Drachma*, had its five Parts; two and a half of which went to the *Sterling Penny*.

§. VIII. To these Probabilities for the Equality of the two Pounds, the *Saxon*, and that of the *Angli*, another may be added from the like Division, of either of them, into 20 notable Parts. For as a *Shilling* is the known 20th of one Pound; so was the *Mancs*^b, of the other. And this *Mancs*, as *Elfrick* testifies, was 30 of those *Pennies*; five of which made a *Saxon Scilling*: that is, was equal to 2 *Solidi*, and 6 *Denarii*, in the *Mercian* Account; and to 6 *Scillings*, in the *West Saxon*. This is what is plainly to be collected from the *Saxon Laws* of *Henry I*, in which the Word *Manca* frequently occurs, and should too certainly be read for *Marca*; as pag. 187, 192, 194, 210, if we collate them with pag. 188. lin. 40; where the *Overseunissa Regis* (*Forfeiture* or *Fine* to the King) *in causis communibus* is said to be 20 *Mancæ*, quæ faciunt 50 *Solidos* in the *Mercian* Reckoning. For it is to be observed, that this Collection of Laws speaks as if wrote when the *Mercian* Manner of counting 12 *Saxon Pennies* to a *Solidus* had prevailed above that of *West Saxonia*: though this Country be more than once said there, to be *Caput Regni*, (pag. 202, 210.)

Now this *Mancs*, which the *Latin* Collector calls *Manca*, leaving out the final *s*, is certainly the same with the *Mancusa* of *Malmsbury*, and with that of *Thorn*, who accounts it at 30 Pence, as *Elfrick*

^a Lex. Gollii, Colum. 23.

^b See the Glossaries of *Somner* and *Du Fresne* in the Words *Manca* and *Mancusa*, where the *Saxon* Law concerning the *Overseunissa*, and the other Authorities here mentioned, are referred to.

has given it. It is likewise often mentioned in *Italy* and *Spain*, as a Species of Weight or Money there used of old. And, it being a strange Name, not known otherwise in *Europe*, and taken up in Parts then most exposed to the *Saracens*, may be well presumed to have come from them. Instead therefore of taking it as a *Manucusa*, from the *Latin*; it may rather be looked for among the Derivatives of the *Arabick Nakasha*, which is used in the *Saracenick History* for the Impression of a Seal, or upon Money; and is rendered by *Goliush*^a, not only by *Pinxit*, *Sculpfit*, *Cœlavit*, simply; but with the addition of *Variegato opere*, and *Affabrè*: so that *Mancusa*, or *Muncusato*, may properly mean a Coin; and specially, of some *fine Impression*.

And if it was a Coin, as the other Derivation also professes; and we take it at 30 Penny Weight, which is an Ounce and a half *Troy*, and a *Cairo* Ounce and a quarter; it seems to have been too big for an ordinary Piece, being equal to 7 Shillings and 6 Pence of our present Money; and was not neither a noted Piece of Weight among the *Saracens*, and likely to have had a Stamp given it. Whereas, if we suppose its six *Saxon Scillings*, by which it is expressed, to be no other than six *Saracenick Dirbems*; we have then for a *Mancs* a Half *Cairo* Ounce, the *Estáron*, a well known Weight in the South East, as well as in *France*, and with our *Angli*; and a Piece of Silver of it, for a Coin, but one Six Pence bigger than the Modern Half a Crown.

For these Reasons, I take the *Mancs* of the *Saxons* to have been equal to the old *Solidus* of the *French* and our *Angli*, and to have consisted not of 30 Penny *Sterlings*, of which 12 went to an *Anglian Solidus*; but of so many *Saxon Pennies*, of which 5 made the *Scilling*. Neither will these Reasons be outweighed by those two, on the contrary, abovementioned for the Equality of the *Saxon* and *English* Pennies. For though the *Sterling Pence* have long ago seized and ingrossed the Name; yet that no more proves, there had been no other Pennies before, than the Use of the Word *Shilling*, which now signifies twelve *Sterling Pence*, will argue that it never heretofore counted five of any *Pennies*. For as the *Saxon* and *Mercian* Countries came in some time under the Name of *Angli*; so might the *Anglican* Money have likewise prevailed, joined as it was with the *Gallican* on the other side of the Sea: and then both the Name and the Substance of the former Coins might have been melted down into that; and neither heard, nor seen, any longer.

I shall only add, that, if by this Hypothesis you reckon 200 *Mercian Solidi*, or 4 *Mercian Pounds* = 4 *Anglicans*; the *Thrims*, which is now understood to be a *Tremissis Solidi*^b, or 4 *Denarii*, and 266 of which are put equal to 200 *Mercian Solidi*, will be found, upon a fair Account, to be = 86,6 *Troy Grains*, that is, to 4 *Denarii*,

^a Colum. 2437.

^b Hicks's Dissert. Epistolar. pag. 111.

each of which weighs 21,65 Grains, and wants not half a Grain of the old *Gallick Denarius*.

And the *Sceat*, in like manner, 30000 of which are given to be equal to $4 \times 6 \times 6$, or 144 *Mercian Pounds*, (not 120, as the *Textus Roffensis* erroneously counts it,) will be just 27,648 Grains *Troy*; and very little above the Weight of 27,375, which is the half *Roman Drachma*.

§. IX. To this *Scilling* of the *Saxons* the Word *Siclus*, which is met with in the Writers of the Middle Age, both as a Coin and a Weight, may probably belong. It is mentioned very early by our Archbishop *Egbert*, about 760^a; who is understood to speak of it, as equal to two *Argentei* of that Time: And also by our *Alcuin*; and in the *Annales Francor.* for the Year 850. And in the *Acta Monasterii Murensis*, it is mentioned as a Weight of Gold, divided into five Parts; and each of them seems to have been two *Nummi*. It also occurs frequently in *Mabillon's Benedictine History*.

If it be taken for the *Roman Sicilicus*; it is the Weight of a *Double Drachma*. And if the *Siclus* be a Corruption of the *Hebrew Shekel*; it may either be the Great, an Half Ounce, according to St. *Jerom*; or the Less, a Quarter Ounce, a *Double Drachma*, as *Epiphanius* understands the *Shekel*^b.

But, that a *Jewish Shekel*, of either sort, should have been the ordinary Name for any Piece of Money or Weight in *England* and *Germany*, at these Times, is not probable: the *Jews* then being Strangers to these North-Western Parts, where they have indeed since been great Negotiators in Money. Neither, as I believe, has the *Latin Sicilicus* been much in Use for a Weight, since the Word *Drachma* obtained; much less ever for Money.

For these Reasons therefore, I should rather take this *Siclus* for the *West Saxon Scilling*, and *Dutch Schelling*: Words which might have been easily *Latinized* into a *Siclus*; and whose *Saracenick* Original, from their famous *Weight* or Coin, was as near as that from the *Jewish Shekel*.

Were I sure, that *Egbert* was right understood, in making him to say, that 30 *Sicli* were 60 *Argentei*; there could be no doubt but that the 60 *Argentei* were 60 *Denarii*, of his Countrymen the *Angli*; and consequently that two of them, this *Siclus*, was the *Scilling*.

However, some further Inducement there is for the Opinion of its being a *Scilling*; when we find it in the *Acta Monasterii Murensis* regularly divided into five Parts, just like our *Scilling*. And, for the same Reason, it is not at all likely to have meant a *Shekel*: the *Jews* having, long before that time, made their Reckoning by *Meahs*, a 6th; and not by *Gerahs*, a 5th.

^a See Gloss. *Du Fresn.* in verb. *Siclus*. Where likewise the three following Authorities are mentioned, and referred to.

^b See Part IV. Chap. 2. §. 5, 6.

The Objection, that may reasonably lie against this *Arabick* Derivation of the *Siclus* of *Egbert*, who died in the Year 763, may be this: that in his Time, the Money of the *Saracens*, a People but lately known in the *East* from their Union under *Mahomet*, in the famous Year 622, could not so soon have obtained such a general Course, in those Parts of *Europe*. But every one knows the rapid Course their Arms took: how they became Masters of *Syria* and *Egypt* by the Year 640; and, going as far as the Kingdom of *Tunis* in the Year 663, spread from thence quickly over all the North of *Africa*, as far as the *Streights* of *Gibraltar*; and so as to become Possessors of all *Spain*, save a Northern Corner of it in the *Asturias*, about the Year 714^a. Neither did they stay long there, till they made themselves known enough in *France* by their numberless Troops; and had penetrated as far as *Poitiers*, to the North on the Ocean, before they were defeated by *Martel*, in the Year 732: they having 10 Years before brought all the Coast of *Languedoc* under them; as they afterwards invaded *Provence* and *Burgundy*, on the side of *Germany*. So far their Arms went: and their Money, we may think, much farther. For, besides the Money they gathered from the Spoils of so many conquered Nations, which they melted into their own; they had all the Traffick the *Mediterranean* could produce, having by this time all the Goods in their Hands, that *Syria*, *Cyprus*, *Egypt*, and the long Extent of *Africk* had been used to furnish to the *Europeans*; and being also great Navigators, and busy Merchants themselves.

It is no wonder therefore, if the *French* both of *Austrasia* and *Neustria* were, by this time, well acquainted with the Money of that People, with whom they had so necessary a Commerce, and whose Coin was so certain a Standard; while the *Romanick* Coin of the *Franks* was under a great Confusion.

In so much Repute might these *Dirhems* have been at *Mentz*, had *Egbert* lived there: but much more in our Island, where a great deal of their Money may be supposed to have been brought, in Exchange for our Tin.

Neither will it be strange, that *Siclus* and *Sichel*, upon the *Rhine* in *Germany*, should have come from the *Arabians*, for Money: when we find next it, in *Du Fresne*, *Sicla* or *Sigla* used in that Neighbourhood for a *Pot* of Milk or Honey. For this cannot so well be derived from the *Latin* *Situla*, as from the *Arabick* *Sagla*, which signifies *Situla*, ([ⓐ] spec. major^b;) and from *Sbigala*, *Magno*, *capaci ventre fuit*^c.

§. X. THIS Pound, which I have supposed common to the three Nations of this Island I now mentioned, might, as has been said above, have been taken up by the *Angli*; after the Example of the

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^b Göl. Colum. 1144.

^c Ibid. Colum. 416.

French; by bringing up each *Roman Denarius* to a half *Saracenick Dirhem*. And that it was derived to us from *France*, may seem the more probable from its Name of the *Troy*: as if it had been taken from that City in *Champagne*, which was once a great Mart. But it may, however, seem not improbable, that our Silver Ounce, near the same with that of *France*, did not rise especially from the *Carolin* Increase, of ten double *Gallican Denarii*; but was an Ounce, used before in *Egypt*. An Ounce of 10 *Dirhems* there is not indeed mentioned, as I find, by any Author. But neither is that of 8 *Dirhems*; though, no doubt, a remarkable one, at the first reckoning by these little *Drachmæ*; it regularly consisting of *Eight* of them. Nor is that of 9 *Dirhems*; or 11. And though that Ounce of 12, the *Cairo* Ounce, is best known; and said to be applied to the weighing of Silver, and Spice, and the finer Goods: yet this Ounce, of 10 *Dirhems*, is not unlikely to have had its place and use among those various ones in *Egypt*. It reckoned an integer Number of *Carats*, an 120 of them; as the Primary of 8, did 96; and the *Cairo* of 12, does 144. It was too the fittest Ounce for the *Physicians*, who followed the *Greek* Manner of dispensing Medicines; which was by a *Drachma* of 62 of our Grains: for its 8th was 60 of them; whereas the 8th of the *Cairo* Ounce was 72, and too high; and the 8th of the *Primary Regular* Ounce was but 48. And this appears by the *Venetians*, the great Importers heretofore of such Goods from *Alexandria*; with whom the Reckoning for an Ounce is not by 576 Grains, as that of the *Cairo* Ounce; but by 480. This therefore probably was the Reckoning, by which the *Apothecaries* then sold: though they bought, by that of *Cairo*, from the Grocers. And the same may be thought to have been done by the Goldsmiths, and *Mint-Masters*; if the *West-Saxon Scilling*, and the *Low-Dutch Schelling*, and the *Sicli*, shall be allowed to have been so many *Dirhems* making such a Silver Ounce. For our *West-Saxon Scilling* alone may persuade us, that it came thither from the *Saracens* immediately.

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That *Excerpt* speaks of 4 Sorts of *Marks*: that of *Rochel* and *England*, of 13 Shillings, 4 *Den. Esterlins*; that of *Limoges*, which is 13 Shillings, 3 half Pennies *Esterl.* another of *Tours*, 12 Shillings, 21½ *Den. Esterl.* Weight; and another of *Troyes*, weighing 14 *Sol.* and 2 *Den. Esterlins*. There it is said also, that the *Rise* and *Fall* of the

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Nominal Pounds, Solidi, and Denarii over all the World, was computed by these *Esterlins*.

By this we find, that our *Mark* should rather be named, if not from *Limoges*, yet from *Tours*; than from *Troy*, whose *Mark* was then farthest from it. And some other Cause therefore must be found for this *Denomination* of *Troy* for an Ounce or Pound, in distinction from the *Averdupois*. And, if we consider that this *Averdupois* Pound, which is used for Gross Ware with us, for *Averia Ponderanda*, is the *Ratel* of *Cairo*, of 12 *Dirhems* to the Ounce, though divided into 16 *Roman* Ounces after the *Spanish* Manner; and that this, called the *Troy*, is a *Ratel* of 10 *Dirhems* to the Ounce, and which is likely to have been used in *Egypt* at the Mint, and with the Apothecaries: we may think it reasonable to look there, for the Original of the Word *Troy*.

And, for want of a better, one may then think that such a *Ratel* as that, was called at Home the *Troy Ratel*, from *Tara*, or *Taraw*, which signifies *Exotick* Substances, and particularly *Spices*^a; not to intimate, that the *Italian Droga* might have come from thence.

So, in this *Excerpt*, the *Deniers Esterlins* of 20 to the Ounce appear to have been then peculiar to the *English*: And, notwithstanding I have above supposed them brought into *France* by *Charles the Great*, yet so probable it is, that they were not taken up by us from the *French*, but from the *Saracens* themselves.

Thus it seems manifest, to the honour of our Usage of the *Troy* Weight, that it has been the Standard to our Neighbours; and unlikely to have been borrowed from that *City*. And it is obvious to observe, that the knowing *Sir Henry Spelman* was of that Mind; when, at the Word *Libra*, he chooses to style ours the *Trojana*, and not the *Trecensis*.

A P O S T S C R I P T.

IT was long after the forming of these Conjectures, that the Book, heretofore mentioned, of Mr. *Eisenschmid*, came into my Hands: and there I find much of what I have now suspected, confirmed in a high degree, by what he has accidentally produced out of *Budellius de Monetis*; a Writer of Authority in these Matters, who was *Mint-Master* to the Archbishoprick of *Colen*. His Book I have not had the Fortune to procure: but my Author^b tells me from him, That the Ounce of *Colen* consists of 19 Pieces, called there *Englisches*; and that one of these consists of 32 little Weights, which are called *As* or *Es*; and also that in the Netherlands, both in the Royal and United Provinces, 20 of those *Englisches* made up the *Troick Ounce* used there. He adds, That the Money of all Germany was ordered, in

^a *Gol. Lex. Arab. Colum. 1459.*

^b *Eisensch. de Ponder. & Mensur. Sect. 1. Cap. 1.*

1559, to be regulated by the Colen Mark, or 8 of those Ounces: and tells there, That the Ounce of Strasburg had been antiently near of the same Weight; and that he found it to have been equal, in the 11th Century, to about 554½ Paris Grains, of which the Colen Ounce was 550,25.

And now, these 550,25 *Parisian* Grains being equal to 451,37 of *Ours*; this Number divided by 19 gives us 23,7563 *Troy* Grains for a *Colen English*: so that 20 of these, or the *Trosick Ounce* of the *Netherlands*, want but 4,87 Grains of our *Troy Ounce*, or of our 20 *Penny Weight*.

We see therefore, that the *Holland's Schelling* of this Time, which is near equal to two of our *Penny Weights*, or to a *Dirhem*^a, and according to which I rated our *Saxon Scilling*, has not come to this Weight of late, and by Accident: but is regulated by the *Colen Englishes*, the antient Pieces of Weight in *Germany*; and must therefore, itself, have been an antient Piece of Money.

And now the perfect Agreement of that *Schelling* with our *Saxon Scilling*, as I have stated it above^b, evidently appears. For it consists of two *Englishes*: and those *Englishes* do not only reckon their little Parts, their *As* or *Es*, by the same Number 32, by which our Grains of Wheat are reckoned in a *Penny Sterling*; but are the same exactly with it, to less than a quarter of a Grain.

The *Schelling* therefore, so equal to a *Dirhem*, is a very *Drachma* too, as *Gronovius* has reckoned it, formed after the old *Attick* Manner. And accordingly, the *Saxon Scilling*, a Word so little differing from the *Dutch*, when it is put in the Gospel for a *Drachma*, must mean the same *Drachma*.

A *Siclus* also of the *Germans*, as well as of our *Egbert* or *Alcuin*^c, and the *Sichel* of the Gloss in *Du Fresne*, can now be no other but this *Dutch Schelling*, or the *Saxon Scilling*. Neither will the Derivation of the Word from the *Arabick* seem strange, when we know the Weight, it signifies, to be peculiarly *Saracenical*, the *Dirhem*.

The Reason too appears, why this *Saxon Scilling*, though it counts but five Pennings, is termed a *Solidus*; as well as the *Mercian* and *Anglican* Moneys are, which reckon 12. For this is also a *Solidus*, in that *Gallican Sense*; and has its notable Duodecimal Parts for proper *Denarii*: being a *Dirhem*, and consisting of 12 *Carats*; one of which is 4 Grains; and called a *Penninck* in *Dutch*, with the Miners, as *Kilian* says^d.

And as we here see upon this Occasion, how ambiguous the Words *Solidi*, and *Denarii*, and *Shillings*, and *Pennies* are; and yet, how the *Duodecimal* Relation generally holds: so we may reflect, whether, among these several Correspondences between the *Saracenick* and *North-Western* Money, it may not be very probable, that the

^a Vid. §. 4.

^b Vid. §. 7.
^d Etymolog. Linguae Teuton. in verb. *Penninck*.

^c Vid. §. 9.

Denarius Esterling or *Sterilensis*, and the Penny *Sterling*, was so distinguished; as the *Duodecimal* of its Solid, or Shilling, the *Estáron*.

And, lastly, we find, from that Account of the *Dutch* Money, that, if ours is to be derived from any foreign Place, it were too far fetched, to take it from the City *Troyes*^a, had their *Mark* been equal to ours; and might easier have been had from the *Netherlands*; but that the *Colen English* plainly shews the *Sterling* Weight of our Island to have been the *Original*.

And hence the Assertion of the *Excerpt*, That *all the Moneys of the World are raised and lowered by the Esterlin Pennies*, seems not to be so extravagantly said, as might appear at first sight. For not only the several Moneys of *France*, and of *England*, are regulated by their respect to this *Sterling* Weight: but those also of *Germany*, from the Mouth of the *Rhine* up to *Strasburg*; not to reckon those of the *East*, which were originally ordered by this *Dirhem*.

§. XI. A *Mark*, as a Sum, or Weight, amounting to 8 Ounces, has been often mentioned in the *Excerpt*: and has been, we know, of frequent Use, in *England*, since the *Conquest*; and in the Northern Parts, before.

Those 8 Ounces are not known to have been a notable Part of the *Roman* Pound in the flourishing Time of that Empire; and seem not to have been a distinguished Number, till the Ounce itself came to be divided into its 8 Parts, the *Drachmæ*. But then it was congruous enough, when 8 *Drachmæ* made an Ounce, to stop at the same Number of Ounces, as a Bound or Limit; and to reckon the Product of that, in *Drachmæ*. And to this Stop they might have been more especially led; if the *Drachmæ* themselves had been divided likewise into their eight Parts.

For Example: a *Danish Sceat*, if reckoned right by me, was half a *Roman Drachma*: and a *Feorthing* of this, was the 8th of the *Drachma*. And therefore well might 8 *Ora's*, or *Danish* Ounces, have been such a certain Bound or Limit in this Money Account; as the Word *Mearc*^b signifies: and have such a Point, or Note, put to it; as the same Word implies.

So might the Sum, and Name, of a *Mark* have taken its Rise in the North of *Germany*, either on this, or the other Side of the *Baltick*; if the *Roman* Manner of reckoning the Pound by 12 Ounces, and Ounces by *Drachmæ*, had been brought so far.

In *Gaul*, and those Countries of *Germany*, where the *Franks* had brought in the *Gallick* Account of an Ounce, by 20 Parts; the Number of 8 Ounces had nothing whereby it should have been distinguished from another. And it will be fit therefore, in the further Pursuit of this *Mark*, to follow the *Goths*, the *Septentrional Germans*, into *Spain*; and see, whether it might not have arose there.

^a Vid. §. 10.

^b Vid. *Somneri Dict. Angl. Saxon.* in hoc verb.

And I shall only stay to observe transiently, concerning the different Number of 16, and 20 *Denarii* in an *Ora* or an Ounce, taken notice of by Mr. *Somner*^a: that these Numbers need not be construed to make a different *Ora*, but may be taken for different *Denarii*; the *Roman Semidrachmal*, now spoke of, the *Sceata*; and the *Duo-decimal* of a *Gallick Solidus*.

But, to return to the Consideration of a *Mark*: it might have been brought in, or taken up in *Spain*, by those *Goths*; on the same Cause, and expressed by the same Language; but it might also have been raised, on the Occasion of their *Conquest* by the *Saracens*. For in their *Cairo* Pound, whose Division many *European* Pounds have since followed, the 8 Ounces of it have this notable in them, that they are equal to the *Primary* Pound, of 8 *Dirhems* to the Ounce: and I do not know, whether that *Primary Ratel* might not have been distinguished in *Egypt* by some Word near *Marca*, either signifying a Progression made by *Steps*^b, or a *Concinnity*^c of Composition.

But there is something yet more notable, in the 8 Ounces of the *Roman* Pound; if compared with that *Saracenick* one, of *Cairo*. For of that chief *Ratel*, the 8 *Roman* Ounces was the *Half*; and therefore to be specially regarded by the *Spaniards*, as agreeing with a very notable Sum of their new Masters. Neither was it to be wondered, if that *Number* of Ounces, when counted up, had its *Mark*, and was called from it; as with us *Twenty* are called a *Score*. Such an Original of a *Mark* seems to be expressed by that Definition of it, cited by *Du Fresne*, which terms it *Dimidium Libræ*.

So may this Use of the *Sum* of eight Ounces have arisen in the *North*; though it is most likely to have begun in *Spain*: And from thence it might have passed into *France*; and then come to be applied in general to any eight Ounces, either to *Roman* or *Troy*, &c.

From *Spain*, I suppose, this Way of Numeration by eight Ounces came into *France*; as well as that other of 16 to the *Pound*. And in *France* it began, I believe, to be better known; when the *Money* Pound fell so low, as to be two Thirds of the *Ponderal*. This is judged^d to have come to pass a little after the *Norman Conquest*. And then, in that great Intercourse between us and *France*, the *Mark* of our *Troy* Pound, which was equiponderant to their *Money* Pound, must be a Sum very much noted, and in frequent Use. And the Sum of that *Name* has since so much prevailed, that all ordinary Payments have been most commonly ordered, till very lately, by *Marks*; and by *Half Marks*, *Nobles*; and by *Quarter Marks*, *Ten Groats*.

§. XII. FROM the Use of the *Mark*, by those that reckoned by Pounds and Shillings, the *Groat* came necessarily into their Notice;

^a Gloss. ad Decem Script. in verb. *Ora*.

^b *Golii Lex. Arab.* Colum. 1029.

^d Vid. §. 5.

^c Ibid. Colum. 1035.

being the Sum of *Pence* in it, excrement above Thirteen *Shillings*. But it was not, as we are informed, made a *Coin*, till the Reign of *Edward III.*

It seems, however, to have been an antient *Species* of Money, known here in *England* before the *Conquest*; if the Weight of the *Thrimfa* has been rightly calculated, in the 8th §.

For this *Thrimfa*, as the very knowing Dr. *Brady* has rightly judged^a, is the *Latin Tremissis* of a *Solidus*. And it being equal to 4 *Denarii* of the *Gallick Solidus*, (as it has appeared upon Account^b;) it is nothing else but one of these *Sixty Pieces*, into which a *Pound* of *Silver* was allowed to be divided, and which I have mentioned above^c, for the first *Duodecimals* of a *Solidus*.

So was the *Danish Thrimfa*, 4 of the old *Gallick Denarii*: and where the *Denarii* were of a *Troy Pound*, as they were with the *Angli*; 4 of them were likewise a *Tremissis*, and made it much more considerable, in its being equal to 96 *Troy Grains*, or *Two Dirhems* of *Egypt*; the very Weight of the famous *Deinar*, the *Aureus* of the *Saracens*. Well too might this *Species* have been antiently called a *Groat*, in the *Saxon* Sense of *Crassus Grossus*: by which Addition, the first *Duodecimal Denarius* was to be distinguished from the *Gallick*.

When therefore *Edward III.* struck this *Silver Coin*, he seemed not to have erected any new *Species*; neither did he want a very goodly *Pattern* in *Gold* of the same Weight, well known in the *East*.

So might the *Species* of *Four Pence* have been antiently styled a *Groat*. But how they should be called a *Drachma*, is still a Question.

The Cause of this Name may be, I think, best learned from the *French*; though they apply it to a different Number of *Denarii*. For with them, a *Gross*, a Word not differing from our *Groat*, is in Weight the 8th of their Ounce, or of their 576 Grains, and equal to 72 of them: and bears very properly the Name of a *Drachma*; and also of a *Gross* or *Crassa Drachma*, in respect of their *Physick Drachma* of 60 of their Grains. But then this *Gross* of 72 Grains is a *Drachma* in Money of *Three Pence*; and not, as with us, of *Four*.

And this Difference, we know, proceeds from their agreeing with us, in a *Troy Ounce* of 10 *Dirhems*; but dividing it into as many Grains, as if it were a *Cairo Ounce* of 12, that is, into $\frac{6}{5}$ ths as many more: whereas We of old have retained these very Grains of those 10 *Dirhems*, for our Ounce; and have 72 of them, or a *Dirhem* and a half, for a simple *Drachm*, as it signifies the 8th of an Ounce: but have also another of 96, or 2 *Dirhems*, for our Money *Drachma Crassa*, or *Groat*; the old *Saracenick Thrimfa*.

This View therefore of the *French* Reckoning, at the same time it shews their Proceeding, shews that we have strictly kept to our an-

^a *Hicks's Dissert. Epistolar.* pag. 111.

^b *Vid.* §. 8.

^c *Vid.* §. 2.

tient Order; and yet as properly applied the Denomination of *Drachma* to our four *Denarii*, as they have to their *three*.

So is our *Groat* understood, when expressed in *Latin* by *Drachma*, to be a *Drachma Crassa*, and of two *Dirhems*; while the simple *Drachma*, or the eighth, was equal to seventy two Grains. And in consideration of this simple *Drachma* it is, that an *Obolus*, the sixth Part of a *Drachma*, is put to signify a Half-Penny: the half of 24 Grains being contained 6 times in 72. So truly, and in real *Carats*, does our *Obolus* answer the Definition in *Du Fresne*, *Obolus est pondus trium Kirat*: whereas the *French Obolus* consists only of so many *Nominal Carats*.

Eight of these our Half-Penny *Oboli* make up our *Groat*, and also two *Dirhems*: nor can there be any doubt but that this Coin of ours was the *Octobolum*, and the *Alcaubolus*, mentioned by Dr. *Bernard*^a. And if this *Arabick* Word is not a Corruption of the *Greek*, (which is not necessary to think,) but is left to its own Language; it may be nothing else but *Algaubolus*, from *Gabala*, which signifies *Crassus Grossus*^b; and have been, at Home too, a very *Groat*.

§. XIII. BUT whencesoever this Species had its Name of *Drachma* or *Groat*, it is certainly the same as a *Double Dirhem* of the *Saracens*: and the Reckoning by it among us is very remarkable. For Five of them are a *Troy Ounce*: Ten, two *Ounces*: Twenty, or a *Noble*, Four: and Thirty, Six, &c. But, when the Value of *Gold* was Ten times its Weight in *Silver*: (and so it was often with the *Saracens*, as *Goli* intimates, *Colum.* 824. at the Word *Dirhem*: and, about the Time of the *Conquest*, in *England*; as we understand from the *Domes-Day-Book*, cited by Sir *H. Spelman*, under the Word *Libra*: and even as low as King *John*'s Days; as appears in *Somner*'s *Gloss. to the Decem Scriptores*, in the Word *Mancusa*;) when this, I say, was the Rate of *Gold*; the Five *Groats*, or Ten *Dirhems* (our *Ounce*) of *Silver*, might have been more noted, as they were answered by a single *Dirhem* Weight in *Gold*; if there was any such Piece, and Dr. *Bernard* supposes there was. And so, 30 *Groats*, or 60 *Dirhems* in *Silver*, equal to half a *Pound Troy*, or Ten *Shillings*, might have been, as they were represented in *Gold* by a *Mancusa*, (as I have now stated it,) at half a *Cairo Ounce*. But then the *Tens* and the *Twenties* of the *Groat* were certainly more notable: Ten *Groats* of *Silver* being equivalent, while one was equiponderant, to the well known Eastern *Aureus* or *Deinár*, the *Alcaubolus* now mentioned: and Twenty, or a *Noble*, equivalent to the double *Aureus*, another Piece of *Gold*. And this Piece might be the old *Schifatus* of the *Italians*, which we find in Mr. *Du Fresne*'s *Dissert. de Numismat.* §. 99. and come from *Shaphaa* [*Gol. Colum.* 1295.] in the Significa-

^a De Mensur. & Ponder. Lib. II. §. 25, 26.

^b *Gol. Lex. Colum.* 463.

tion of *Duplex*: But is that certainly which, as Dr. *Bernard* informs me^a, went with the *Arabians* under the Name of *Alcovannus*. So were these two Sums, subaltern to a *Mark* in Silver, sufficiently distinguished to us, by those two *Egyptian* Golden Coins, their *Equivalents*. And as I needed not to have strengthened this Observation by the Etymology of the Word *Alcaubolus*; so I need not to add this other Conjecture, concerning *Alcovannus*: that it may be the same with *Algaphnaton* in the *Arabick*, one of whose Significations in *Goliush*^b, the *Adjective* one, is *Liberalis*, *Nobilis*: not to mention the *Substantive* one, *Scutella*, to which the *Chauci*, the Hollow Money, spoke of by *Du Fresne* (in his *Dissert. de Numismat.* §. 98, 99.) may possibly be related.

And if the Proportion of Ten to One between Gold and Silver held in the Days of *Edward III*; the Golden Coins, Sir *Henry Spelman* speaks of under the Word *Florenus*, will be the same with those now specified. That equivalent to Six Shillings Eight Pence, or to Twenty Groats, will be the *Algophannus*, the *Double Aureus*: Its Half will be no other than the *Alcaubolus*, the single *Aureus*: and the *Quarter*, than the *Golden Dirhem*. As for the old *Floren* from *France*: whatsoever its Weight was; if it was justly equivalent to our *Two Shillings*, it was likewise to a *Cairo Ounce* of Silver.

Thus far for the Proportions and Denominations of our *English Money*.

CHAP. II.

§. I. Our Measure of Content, like the Roman, antiently determined by a certain Weight: §. II. And proceeded in the Roman Order; improved, as is supposed, by the Alexandrian Mathematicians. §. III. The Pints for the several Substances have varied since from the Old. In some of them the Roman Order of Proceeding is observed. §. IV. In others a kind of Grecian Order is taken up: The same, as in the Parisian Muid, and Strasburg Fuder. Postscript. §. V. The Denominations of the Measures of Content: particularly of the Pint, Sester, and Gallon.

§. I. **A**S our Pound Troy was antiently, and before the Conquest, used for our Money; so it was early applied to the Determination of our Concave Measure, and not only for *Arids*, but *Liquids*: a Pound's Weight of it in Wine or Water filling up the Primary Vessel we call a *Pint*. This is declared by that Antient fa-

^a De Mensur. & Ponder. Lib. II. §. 31.

^b Lex. Arab. Colum. 515.

mous *Ordinance*, which constitutes the *Pound Troy*: where it is expressed, that 8 *Pound* of *Wine* shall make a *Gallon*; 8 *Gallons* a *Busbel*; and 8 *Busbels* a *Quarter*, (a *Quarter*, I suppose, of a *Tun*.)

§. II. IN this Constitution and Order of our *Concaves*, something of the *Roman Manner* presently appears. For our Measures of Capacity are determined by Weight likewise. And though our *Gallon* consists not of Ten *Troy Pounds*, as the *Congius* did of the *Roman*; yet, consisting of eight, it professes itself to be like the *Congius* in this: that it is formed from a *certain side*; that is, from a *Length* double to the side of a *Pint Cube*, whatever that may be. And then, whatsoever the *side* of our *English Congius* is; of that the side of the *Busbel*, or *English Amphora*, is likewise double.

How artful and apposite the Division of a *Roman Congius* into eight *Parts* was, (instead of six,) has been already suggested^a. For as the *Cube Amphora* had a *Foot* for its *side*; and the *Octans* of that *Amphora*, the *Congius*, had *half* a *Foot*: so the *Octans* of a *Congius* would have a *Palm* for its side. And this Geometrical Proceeding, from the first *Octans* to an *Amphora*, would have led to higher Vessels; as to the *Cube* of two Feet, the *Octuple* of an *Amphora*, &c. The Arithmetical Disposition also of all the superior Vessels, from such an *Octans*, was as *easy* for Account, as it was natural: they all rising, in the *Duple Progression*, from 1 to 2, 4, 8; thence to 16, 32, 64 ($= 8 \times 8$); and so to 128, &c.

This Proceeding of the *Roman Concaves* from a Primary *Octant* seems not to have been used at *Rome*; nor appears to have been introduced by the Northern Nations that invaded the Western Empire: and was in the Eastern contrived, most probably, by the Mathematicks of the *Alexandrians* of *Egypt*. And when it was set up; though the Geometry of it was singularly suited to the *Roman Foot* and its *Parts*; yet the Arithmetical Numeration of it might be greatly convenient; though beginning from other *Octants*, whose Cubical sides were not of that famous Length, the *Palm* of a *Roman Foot*.

Such another Primary *Octant* was our *English Pint*: measured by the Weight of a *Saracenick Ratel* of 120 *Dirhems*. And though a *Cube* in Water or Wine, of this Weight, contains not above 22,74 of our Inches; (so far is it from being the *Cube* of our *Palm*; which would make 27 of our Inches, and not many less of the *Roman*;) and though the Root of this *Cube* be but 2,833 of our Inches: yet the Convenience of reckoning the Measures of Capacity, from a first *Octant*, by the *Duple Progression*, was sufficient to recommend such an Order of Vessels to our Use. This I say: not observing, for any further Recommendation of our Weight of 120 *Dirhems*, that this was the Number of *Drachmæ* with the *Greeks*, which made their *Xestes*; or that possibly 2,833 Inches might have been one of the various *Palms* of *Egypt*.

^a Part III. Chap. 6. §. 4.

But however this Pint came to be equiponderant to a *Troy* Pound; it was with us the general Measure of Content, for all Substances wet and dry; and proceeded, in the *Roman* Order, by the double Progression, from one *Pint*, to two, a *Quart*; and four, a *Pottle*; to eight, a *Gallon*; whose *Cubick* Root was double to that of a *Pint*: and so from one *Gallon* to two, four, and eight *Gallons*; called a *Bushel*; whose Root is Quadruple of the first: and thence again, from these eight *Gallons*, to twice as many, and four times, and eight times as many; this last called a *Quarter*.

Such was the *Pint* of *old*, and the upper Measures from it. And for the under Parts of it; they are still measured with the Apothecaries by *Troy* Ounces, Drachms, &c. but when a whole *Pint* is appointed, it is (it seems) commonly dispensed by a *Pound Averdupois*: and this wants not much of our present *Wine Pint*, as it has been changed from its first Appointment^a.

§. III. FOR there has now for a long time been a great Change made both in the *Pint*, and in the Order of Reckoning from it. The *Wine Pint* is gone from its Equiponderance to a *Pound Troy*; and exceeds a little the *Averdupois*. The *Pint* for *dry* Measure is heavier still: and that for *Ale* and *Beer* exceeds this.

Neither are there only different *Pints*, but different *Manners* of *Reckoning* them. For the *Pint* for *dry* Measure, and that for *Ale*, are both reckoned up after the *Roman Manner*, uniformly in the Duple Progression. And so eight *Pints* of *Ale* are a *Gallon*; 8 *Gallons*, or 64 *Pints*, a *Firkin*. And by two of these, for a *Kilderkin*; and four, for a *Barrel*; we come to eight *Firkins*, or 512 *Pints*, for a *Hogshead*.

§. IV. BUT the *Pint* for *Beer*, though it be the same with that for *Ale*, and is equally reckoned by eight to a *Gallon*; yet is not taken 64 times, but 72, to make the *Beer Firkin*: and then, in the Duple Progression, twice 72 make a *Kilderkin*; and 4 times so much, a *Barrel*; and 8 times as many, or 576 *Pints*, make a *Hogshead*. For the Duple Progression does not begin here from one *Pint*, but from nine; and then goes on to 18, 36, 72, 144, &c.

And as the *other Order* of the *Ale* Vessels is plainly *Roman*: so may this, at least for distinction sake, be called the *Grecian*; it counting the same Number of *Pints*, 72, to a *Firkin*; as the *Greeks* did, of *Sextaries*, to their *Medimnus*.

Something of this *Greek Manner* is also observable in the numbering of the *Pints* in the *Wine Measure*. For the *Runlet* of 18 *Gallons*, or 144 *Pints*, is as a *Double Medimnus*, and *Analogous* to a *Beer Kilderkin*: though the Appointment, for some good Cause made by a Statute, of 63 (not 64) *Gallons* to a *Hogshead*, has caused its

^a Part I. Chap. 3. §. 4.

Half, the *Wine* Barrel, to want half a Gallon of the Ale Barrel; and effected a proportionable Alteration in the Higher Vessels.

But this Order, which but just appears in our Wine Vessels, goes thorough in the *Muyd* of *Paris*: which is very near the same Measure of Wine, as our Hoghead would have been; if the Double Progression from the Runlet had been continued.

For the *Muyd* of *Paris*, consisting of 36 *Sesters*, and every *Sester*, of eight *Pints*; and each Pint, of two *Chopines*; the Number of *Chopines* in a *Muyd* is 576; the Number of Pints in our Beer Hoghead, and of the Order I have called the *Greek*. For I need not observe, that though a *Chopine* differs something from our Pint of any of the sorts; yet, so long as it is nearer to our Pints, than it is to its Double, the *French* Pints, it is a Parallel Vessel to them; and that the same Number of Parallels shews the Order to be the same.

P O S T S C R I P T.

BUT, as to our present Wine Pint, it has been seen, in the *Postscript*, above cited^a, to differ so little from the former *Chopine* of *Paris*, that the same Number of both would have come near to the same Quantity; and our Wine Hoghead, reckoned after its own *Greekish* Manner, (the Manner of our Beer Measure,) would have been at no greater distance from the *Muyd*, than a very small difference so often multiplied might make.

From the same Author, cited in the *Postscript*, I see also, that the German Reckoning of the *Fuder*, at *Strasburg*, is after the like Manner. There four *Schappen*, which are parallel to four *Chopines*, make a Measure; and 24 Measures an *Obm*; and 24 *Obms* a *Fuder*. And this *Fuder* therefore, being 2304 *Schappens*, parallel Vessels to our Pints, is of the same Order with our Tun, or four Hogheads reckoned after the *Greekish* Manner. For one such Hoghead, as we have seen, is 576 Pints; and four, is 2304.

After these Manners, and from different Pints, our Vessels are now reckoned: which at the beginning were counted all from one Pint, whose Wine was equiponderant to a Pound *Sterling*; and proceeded in the *Roman* Order. *How*, and *whence*, the Manner, I have called the *Greekish*, was introduced; as also the Various Pints; those are capable of telling us, who are better versed in the general History of the Measures of our Correspondents. All that I adventure to think is, that our old Measures of *Content*, we received from the *Saxons*, were in all probability derived to them from the *Saracens*; as well as our *Money*.

^a Part I. Chap. 3. §. 4.

§. V. THE Name of the primary Vessel, the *Pint*, I find not in the *Saxon Dictionary*. But the Word *Pund* was received into that Language from the *Romans*: and so might a Pint have been; and the Name formed from it, as the Vessel is from the Weight. And the same Word in *France* might, I suppose, have had the same Original from some Pound of theirs.

Sester, indeed, may seem to have been the *Saxon* Name, by the Physical Definition of it in *Sommer*; which says, *A Pund of Water goeth to a Sester*. But this strictly interprets the *Latin Sextarius*, the Measure used in Physick; and extends not to the Signification of *Sester*, with the *Saxons*. For, as appears there, the Word is taken in the *Saxon Gospels* for a *Metreta*, which we render a *Firkin*, St. *John* II. 6. and for a *Cadus* or *Batos*, translated by us a *Measure*, *Luke* XVI. 6. It stands too for a Measure of *Corn*, (in the *Saxon Chronicle*,) which *Huntindon*^a expresses by a *Horse-Load*. It goes also, as we have seen, with the *Parisians* for eight of their Pints, which are two of our Gallons; and is said by our *Fleta*^b, as he is now read, to be four Gallons.

A new Derivation therefore of it is to be found out. And if I may take the liberty here for Vessels, which I have used for Money, I should, for want of a better Etymology, deduce it from the *Arabick Cisso*^c, with the Addition of the Letter *R* from *Sextarius* (a Word to which the *Latin* Part of the World had been much used). For this, as it signifies peculiarly *Mensura Aridorum*, a *Modius parvus*; so has it also in it the Notion of *Justice* and *Distribution*; and goes so far in that Sense, as to signify a *Trutina*^d.

The *Octuple* of this Pint, the *Gallon*, I find not neither among the *Saxon* Words; but may suppose it nevertheless to have been in use with them. For it is named, in the often cited *Ordinance*, as a principal Vessel: and is so much known in *England*, and so little with our *French* Neighbours, that it cannot be thought to be of *Norman* Extraction. Were it owned for a *Saxon* Measure, I should seek after it with greater assurance among those *Saracens*, from whom we had our Weights; and this very *Troy Pound*, its *Octant*. And if we do look that way, for a Gallon; as the nature of this *Congius* will direct us to *Alexandria*, for its Improvement: so we may readily meet with the *Arabick Kailon*, fully answering the Notion of such a principal Vessel. For both the *Noun* itself signifies a Measure of *Liquids* and *Arids*: and the *Verb*, and all its Derivatives connote the same^e; agreeably to the *Hebrew Koul*; as it signifies *Capere*, *Continere*. To this *Kailon* one might refer a homogeneous Word, *Gialon*; whose Verb signifies *Obire*, *Circumire*^f, instead of *Continere*; which

^a Vid. Hist. Henrici, Archidiacon. Huntindon. Lib. VII. p. 382. Edit. Hen. Savil. Francofurt. 1601.

^b Lib. II. Cap. 12.

^c Vid. Pocockii Port. Mos. Notarum Miscellan. p. 404.

^d Goli Lex. Colum. 1904.

^e Ibid. Colum. 2086, 2087.

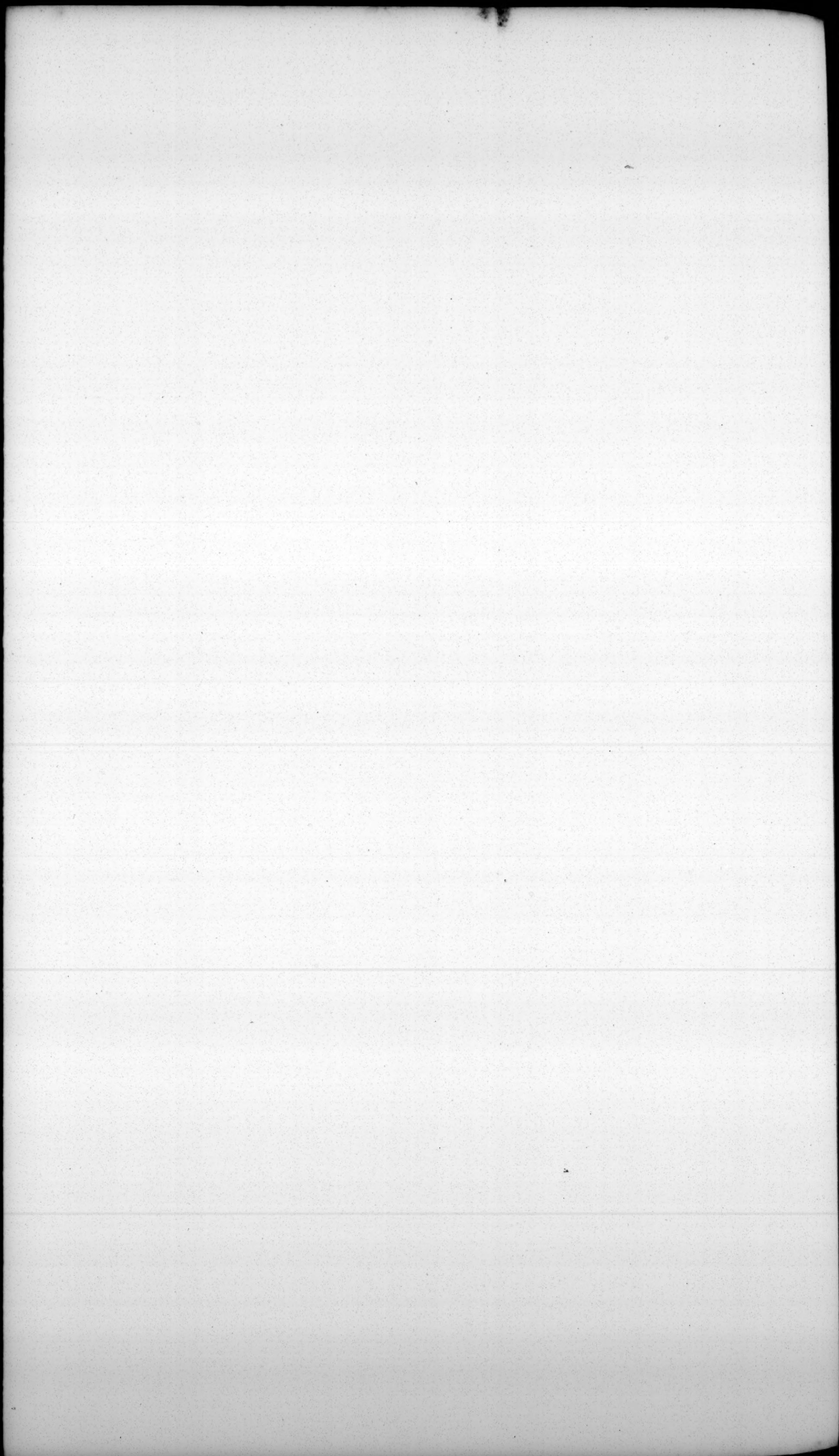
^f Ibid. Colum. 557.

itself particularly signifies *Latus interius putei à summo ad imum*; the internal Surface, the *Cylindrus*, that compasses and contains the Water. And it might likewise be remembered, that *Galo*, in some *Latin* Writers, is *Jalo* in others, as in our *Fleta*. And then, if such a Derivation of *Jalo* should be allowed; I might, in case a better is wanting for the *French Chopine*, and *German Schoppen*, remember the *Arabick Gaphnaton* above cited, which signifies *Puteus parvus*, as well as *Scutella*.

I know that *Gallon* is sometimes thought to have come from *Lagena* inverted: and this Derivation has been the more recommended by the *Greek* Word in *Athenæus*, who makes it a Cup, and a Measure of *Content*, and, which is more, of six *Sextaries*. But that the *Latin* Word should have been so inverted by the *Franks*, is strange. And one would rather think, that such a Transmutation was made upon the *Greek* by the *Saracens*; like that of *Litra*, into their *Ratel*; and that they brought it to us. And so when *Gallon* is offered to be derived from the *Greek* Γαλῶν, *Vas [mulétrale]*; or from the *Hebrew Gullab*, a *Lecythus*; it may be imagined to have come to us by the same Conveyance.

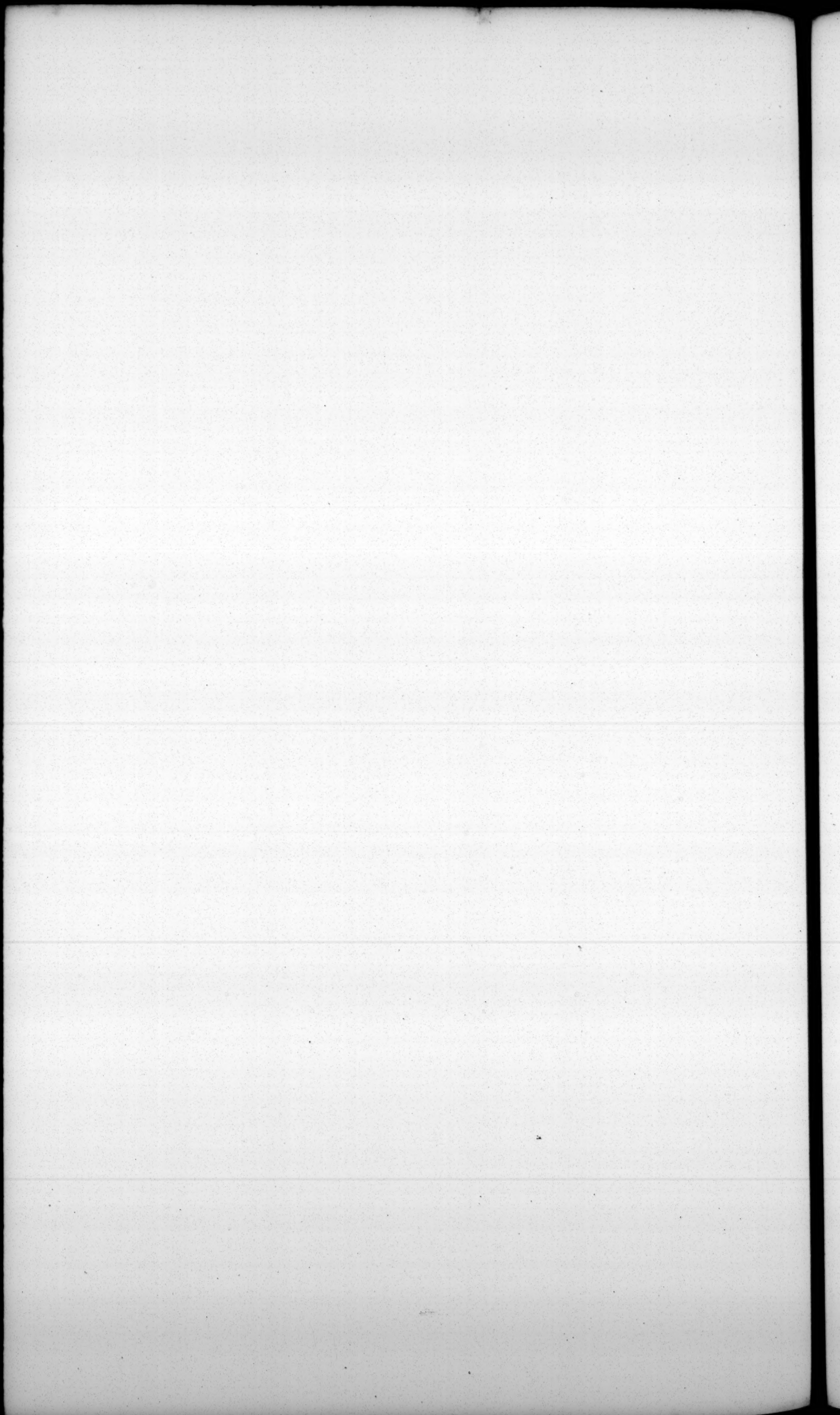
And so much I have said of the *Gallon*, not only for the sake of the Etymology of that Word, but as what may be applied to other Vessels: as, for example, to the *Tun*; when the *Latin Tina*, or *Greek* Δεινός, is mentioned for its Original. For as to the Names of Vessels, which are known in *Spain* and *Italy*; such as *Pipe*, *Butt*, *Paril*, &c. I should chiefly look for them in the *Mediterranean*; and there, among those Eastern People, from whence the Goods, contained in them, came. For, considering that all Mensuration of Weight appears plainly to be *Phœnician*; and that Measures of *Content*, even of *Water*, were highly necessary to them for their Provision, in their Voyages, by Land as well as Sea; and, that of Liquids, Wine and Oil were the original Products of that Coast; (not only the Word *Wine*, but the fabulous Names of *Bacchus*, *Semele*, and *Silenus* with his *Ass*, attesting to such an Original;) one may be thence inclined to think, that the *Phœnician* Names of Vessels were carried to the *Greek* Islands along with their *Contents*; and that the *Saracens* afterwards, when they were Masters of that Sea, readily took up the Words they found of the Oriental Language, as well as imposed new from the same. This is what may be conjectured from many of the *Levant* Vessels; not only those that hold Water, but those that swim in it: for they sometimes borrow Names one from the other. And it may not therefore be improper to enquire after them in the South-East: notwithstanding the *Saxons*, *Danes*, and *Normans* have been potent Navigators in their Time; and may be presumed to have brought in, upon our Island, their *Germanick* Appellations.

F I N I S.



IN
BENEDICTIONEM
PATRIARCHÆ
J A C O B I,
GENES. XLIX.
CONJECTURÆ.





L E C T O R I S.

CUM Reverendus admodum harum Conjecturarum Auctor, GEORGIUS HOOPERUS, Ecclesiae Bathono-Wellensis Episcopus, Universae Decus, paucis abhinc mensibus, non sine summo bonorum omnium dolore, ex vitâ decesserit; cumque de procurandâ earum Editione sæpius ante obitum ad me scribere dignatus fuerit: visum est, AMICE LECTOR, unam vel alteram ejus de hac re Epistolam huic Libello præmittere; ut certior exinde fieres, & Beatissimum Patrem ultimam ei manum imposuisse, eumque prælo destinasse; & me, non sine ejus jussu, Testimonia, ex Arabicis monumentis desumpta, ad paginarum calcem adjecisse. Namque (ut liberè tibi dicam quod sentio) ea plerumque solet esse conditio scriptorum, quæ post mortem, & citra veniam suorum auctorum in publicum emittuntur, quæque sub Posthumorum nomine, tanquam fœtus quidam abortivi, cæca & informata è latebris suis in lucem prorepunt; ut non faciliè quidem permittere velim vel Opus ipsum pro Posthumo haberi, vel me, pro Posthumi Editore.

Priusquam verò Literas tibi proferam, hoc unicum te rogare liceat, ut siquid tibi fortè eas legenti occurrerit, quod à Præsule Urbanissimo benigniùs de me dictum videatur, id totum singulari ejus bonitati, & propensissimæ in me benevolentiae referendum putes. Nam cum Antistes Humanissimus eo me honore dignatus fuerit, ut non tantum diceret, se meâ, quantulacunque sit, auctoritate inductum, de Conjecturis hisce suis imprimendis cogitasse; verum etiam innueret, sese eas [ut ejus verbis utar] mihi Inscripturum: arrogantem me planè, & omni pudore destitutum, meritò putares, si quod indulgentissimæ præ se ferant Epistolæ, mihi continuò assumerem, nec sermonem, plus æquo mihi tribuentem, paucis tibi explicarem. Ut igitur omnem à dictis invidiam quàm longissimè amoveam, scire te velim, nihil amplius Virum Benevolentissimum hîc in animo habuisse, quàm, cum auctoritatem aliquam suis Observationibus ex MSS. Arabicis accessuram esse crederet, testatum facere lectori, se meâ qualicunque operâ in iis consulendis usum fuisse. Cujus quidem rei commemoratio, laudi utcunque mihi futura, utpote à Viro tam laudato profecta, jure tamen optimo ab eo præteriri potuit, quippe qui & hoc, & quidquid aliud officii, tenues meæ vires ei præstare possent, suis jampridem beneficiis, in me à pueritiâ usque collatis, gratissimoque semper à me animo recolendis, amplissimè remuneraverit. Verum ecce ipsas Literas!

Sir,

Upon your Authority I think to Print the Conjectures on the XLIX. Chap. of *Genesis*, in a few Copies, and only for Presents, as those of the *Valentinian* Heresy were; and Inscribed to You, as they were to Dr. *Grabe*. If it be in Quarto, we may leave half a Sheet for the Title and Inscription; and proceed to the Work as soon as we will. But I think it may do well to add at the bottom of the Page Your Confirmation of the Signification of the Words given by me out of *Goliath*, if there be any doubt, from the other Authorities You speak of. —

Instead of the Sculpture in the Title-Page of the other Pamphlet, which was put at the fancy of the Printer, I intend one to be designed on purpose, like that of *Robert Stephens*, representing an Olive-Tree, and one digging about the Roots to make it fructify, with the Word ABLAQUEATOR at the top of the Round enclosing it, and some below like these, HUMILIS OPERA, NEC INFRUCTUOSA. — &c. I am

Wells,
25 March, 1727.

Your very Affectionate Servant

GEO. Bath and Wells.

Has brevi exceperunt, quæ sequuntur,

Sir,

I have been often thinking to pray You to set the Press at work on the XLIXth of *Genesis*, and to confirm the explication of the Words there given, by Your Authorities given at the bottom of the Page; according to what was spoke of when You were here. I am now come to a resolution of having it done, if You continue of the same Opinion: but would have no more Copies, than such as may be fit to make Presents of to our Friends; and under an Hundred may, I believe, well serve to that purpose: and I am willing to be at that Charge, as I was in the Case of the *Valentinians*. — &c. I am

Wells,
June 20th. 1727.

Your very Affectionate Friend and Servant

GEO. Bath and Wells.

Eandem etiam sui Commentarii curam, iisdem ferè verbis, proximo ante obitum mense, Pater Venerandus mihi iterum delegavit. Sed ab Epistolis citandis me abstineo.

Mortuo Præsule, ad Ornatissimam Fœminam Dm. PROUSE, Filiam ejus unicam superstitem, Paternæ & Rei & Virtutis hæredem, scripsi: Quæ de Benedictione JACOBI Publicandâ mandaverat Pater, eam edocui: Literarum, quas suprà exhibui, apographa ei transmittenda curavi: Quæ sit ejus hæc de re voluntas, quæsvi. Rescripsit Illa, Se omnia

omnia charissimi Parentis mandata quàm sanctissima habere, quàm diligentissimè exequi decrevisse: Quod ad Conjecturas attinebat, sese eadem omnia, quæ jubebant Literæ, de iis statuere: Centum Exemplaria, in gratiam Amicorum, eodem prorsus, quo Pater voluit, modo, suis sumptibus, meâ etiam curâ, excudi velle. Quin & per easdem Literas nonnulla, quæ de parvulâ Tabellâ Operi præfigendâ, in sparsis quibusdam chartis annotaverat Præsul, mecum benignissimè communicavit.

Harum Literarum auctoritate munitus, operam dedi, BENEVOLE LECTOR, ut tales, quantum fieri potuit, has haberes Conjecturas, quales ab ipso Auctore, si in vitâ mansisset, esses habiturus. Quem in finem, exemplaris, quod præ manibus erat, vestigiis tam pressè ubique institi, ut ab eo, nisi fortasse in uno vel altero loco, ubi à Scriba erratum est, (quod in tantâ linguarum varietate difficillimum erat vitatu,) ne latum, ut aiunt, unguem discefferim. Et quoniam suæ purpuræ pannum aliquem meum assui voluerat Præsul Amicissimus; præceperatque ut siqua fortè in MSS. Arabicis invenire mihi contigerat, quæ vocum significata, à Giggeio Golioque tradita, aliquo modo illustrarent confirmarentve, depromerem, & calci paginæ subjicerem; nefas duxi ejus de hac re voluntati atque consilio non obtemperare. Haud contentus igitur Asiaticis iis fandi magistris, qui Europæo induti habitu, in notitiam familiaritatemque nostram, interpretum operâ, pervenerant; ad Bodleianos Orientalium Manuscriptorum Thesauros, quasi in medias ipsius Arabiæ Felicis regiones, me recepi: Arabicos Auctores suâ Linguâ loquentes consului: Immensum præcipuè ¹ Phirouzabadii OCEANUM adii: Quæ inde à Giggeio in Latinum sermonem transfusa sunt, & à Præsule in hisce suis Conjecturis è Giggeio desumpta, ad examen revocavi, Arabicisque testimoniis, nunc ab ipso vicissim Kamûso, nunc aliunde etiam petitis, confirmavi, pauloque fortasse auctiora nonnunquam reddidi. Noluit enim Sapientissimus Præsul Giggeii auctoritati nimium tribui, utpote quem & ex Cl. Pocockii ore audiverat, & suâ etiam compererat experientiâ, interpretem fuisse minùs fidum: Quod & mihi, cum Phirouzabadio suo eum comparanti, abunde constitit. Quanquam non tam culpandus fortè Giggeius ob ea, quæ malè ipse interpretatus est, quàm vehementer laudandus ob egregium illum, quem futuris reliquit interpretibus, apparatus atque suppellectilem. Golii judicio magis confidendum esse censuit Vir Scientissimus; utpote qui Gieuharium suum & meliùs intellexit, & fdeliùs expressit. Quanquam, si vera fateri licet, non ita integrum suum nobis auctorem tradidit vel ipse Golius, quin multa sæpe prætermiserit, in Poëtici præsertim, quæ Philologiæ Sacræ studiosis magno potuerant esse usui & adjumento. Quapropter & Ipse cum è suo Gieuhario, tum etiam aliunde, non rarò mihi erat supplendus. Cum verò nec Phirouzabadius, OCEANI quamvis Auctor, nec ipse Gieuharius, quamvis اصحاح, Assahâh (i. e. Opus Perfectissimum)

¹ Ut Lector, in hisce studiis minùs versatus, hac & sequentia meliùs intelligat, scire eum oportet, Dno extare apud Arabes præcipua nota Lexica; quorum unum Phirouzabadii est, quod vocatur القاموس, Al-Kamûs, seu Oceanus; alterum Gieuharii, cui titulus, اصحاح, Assahâh, i. e. Integrum, seu Perfectum: Illud à Giggeio, hoc à Golio, Latine versum est.

composuerit, totum Arabicarum vocum ambitum, nedum totam earundem significationum vim varietatemque, suis libris complexi fuerint; operæ pretium duxi & alia minoris molis Lexica, in iis saltem, quibus majora carebant, in subsidium vocare. Horum verò illud, quod Zamachsharium habet auctorem, quodque اساس, Afās (i. e. Fundamentum) inscribitur, primas facile tenet: Opus, tot Metaphoris cæterisque Orientalium Poëtarum elegantiss, tot scitis Philosophorum dictis refer-tum, ut haud sciam an plura in ullo uspiam libro invenire possis, quæ vel ad Sacrum Prophetarum Stylum propius accedant, vel ad eum illus-trandum magis conducant.

Porro, cum Clarissimus Auctor duo mihi, inter cætera, dederit man-data; Unum, ut Arabica verba, ad S. Textum explicandum hinc inde à se adhibita, Hebraïcis literis excudi, stellulisque notari curarem, ut qui Hebraïcè tantum scirent, ea legere ac distinguere possent: Alterum, ut Characteres Arabicos & Hebraïcos, inter se collatos, tuis alicubi o-culis, priusquam ad libri lectionem accederes, subjicerem, ut facilius in-de perciperes quomodo sibi invicem respondeant: his utrisque ejus moni-tis libenter parui: & ut in ipso Opere Arabica ubique Asteriscis insig-nita sunt; ita hic satis idoneus Alphabetis exprimendis locus esse vide-batur. Ea igitur, prout à Cl. Pocockio, ad finem doctissimæ suæ in Portam Mosis Præfationis, inter se comparantur, proutque in Typogra-phiâ Academicâ sibi invicem etiam hodiè congruunt, sic habeto,

ا ب ت ث ج ح خ د ذ ر ز س ش ص ض ط ظ ع ف ق ك ل م ن و ي
א ב ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י כ ל מ נ ס ע פ ק ר ש ת

Atque hæc sunt, AMICE LECTOR, quæ Pater Beatissimus, in suâ hac Patriarchæ JACOBI Benedictione publici juris faciendâ, à me præ-stari voluit; quæque ego, si minus pro ejus expectatione, at maximâ saltem, quâ potui, curâ & fide præstiti. Qui melius effecisse noverint, pluribus fortasse hoc negotium commendari potuit; qui melius voluerit, certè nemini. Tuæ erit bonitatis, ubi non adsit facultas, animum re-spicere.

Restat, ut de ipsarum Conjecturarum ratione pauca te præmoneam. Scias igitur, non earum esse institutum, plenam tibi perfectamque XII. Patriarcharum Historiam exhibere; nec Benedictiones, à Patre hic pro-latas, cum futuris Israëlitarum, Promissam Terram vel petentium, vel occupantium, sortibus ac fortunis comparare. Aliorum ingenia labor iste satis feliciter exercuit. Philologi potius, & Critici res hic agitur, quàm Historici, aut Geographi: nec tam in expendendis rerum even-tis, quàm in præsagiis ex vocum significationibus capiendis, versatur sermo. Incesserat enim Sagacissimi Præsulis mentem suspicio, JACO-BUM in singulis suis Filiis Benedicendis ad singulorum Nomina respexis-se; & diversas eorum Sortes ad diversas Appellationes accommodasse; perpetuamque adeò quandam Paronomasiam per totam hanc Prophe-tiam secutum fuisse. Id quod primum sibi in animum venisse dicit, cum ea, quæ de Jehuda & Dane prædicta sunt, legerat: in quibus voces hinc ירדן, ירדן, &c. illinc ירדן, ירדן, &c. tam manifestè ad se invicem alludere

alludere videbantur, ut nihil ei dubii restaret, quin eundem etiam in reliquis morem Patriarcha tenuisset. Quam igitur in Oraculis suis edendis viam insliterat Præfagus Senex, eandem sibi in exponendis insistendam putavit Perspicax Interpres: Quasque Ille Nominum etymologias ob oculos habuerat inter Vaticinandum, easdem Hic te habere voluit inter Legendum. Et quoniam ea fuit Linguae Primævæ sors, ut non paucae ejus voces varia Patriarchæ temporibus agnoverint significata, quæ jampridem oblivioni tradita sunt; plurimique adeò JACOBO, Filiis suis Benedicturo, occurrere potuerint nominum intellectus, quorum vel omninò nulla, vel obscura admodum in bodiernis vel Christianorum, vel Judæorum Lexicis reliqua sunt vestigia: idcirco inquirendum sibi censuit Antistes Eruditissimus, quem usum, quosve sensus eadem voces in Vicinis etiamnum Dialectis haberent, ut inde sibi & de pristinis illis, quibus JACOBI ætate gavisæ sunt, notionibus conjecturam facere liceret. Harum Dialectorum præcipua ei visa est Arabica; utpote quæ amplissimo, per maximos orbis terrarum tractus, viguit usu, plurimæque præ cæteris arte & labore exculta fuit. Hæc Lingua, tanquam pia & officiosa Filia, Hebrææ Matri, senescenti jam, inopique futuræ, tam feliciter succurrit, totque ejus non tantum voces, sed & vocum significationes, per immensum ferè seculorum decursum, puras atque integras conservavit, ut qui vel mediocre ejus cognitionem cum Hebræicis studiis junxerit, næ ille cum ipso Patriarcha, si in vitam rediret, etiam sine interprete, versari posset. Quantam verò præstantissimi hujusce Idiomatis scientiam sibi comparaverit acerrimæ industriæ Præsul, quantamque inde ceperit utilitatem, abunde testantur immortalia eà, quæ in Ecclesiæ, quæ in universi orbis literati emolumentum, conscripsit Opera. Sive enim in Jejunii Quadragesimalis Historiâ condendâ, ejusque Origine ex Ritibus Judaïcis repetendâ; sive in vesanis Valentinianæ Hereseos Erroribus ex Theologiâ Ægyptiacâ deducendis, obscurioribusque adeò quibusdam Irenæi Tertullianique scriptis illustrandis; sive in variis Hebræorum, aliarumque gentium Mensuris examinandis, interque se comparandis, operam ponere voluerit: nihil profectò extitit vel in Kabbalisticis Rabbinorum libris tam altum & reconditum, vel in Hieroglyphicis Coptorum literis tam mysticum & involutum, vel in longinquis Phœnicum Saracenorumque commerciis negotiationibusque tam peregrinum & perplexum; ad cujus cognitionem acutissimum ejus ingenium, Arabicâ præsertim eruditione, tanquam clave certissimâ, fretum, facillimos sibi aditus non patefecerit. Verum, ut alios taceam Dialecti Arabicæ usus, qui per omnes humanioris literaturæ partes conspicui sunt, quique Præsuli nostro, utpote in omnibus facile principi, probè cogniti fuerunt; ad eum unice me conferam, qui hujusce Sermonis studium ei præcipue, ut ab ipso sæpius audiui, commendavit, atque ad eam, in quâ sumus, rem maximè pertinet: eum intelligo, qui à Theologis in vero Textûs Hebræici sensu eruendo percipitur, quique tanti iis ad rectam V. T. intelligentiam semper visus est momenti, ut aliis omnibus interpretandi modis atque instrumentis longè anteponi mereretur. Cujus quidem præclarissimi Linguae Arabicæ in Sacro Codice exponendo

beneficii uberius tibi specimen dari non potest, quàm quod in doctissimis, quæ tibi hic in manus traduntur, Conjecturis exhibetur. In quibus habes illustrissimum gentis Israëlitiæ auctorem, non talem quidem, qualem eum ex nugatoriis Rabbiorum, suæ Linguae planè rudium, commentis accipere soles, temerè nimirum multa, & sine omni consilio, de Filiorum suorum Sortibus effutientem, nec ad verborum suorum vim mentemque satis attendentem; sed qualem eum tibi quasi de integro restituunt Arabes, fidelissimi veteris Hebraismi custodes, Puerorum suorum Appellationes ad sensus suos aptissimè deflectentem, & per totum carmen suavissimè παρνομαζοντα. Cum enim Patriarcharum Nomina, (ut prius innui,) propter angustos, ad quos Lingua Hebræa redacta est, limites, tam parum intellecta fuerint, ut nihil amplius præ se ferre viderentur, quàm quod Lea cæteræque Matres, quæ ea primum imposuerant, ob oculos haberent; nec digna proinde putarentur, in quorum etyma sensusque altiùs denuò ab hujusce Vaticanii interpretibus inquireretur; minuendam sibi hanc opinionem, veritati tam inimicam, censuit Sapientissimus Antistes; Arabicamque sibi Dialectum in partes vocandam, ex cujus usu constaret, has Filiorum Denominationes animo tam Patris jam Benedicentis, quàm Matrum olim Nuncupantium, obversatas esse, nec tantum ad præteritos eorum ortus pertinere, sed ad futuras etiam eorum conditiones spectare, & quasi summa fatorum capita ambitu suo comprehendere. Quod quidem tam solidè, tam copiosè, tam eleganter etiam ab eo demonstratum video, ut nesciam planè, utrùm solertissimum ejus in pulcherrimâ hâc Paronomasiâ primum percipiendâ ingenium, an limatissimum in explicandâ judicium, magis admirer. Quanquam enim doctissimas hasce suas Observationes sub Conjecturarum titulo, pro more, quem & in plerisque aliis suis Scriptis observavit, tibi offerri voluerit summâ non minùs modestiâ & verecundiâ, quàm eruditione & virtute conspicuus Antistes; tamen, cum ad cujusque Benedictionis clausulam oculos conjicio, & singulas cujusque Filii Sortes, tanquam totidem membra, in unum veluti corpus collectas, Nominique, sub quo continentur, pulcherrimè respondentes conspicio; tanto profectò omnia acumine excogitata, tantâ probabilitate tradita, tantâ denique auctoritate ac gravitate prolata comperio; ut parum absit, quin ipsi moribundi Patriarchæ lectulo astitisse videar, & supremo huic ejus Testamento condendo interfuisse. Vale.

Scribebam OXONII, in AULA CERVINA,
III Kal. Sept. 1728.

THO. HUNT.

I N
B E N E D I C T I O N E M
P A T R I A R C H Æ
J A C O B I,
G E N. XLIX.
C O N J E C T U R Æ.

ראובן בכרי אתה

&c.

E NIXA Primogenitum *Lea*, ejus nomen à ראה desumpserat; quòd ipsam utique Deus respexisset [Gen. XXIX. 32.] At *Jacobus*, qui toto hoc carmine Filiorum Nomina ad sensus suos deflectit, & hìc fortè ad aliam *Reuben* notationem respexit. Est enim ראעיה * *Primordium, Principium*: & ראעי * *Primordia*. Hæc autem cùm monuerit celeberrimus *Pocockius* de Primordiis *Canitiei* solius fortè dici; de *Canis* scilicet, tanquam ovibus, in *Pascuum* agrum primò missis: ulteriùs observo, reperiri inter vocabula ipsis affinia ריעאן *, quod est Prima ac Melior pars [rei], *Flos Juventutis*: similiter & ריאן *, quod *Principium* [Juventutis]. Affinia autem reputo, quæ solis literis propinquis, ע & א, inter se discrepantia, significationem habent communem. Hujus nempe Συμφορίας exempla frequentissimè occurrunt. Eam vidimus modò in vocibus ריעאן * & ריאן. Et illas רעה, & ראה, significationes suas sæpiùs permutare deprehendemus apud *Sept. Interpretes*. His enim רעה est Φερεν [Isai. XLIV. 28.], & Επισταδαι [Prov. X. 21.]; & vicissim ראה Βόσκαι [3 Reg. XII. 16.]. Sic & Arabicè ראי * *Vidit, novit*; רוי * *Ani-*

1 Et rectè quidem monuit *Pocockius*. Observo enim ראעיה *, quoties *Principium* vel *Primordium* in Lexicis designat, cum شيب *Canitie* semper esse conjunctum. Sic *Phirouzabadius* in suo *Kamûso*, راعية الشيب ورواعية اويلة: i. e. ראעיה * est *Principium Canitiei*, cujus Pl. est ראעי.

2 Ita enim *Gienharius*, ريعان كل شي اوله ومنه ريعان الشباب: i. e. رיעאן * est *Prima cujusque rei pars, ac praesertim Juventutis*. Nec alitèr *Zamachsharius*, ريعان الشباب وهم: i. e. رיעאן *, de *Juventute* dictum, *Priorem & Excellentior* ejus partem innuit.

3 De quo ita *Ibn-Maruph*, *Persicè*, ريدان وريهان هردو بمعنى اول جواني: i. e. رיאן *. *convenit significatu cum* رיעאן *, *connotatque Principium Juventutis*.

num advertit; & רעי * *Respexit, accuratius spectavit*: ut divinus Senex, pro ראובן usurpans, vim vocis per sequens בכרי extulerit.

ראשית אוני. Αρχὴ τέκνων μου, Sept. Capitulum in liberis meis, Hieronym. Initium Virilitatis meæ, Castalio. * עאון * *autem est Pubes*; & * *Vir aut mulier mediocris ætatis, post plenam utique Pubertatem*. Principium Doloris mei, habet Vulgat. ab * אן * *Gemuit*.

יתר שאת יתר עו. Σκληρὸς φέρωνται, σκληρὸς ἀνδρὸς, Sept. Prior in Donis, major in Imperio, Vulgat. Major ad portandum, major Robore, Hieronym. Excellentia Dignitatis, &c. Anglican. Quæ variæ interpretationes vocum duarum שאת & עו ex Hebræo patent: at יתר significata diversa nonnisi ab Arabismo petenda. Arabibus autem * *והר*, nomen, est Malevolentia, Vindictæ cupido. Et est verbum, *Iniquè, injuriosè agere; vexare, abominandâ re aliquem excipere*; (uti hic Reuben, Patrem;) quod Οἱ οἱ. per Σκληρὸς extulerunt: * *אחר* verò, *Præstare, superior esse*; & * *אחיר*, & * *אחרא*, *Primum, primò*.

פחו כמים. Ἐξέχευται ὡς ὕδωρ, Sept. Effusus est, Vulgat. ^a Alii, Rapidus, &c. Est autem פאחש * *Quod terminum excedit, Enorme, Obscænum*. פנו * *verò*, & פנס * *fastum*, & פנו * *cognata vocabula, Fastum, & superbiam se effluentem, communiter significant: postremum etiam & Vim malitiamque*; quod fortè significatum & cæteris aliquando competeat. Denique פחז * *de Pluvîâ dicitur, cum terram susque deque convertit*. Verum uti procax improbumque Reubenis facinus, turbidumque ingenium, aquarum torrentium injuriæ, ripas limitesque omnes supergredientium, ritè comparantur: ita videri potest, metaphoram istam etiam ex Ipsius nomine enatam fuisse. * *רוי* enim, præter illud Considerandi significatum, etiam Aquam connotat. Quin * *רואה* est (Giggeio) *Conturbatio Aquæ super terræ superficiem*. Et * *ראע* (quò nos inde refert Golius) *Ultrò citròque commota est apparens in campis Aquæ species*. Et * *רוא*, quod est *Attentè considerare*, format

¹ Gieuhario idem est cum لاحظ *vidit*, لاحظ *observavit*. Et * *ראעי* *פלמנה* Zamach-shario est, انظر ماذا يفعل *Videbo quid sit facturus*. Quin * *ראעי* cum النجوم *stellis*, positum, idem est quod رقبها *Contemplatus fuit eas*, teste itidem Gieuhario.

² Phirouzabadio est, متكبر *Superbire*: Auctori Lexici Jamio'l-Logat, متعظم *Se magnificare*: Gieuhario, متفجس *Se efferre, Altiùs jactantiùsque incedere, Fastu intumescere*. Et sic ferè Arabibus. At Syri plura ejus significata in suo فسر conservârunt; quæ à Bar-Bahlul in Lexico suo Syro-Arabico ita recensentur: النطف *Corruptus*: الطفس *Spurcus*: السفاح *In libidinem effusus*: الغاوى *Errabundus*: القدر *Prapotens*: الزنا *Stupro addictus*: الذي لا يزع عن الحرام ويأني كل ما وجد *Nequitia omni intentus*: Denique, ملعن به *i. e. Qui à re vetitâ ita non abstinet, ut quicquid in eâ sit execrabile præ se ferat*. Nec aliter Bar-Ali. Quæ omnia, utcumque recentioribus Judæis ignota, ad familiam Hebraicam olim, sine dubio, pertinuerunt; turpissimamque Reubenis improbitatem, à Patre hîc memoratam, aptè repræsentant.

³ Immo & Phirouzabadio, in cujus Oceano ita legitur, الرواء اضطراب الماء على وجه الأرض *i. e. * *رואه* est Agitatio aquæ in superficiei terræ*. Et sic etiam Auctori Lexici Mojmel-Allogat.

^a Video placere eruditissimo & in philologiâ hâc eximio, Schultensio, ut פחו de Reubene, tanquam de fluvio erumpente extra alveum & evagante, intelligatur. Animadv. Philolog. in Jobum, pag. 145.

ex se * ארוא, quod de *Mari* dicitur multum *spumante*. Immò à * רוב, *Crassa evasit* (Aqua), habetur ipse * רובאן, *Turbatus mente*.

אל חור. מ. א. א. LXX. qui hoc cum præcedenti conjungunt, & de *Aquâ* intelligunt. Ne crescas, *Vulgat.* Ne adjicias, *Hieron.* Ne excellas, ne primas teneas, *Nostri.* Hæc ultima *Hebraicæ* acceptioni congruunt, & à significato vocis principali facile deducuntur. At *Sept.* significationem suam à * חר, aut * חור derivârunt; quorum illud dicitur, cum *Fons Aquâ* scatet; hoc, cum quid *Commovetur*, *effervesceat*, & *ebullit*.

אז חלל. Τότι ἐμίαναι, *Sept.* *Lectum meum conscendendo violasti*, seu *polluisti*. Habet & חלל hanc significationem חלל. Certè *Arab.* * חלל sonat, ² *Rem à statu locoque suo decessisse*: unde clarè apparet ἡ Βεγγαλ, seu Κοινῶ, notio. Malim verò, si liceret, vocem חלל intransitivè tum accipere, ut de *Reubene* dicatur; qui utique de *Primogeniturâ*, statu suo, excidere deberet: præsertim cum in activo sensu cum יצו con-juncta nihil novum enuntiet; quod non utique proximè dictum. Nec huic acceptioni obstabit, quòd eadem verba de eadem re facta 1 *Chron.* V. 1. prout junctim construuntur, eodem planè modo intelligi debere videantur, quo hìc communiter redduntur. Fieri enim facile poterat, ut *Chronicorum* Scriptor verba ista duo, brevitatis causâ, conjungeret; licèt à *Jacobo* separatim posita. Tum verò nec iidem *Græci* ea, ab illo posita, eodem modo interpretantur. Etenim illic non reddunt pariter Εν τῷ μῦθῳ τῷ καί τῳ: sed Εν τῷ Αγαθῳ. Et verò ne cui-piam videatur, aut LXX. nullam hìc secutos fuisse vocis חלל signifi-cationem, aut nos aliunde ex illis proposito nostro καταγγεῖλαι, scilicet, contrariam attulisse; observare liceat Αγαθῳ illud utrinque congruere. * חלל enim, quod diximus τῷ Βεγγαλ notionem derivâsse à * חול *Recede-re, deficere de more suo statuque*; *Descendere* quidem significat; sed non semper strictè sumendum; ³ aliquando, *In locum aliquem Divertere*, ὅ ἢ *ibi Diversari*, uti & חול *Hebr.* nonnunquam est *Resedit, re-mansit*. Quin etiam Αγαθῳ non necessariò ab ἀνδρ, tanquam ἀνδρ, in-telligi debet: sed aliquando ab ἀνδρ, pro *per*: aliquando etiam simpli-citer; uti apud eosdem Interpretes, quum pro בוא & הלך ponitur. Habet חל aliam significationem, quæ עלה respondeat, *Debilitatem* nempe *suffraginis*, quasi à *scansione* istâ ortam.

Hic de *Reubene* Sermo duobus membris constat. Priore describitur natalium ejus prærogativa: altero facti turpissimi improbitas, & pœ-na.

1 De voce * רוב eleganter, ut solet, *Zamachsharius*, راب اللبن طرح فيه الروب ليروب, i. e. * رוב primario & proprie de lacte dicitur, cui coagulando inditur fermentum. Metaphoricè verò de homine usurpatur, qui intel-lectu & mente turbatus est, vel confusus.

2 Hinc illud *Abi-Dhowaibi* apud *Gieubarium*, حالت كحول القوس طلتي وعطلت, i. e. *Deflexit [Mulier] instar archs pluviam situque distorti*. Quod quomodò cum נהפכו בקשת רמיה [Ps. LXXVIII. 57.] consentiat, Lector judicet. Certè nomen حال Pollutionis notionem, quam exhibent LXX. haud parum confirmat: idem enim valet quod الطين الاسود, i. e. *Lutum nigrum*; exponente eodem *Gieubario*.

3 Sic *Gieubario* ذل est, *Diversari* apud aliquem: *Phirouzabadio*, سكن *Habitare*. Unde *Affiothius*, لا يحل الممرض علي المصح, i. e. *Ne habiset morbosus juxta sanum*.

Primum illud longiùs extendit Hieronymus, cum Judæorum Magistris; Commatio שאת יתר עז יתר in bonam partem accepto: & dictum à Jacobo de filio suo Reubene sic reddit, *Tu es Primogenitus meus, Major in Liberis: & debebas, juxta ordinem nativitatis tuæ, hæreditatem, quæ primogenitis jure debebatur, Sacerdotium scilicet & Regnum, accipere. (Hoc quippe in portando Onere & prævalido Robore demonstratur.) Verum quia peccasti; & quasi Aqua, quæ est in vasculo, & non tenetur, Voluptatis effusus es impetu: idcirco præcipio tibi, ut ultra ne pecces; sisque in fratrum numero; pœnam ex peccato luens, quod Primogeniti ordinem perdidisti.*

Posterior Benedictionis membrum וי. altiùs ordiuntur: à Commatio scilicet isto in vituperium verso incipientes; in quo audiat Reuben geminatè Σαλμός. Castalio autem Comma hoc ambiguum partitur, sic reddendo, *Quanto dignior, tanto impotentior.*

Sententiola autem illa quomodocunque accipiat; habemus, uti conjector, Jacobum de Reubene suo, per totum hoc Effatum, παρῶν-μὲντα. Et, si Septuag. Interpretes sequamur, verborum istorum mens hujusmodi fortè fuerat.

Reuben, Tu [quod Nomen tuum sonat] *Primogenitus* meus es, Viris meæ, & Virilitatis meæ *initium*: *Primus* etiam, quem ferre debebam; *primus* procacitate. *Aquæ instar* [turbidæ spumantisque, quod respicit Nomen tuum, in libidinem supra fas omne] *effusus*, etiam *mente Turbatus*. Tu ne excellere pergas, *prima*ve teneas: ascendisti enim in Patris tui Cubile. Tum de gradu cecidisti, Stratum meum cum conscenderes.

שמעון ולוי אחים

&c.

שמעון à שמע dictus est *Leæ*; quia eam Deus *exaudiverat*: & לוי, à לוי; eâ spe, ipsi deinceps se *adjuncturam* Virum suum. At fecit eorum facinus, ut aliam Appellationum rationem sequeretur Pater. Cognatum enim * שמע significat *Verberare*; 5^a Conj. *Sanguine infici*; 8^a, *Acrem esse*, & *irâ effervesce*. Et inter ejus verbalia est * אצמץ *Gladus acutus*, seu *bene cædens*: atque ista omnia, è filii ingenio. Est etiam idem * שמע ² *Errare, abire facere (Giggeio)*: quæ in Tribus istius sortem cadunt. Similiter & * לוי, non solum *Qui aggregat*, sed *naturâ tortus & incurvus, perversus*: & * אלה ³ *Validè dimicans*, nec

1 Arabicè, السيف القاطع والمترقى, Kamûs. In quo etiam invenitur * מתצמצם, *Sanguine infectus*: quod, cum سقم constructum, denotat *Sagittam*, ابتلى قذوة من الدم, *cujus ala cruore inquinata est.*

2 Arabicè, امر, & اخطا, Kamûs.

3 الشديدي الخصومة للكثرة والمبالغة: i. e. *Frequens admodum, Vehemensque in litigando*; Gieubar. Item, الذي لوي اعناق في الجدل: i. e. *Qui obtorta (opponentium) colla in jurgio reprimat.* Zamachshar.

non 'Solut, à cæteris disgregatus: quæ pariter significata in filii alterius & Indolem & Fatum quadrant.

כָּלִי חָכִים. Συμπετέλησαν ἀδικίας, Sept. Qui, ut quibusdam placet, כלִי legerant. Sed fieri potest, ut sumpserint Participialiter, & per Verbum fuerint interpretati. Nec multum refert, utro se modo res habeat: lectio enim hodierna, quæ eadem erat Hieronymi ætate, haud dubiè melior.

חָכִים, cui apud Arab. ² ἰσοδύναμον non reperio, οἱ ο'. per ἀδικίας hìc vertunt; vocem generis, five per Vim, five per Dolum fiat: aliquando specialiter per ψεύδης, & per Ἀγρία, quæ Prævaricatio esse intelligitur.

בְּכִרְתֵּיהֶם. Εξαρέσεως αὐτῶν, Sept. Adinventionis eorum, Hieron. (cui congruit * מכר Machinatus fuit, Dolum struxit; ut difertè significetur τῆς ἀδικίας τὸ ψεύδος): five Electionis ipsorum, in quâ significatione * מכר reperitur. In Habitationibus suis, Nostri, alique: (³ cui consonat * קרר Manere, consistere:) Alii, Arma Iniquitatis, Gladii eorum. Est autem * מכר Percutere, ⁴ contundere; & * מכר Findere: unde Gladius facilè formatur. Nec aliud significationi * צַמַּע magis conveniat.

בְּסוֹדִם אֵל תְּבֵא נַפְשִׁי. Εἰς βυλὼν αὐτῶν μὴ ἔλθῃ ἡ ψυχὴ μου. סוד, quod per βυλὼ & Συμύριον LXX. vertunt, & Aquila Ομιλίας, Judæi Arcanum primò interpretantur, deinde, Concilium, atque inde Cætum. Et est * סוד, In ⁵ Aurem loqui, & Corpus suum alterius corpori propè admove-re: Veniaque ergò detur Comma hoc, Simeonis in causâ, sic exponenti, In Clandestina illorum Colloquia ne veniat auscultatura Anima mea.

וּבִקְהָלָם אֵל תָּחֹד כְּבָרִי. Καὶ ὅτι τῇ συστάσει αὐτῶν μὴ ἐλθῇ τὸ ἥπατά μου, Non æmuletur Jecur meum, interprete Hieron. * חָד quidem significat, In aliquem irâ æstare; & Conj. ³, Obsistere, adversari. Ipse etiam Hieronymus vertit, Ne dissolvatur, quasi è LXX. quam tamen vocem pro Ελίσσει legerit, non video. Quod autem vult, congruit cum * נָד, Defecit, extenuatus est. Nostri, juxta Judæos, Ne uniaris, &c. ab * אחד; quod cum * ב construitur, sensu eodem. כְּבָרִי ἥπατα, Sept. Alii, Gloria, seu Honos. Hæc autem Hebræi facilè conciliant. Monendum tantum, Arab. * כְּבָר, cui respondet Hebræum כְּבָר, non fo-

¹ Arabicè, المعتزل, المنعزل, Kamûs.

² Nisi fortè حمس, quod iidem constat literis, sit ejusdem etiam significatûs. Gieuhario enim est, الشدين, Gravis, vehemens: الصلب, Durus, difficilis: تعاصي, Contumax, obstinatus, rebellis. Hinc Koraisbita à Mohammedanis per contemptum vocantur الحمس, i. e. Contumaces, seu Rebelles: Quoniam, ut dicit Auctor Lexici Mojmet-Allogat, كانوا يتشددون, Dure, obstinatèque in religione suâ persisterunt; nec doctrinæ Mohammedica sua nomina facilè dederunt.

³ Nec alienum est * מאכור (à * מכר) quod Gieuhario est, مجلس الفاسق, Confessus Improborum: Affiouthio verò, جمع الفسوق, Cætus Improborum Perditorumque.

⁴ Idque cum Offis fracturâ, inquit Phirouzabadus: حتي تكسر العظم.

⁵ Cujus significatûs rationem ita reddit Auctor Jamio'l Logat, ساوند سارر واصند, i. e. ادب السوان الى السوان * ساور denotat in aurem alicujus loqui; quoniam qui alterum sic alloquitur, solet * ساوره, i. e. corpus suum ejus corpori propiùs admove-re. Quin & سوان Zama-chshario est, جماعة, Turba, Concilium, &c.

lùm *Jecur*, sed & ' *Cor* significare; (immò *Medium rei*, *ejusque quamvis partem potiore*;) cui nempe in sacris Literis cogitata tribuuntur; quin & כֶּבֶד * *Giggeio* est, *Animo proponere aliquid, data operâ agere*. Ut qui *Hebræorum* Magistri hîc *Animam* intelligunt, non necesse habuerint illam tralatè sic dictam, & quasi *corporis gloriam*, cogitasse.

De Sententiolæ hujus mente generalius intelligendâ satis constat. Liceat autem mihi eam, ut priori de *Simeone* respondeat, ad Fratrem alterum referre: dicatque Pater, jam ad *Levi* notationem respiciens, Non se illorum cœtui femet, seu tanquam corpori *Cor* suum, adjuncturum.

כִּי בְּאֶפֶס הָרְנוּ אִישׁ וּבִרְצָנָם עָקְרוּ שׁוֹר. Οτι ἐν τῷ Συμῷ αὐτῶν ἀπέκτενας ἀνδρά-
πας, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἑβραϊσμῷ αὐτῶν ἐνεργασίαν ταῦτον. Sic LXX. *Hieronym. Suffoderunt murum*. Quam ambiguitatem agnoscunt *Hebræi*, & exhibent eorum *Vicini*. *Syris* enim est עָקַר ³ *Funditus evertere*; & *Arabibus*, * עָקַר, simul & עָכַר, est [rei] *Origo, Fundus*. Quin, quod propius ad *Hieronymum* facit, * אָכַר est ipsum *Fodere*. * עָקַר autem est planè *Vulnerare in Pedibus, Pedum Nervos incidere*. *Arabibus* item est שׁוֹר * *Urbis Murus*; & חֹר * *Taurus*, idemque *Dominus, Princeps*. E *Golio* autem observari potest, ab *Arabibus* sic maledici solere, * עָקַר לָהּ, וחלכא, *Incisis Pedibus simul & Guttur conficiat eum Deus*. Et inde suspicari liceat, *Sichemitarum* hîc excidium, ab his *Fratribus* patratum per *vim* simul *fraudemque*, non absimiliter significari; ita tamen, ut *Jugulatio Simeonis*, rectè grassantis sit; & *Pedum Incisio* sit alterius *Levi*, ex obliquo, flexuose, & dissimulanter incurrentis. Nec his de *Levi* malè conveniet illud בִּרְצָנָם, quod עָקְרוּ apponitur: siquidem רָצוֹן non per Επηρεμία, quomodo hîc reddunt Οἱ οἱ. & vulgò accipitur, sed per Εὐδομία exponamus, quo sensu frequentius ab iisdem sumitur; eam scilicet nuperrimè reconciliatam: quamque ergò vocem *Aquila* nonnullibi per Διαλλαγή expressisse dicitur.

אָרוּר אֶפֶס כִּי עָן וְעִבְרָתָם כִּי קִשְׁתָּהּ. Επιχτάρατος ὁ θυμὸς αὐτῶν, ὅτι αὐθάδης, ὡς ἡ μῆνις αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐσκληρώθη. עָן hîc satis rectè redditur *Vebemens, Sævus*: & קִשְׁתָּהּ, *Durus, Difficilis*; *Arabibus* suffragantibus. At cùm עָן interpretati hîc fuerint *Græci* per Αὐθάδης, & alibi etiam per Αναίδης, juxta *Arabic*. * עָן, quod est tum *Durum, Vebemens, & Grave esse*, tum *Certare & Contendere*: (cujusmodi est etiam *Sisyphiani* apud *Homerum* Saxi Αναίδια:) non possum non advertere Αὐθάδειαν istam esse etiam è significatis vocis superius productæ * צָמַע; quod est, * *Sui capitis nutum sequi, nihil aliud respicientem*. Tum autem קִשְׁתָּהּ non acciperem pro *Duro & Difficili*, eodem scilicet sensu, quo עָן: sed quasi ad for-

1 *Almotarezzio* aperte dicitur, نفس الحيوان, *Anima Viventium*.

2 Uti & *Phirouzabadio*, apud quem idem valet quod قصد, *Intendit, Proposuit, &c.* *Arabicè*, تَكْبِيْلُ الْأَمْرِ.

3 Immò *Syriacum* حَزَز non minùs *Græca*, quàm *Hieronymi* *Versioni* favet: teste *Bar-Ali*, cujus in *Lexico* idem valet quod tria *Arabica*, قلع, كسف, دسف: quorum دسف & قلع significant, *A fundamento diruere, Radicibus evellere*; كسف verò, *In Suffragine secare*.

4 *Arabicè*, رَكْبُ رَاسِهِ غَيْرَ مَكْتَرَتِ. *Kamûs*.

mam vocis קשח *Arcus*, qui *Arabibus* * קים; à verbo * קים *Incurvum*, *Inflexum* esse, peterem; (unde nimirum videtur מקשה, cum Τοξότης redditur, peti debere;) & *Levis* pariter Nomini accommodarem. Ita pleraque ista omnia, quæ de his Fratribus à *Jacobo* dicuntur, eorum Sortem pronunciant; ab ipsorum Nominibus, si quis conjecturæ meæ locus, non abludentem: ut Pericopes istius mens sit hujusmodi:

Simeon & *Levi*, Fratres [sunt fraterrimi: consonanti nomine, & conspirante ingenio, *Pugnaces* ambo & *Protervi*]. *Gladii* ipsorum [nec à *Gladio* vel appellatione satis abest *Simeon*] instrumenta sunt *Iniquitatis*. In *Clandestina* illorum *Colloquia auscultatum* non veniat Anima mea; nec *Cætui* eorum se *adjungat* Cor meum; quia in iracundiâ suâ Virum Jugulârunt, [quasi *Recto ictu*; ac *Inflexo*,] & per simulatam pacem Principi Suffraginem inciderunt [dolose]. Maledictus eorum furor, quia [juxta *Simeonem*] *pervicax*; & iracundia eorum, quia [juxta *Levim*] *fraudulenta*. [Nec hîc à Nominibus suis longiùs abibunt]: *Dividam* eos in *Jacob*, & *dispergam* per *Israel*. Illud verò de *Levis* Dispersione notissimum: sed & *Simeoni* quadantenus contigit; qui, ut cum *Hieronymo* loquar, funiculum proprium non fuerit consecutus, sed de Tribu *Juda* quippiam acceperit, & porò in Desertum exierit.

יהודה אתה יורוך אחיך
ידך בערף איבך

&c.

יהודה. Hîc quidem apertè παραπονιζέει *Jacobus*; uti & infra similiter de *Zabulone*, & de *Dane*: unde prima mihi oborta suspicio, & reliqua forsân ejusdem moris esse. Hîc ergò quam Nominis significationem secuta est Mater, *Decus* sibi & *Honorem* à tertio jam Filio gratulata; *Honorem* ideò Deo reddendo: eandem in Filium ipsum vertit Pater; *Honorandum* nempe illum & *Colendum* fore. יהודה autem, quod sonat *Laudata*, *Celebris*; seu *Honor* & *Decus*; ab יד deduci constat. Hæc verò vox jampridem in usu esse desiit: quin & olim ipsis *Jacobi* temporibus, loco ejus, ידה adhibitum videmus, extrito ה mediano; uti in eâdem significatione post usurpabatur, amoto initiali י. Licebit ergò nobis diversa ידה significata, ad quæ fortè hîc alluditur, parili ratione indagare: nunc י, nunc ה, literis relictis. Verùm ידה non faciliùs mutatur, quàm in יד; aspiratione interclusâ & absorptâ. Est autem * יד *Arab.* non *Manus* tantùm, sed *Vis*, 'Po-

1 Sic in Lexico Jamio'l-Logat, هذا الشيء في يدي اي ملكي: *Hæc res in Manu meâ est*, i.e. in *Potestate meâ*. Et, ما لي بفلان يد اي طاقة: *Non est mihi Manus in aliquem*, i.e. *Imperium*. Nec non, ex *Alcorano*, السما بنيناها بايد, *Cælum condidimus Manu*; i.e. juxta Interpret. بقوة *Potentia*. Quin & اليد in *Kamûso* audit السلطان والملك, *Imperator & Rex*.

tentia, Imperator, Dux, Obedientia, ¹ Beneficentia. Nec hæc à primâ *Manús* significatione, quod fortè suspiceris, veniunt: sed contrà *Manus* indidem tralatè denominatur, à *Viribus*, scilicet, & *Potentia*; uti *Græcis* Δεξιὰ, à Δέξιμα. Hæc autem *Virium*, &c. significata inter principalia esse, vel inde constat; quòd communia sint etiam cognatis vocibus, & ab earum universâ quasi familiâ agnoscantur. Sic enim * אר est *Robustus*, *Robur*, *Prædominium*, *Victoria*; * ורה [Conjug. 10^a.] *Obtemperare*; * אר Fortis, *Robustus*; * ארא *Viribus auxit*; * ורי *Obedientia*; *Instituit*, *Attulit*, *Dux fuit*; *Donum*, *Munus*; & * ור *Vir Beneficus*; * ור proximum ור, *Confiteri*, *Laudare*; cui quidem *Arabica* non respondent, nisi quòd * ורי [Conj. 10^a.] significat, *Proffessus*, seu *Confessus est* [de debito se]; uti & * ארי, sicut & ורי [Conj. 2^{da}.] *Adduxit*, *Persolvit*, *Reddidit*²; unde, haud dubiè, ea significatio, quâ à LXX. תורה Δωρεῖται redditur [Jer. XXXIII. 11.] Deinde הור *Hebræis*, *Celebritas*, *Majestas*: idem *Græcis* Interpr. Δόξα, Εξομολογησις, & Τιμή: aliquando verò, Αρετή, Εὐπρεπής, Ωραϊότης, Καταλαραπος. Αρετή consonat vocibus *Arab.* * ארי, אר, איר: Καταλαραπος ab * ארי intelligitur, quod de *Fructu* dicitur *ad maturitatem perveniente*: Εὐπρεπής autem, & Ωραϊότης non aliena sunt à * תורה, quod *Speciositas* redditur, (& à * ור venit, quod est *Amare*); vel à * ורהא, *Mulier pulchri coloris cum Albedine*: quod ad ea quæ sequuntur observandum. Animadvertendum insuper, dum de הור agimus, *Arabicum* * הור de *Gibbo camelino* dici; cui affine est * אור, *Incurvus fuit*, *incurvari*, *inflecti*; item * ורהא, quod & *Gibbum* significat, & *Incurvum esse*; quod inferiùs videbimus. Postremo autem loco היר veniat, quod *Clamore* significat, *Ovationem*que, præsertim in *Vindemiis exultantium*: quomodò *Arab.* * ור est *Streptum edere*; * איר, *Streptus hominum*, *Murmur*; * איר, *Streptus vocum*, *Confusio*. Interpretes LXX. היר aliquando, tanquam ipsum *Clamor*is sonum, per איר efferunt, uti *Jerem.* XLVIII. 33. & XXV. 30. (ubi pro איר reponendum איר): aliquando apud ipsos idem valet ac καταπατεῖν [Is. XVI. 9.]; aut καταλαραπειν [Jerem. LI. 14.]. Hæc autem significata sunt etiam *Linguae Arabicæ*. Ibi * ורהא אלשי⁴ (*Giggeio*,) *Res ex alto descendit*; * ור, *Fregit*; at affine * ור, *Calcavit*, *Subegit*: quod etiam per * ורהא & * ורה clariùs exprimitur, quæ sonant⁵ *Pressit*, *Conculcavit*; ut agnoscas Ανεῖν & Τρυγῶναι, locis *Jeremie* prædictis memorata. Hæc autem omnia, uti fidem faciunt, significata *Hebræa* ab *Arabica* Linguâ adhuc retineri; ita ad Beneficio-

¹ Verbum * ורי Zamachshario est, دعم, Propitius, Commodus, Beneficus fuit. Auctori Lexici Jamio'l-Logat, ج, Pensavit, Remuneravit. Unde Nomen * אר, Gratia, Beneficentia. Rationem habes apud Alphiumium, لاها تتناول الامر غالباً: i. e. Ita sonat (Manus), eò quòd Liberalitatis ferè sit Instrumentum. Hinc istud Meidani, quod & ab ipso Mohammede, in Munificorum commendationem, dictum fertur; اليد العليا خير من اليد السفلى: i. e. Manus Superior melior est Manu Inferiori.

² Hæc Latina respondent Arabicis اوصول, قرب (Conj. 2^a), كامس.

³ Interprete Phirouzabadio: in cujus Oceano verbum * ארת, cum الثمرة [Fructus] constructum, idem valet, quod اينةت, vel نضجت, Maturuit, Ad Maturitatem pervenit.

⁴ Phirouzabadium suum minus integrum hic nobis tradidit Giggeius. Locus in Kamûso ita se habet, حدر الشى من علو الي سفل, Descendit res ex alto in imum.

⁵ Arabicè, ضغط & وطي, Kamûs.

nem hanc elucidandam non parùm conferent; suis ergò locis jam reddenda.

1. יהודה אתה ידוך. Manifestum est, ad Nomen hîc alludi.
2. ידך בערף איבך. Hîc etiam יד, voce cognatâ, utitur *Jacob*: ne dicam *האדי, vocem nobis hoc in loco non semel memorandam, & *Collum*, seu *Gervicem* significare.
3. ישתחו לך. Si Commation hoc simpliciter significaret, nec respiceret aliò; quid erat cur non statim subjungeretur primo, cujus utique eadem mens? Quorsum *Hostium* mentio interponitur iis, quæ erant de *Fratribus* dicenda? Beatus ergò Senex eandem quidem rem hîc rursùm eloquitur, sed Παισιμασία diversâ: ad eam significationem *הוד progrediens, cujus ibi vestigium jam conspicitur; quæque in *הדי & *הוד manifestè apparet, *Inflectendi* nempe & *Incurvandi*: cui respondet שחה, quod hîc legimus.
4. נור אריה. Idem *האדי, quod modò accipi diximus pro *Collo*, significat item *Leonem*: nec id fortuitò, cùm in eadem significatione reperiatur *עאדי, vox planè eadem, leniori spiritu proferenda. Et fortè *הד olim, aut à *Frangendo*; aut à *Dividendo*, *הדי, idem erat quod *עד *Præda*, à *עדי: unde quæ sequuntur, מטרף בני עלית, per allusionem etiam dicta conjicias. יד certè, quò priùs alludebatur, & huc vocari potest. Est enim *יד *Efus*, seu *Edendi actus*. טרף autem, quod videtur hoc in loco reddi debere *Prædam*, quomodo (*Gigeio*) dicitur *טרף de *feris raptis viventibus, à LXX. exponitur Βλατς, sensu alieno à loci mente, nec tamen à voce *טרף; quæ significat *Rem Novam*, & *Rei Extremitatem*.
5. כרע רבץ. Hîc etiam non uno modo alluditur, *Conjecturae* hæ siquid valeant: nec solùm ad *האדי, quod nobis *Leo*; sed & ad *הרא, quod est *Curvari, incurvum esse*, uti modò monuimus; simul etiam & *Quiescere*, vocibus duabus כרע & רבץ ex æquo congruens. Est autem *רבץ, *Complicatis pedibus in pectus cubare* (Metaph. *Tutò quiescere*, unde Εκοιμήσθαι, τοῖς ο). כרע verò, quod hîc Αναπεσεῖν, alias est κάμψαι, feræ *Cubantis* situs, exilire paratæ. לבאי à LXX. Σάμνος hîc redditur. An quasi à *לבא *Lactens*? aliàs nonnunquam Λέαν: (*Anosum* volunt *Judæi*:) an à *לבי, quod est *Vorare, Multum comedere*.
6. לא יסור שבט. Hujusce Commatis ferè omnia cum significatis verbi *הדי conveniunt. Si שבט pro *Sceptro* accipitur; est *האדיה, *Virga*,

1 Certè *אדא [quod pro עדא poni vult *Goliath*] *Prædandi* notionem obtinet apud *Gienharium*; qui יאדו ללנזאל * exponit per اختله لياضه, *Insidiatus est dorcad, ut eam devoraret*.

2 Vox, quâ طوارف exponitur in *Kamûs*, est السباع, quæ ut *Feras* quascunque rapaces atque immanes designat, ita præcipuè *Leones*; ad quorum nempe morem per totum hoc Commation alludit *S. Patriarcha*.

3 Arabicè, استحدث الشئ, *Kamûs*.

4 Arab. منتهى الشئ, *Idem*.

5 Certum est, vocem لبوة, seu لبية, *Leana*, in *Lexicis Arabicis*, sub hac radice inveniri; ut & sub لبي quod sequitur.

6 Arabicè, اضطر من الطعام, *Kamûs*.

Baculus; à *Dirigendo* fortè, & *demonstrando*. Si pro *Duce*, uti est *Τοῖς ὁ. Ἀρχῆς*; id valet *הארי, מחקק, *Hygēmos*, quid aliud velit, quàm illud *הרי, *Præire, præcedere, ducere*? Si construitur, *Jura dans*; & hoc idem est ac *הרי, *Instituens, Rectum tramitem indicans*. De istis ergò manifesta res est. Quid verò *שילה velit, nemo fidenter dixerit. *Τὰ δὲ δόξαίμυρα αὐτῶν* interpretantur LXX. cui quidem *Rabbinicum* שלו satis quadrat; nisi videatur locutio recentior. *Arabicum* autem *שי, (unde *Rabbinorum* illa particula,) præterquam quòd *Jod* exhibeat, sententiæ isti non malè respondet: *Res*, nimirum, quæ illum expectat; sive (pro *ὁ δὲ δόξαίμυρα*) Ille, quem *Res* omnis manet, *Regenda*, scilicet. *Τοῖς ὁ. Περιεσπία*: nempe à קה. *הודה autem, quod suprà *Speciositas* redditur, est etiam *Expectatio*. Aliis est, quod magis placet, *Obedientia*; à *וקה, *Dicto Audiens esse, Obedire*; quo utique sensu *יד & *הרי accipi, suprà vidimus.

7. אסרי לנפן עירה, &c. De *Vite Vindemiæque* aliam hîc *Παραγωγία* orditur, ex iis petendam, quæ superiùs dicta occasione vocis הידר: Cui unum hoc addidero, verbum *הוד Conj. 2^{da}, *Golio* idem esse ac *Inebriare*; Metaphorâ quidem, prout ipsi ² placet, à *Judæis* sumptâ. At non soli *Judæi* vinum bibunt. Quin *Giggeio* *הודיד, *Exhilaratio, Lusus, Jocandi actus*: quæ significata simplicia esse videantur, nec in Gentis alicujus opprobrium dicta; præsertim cùm à vicino הידר non sint aliena. Pulcherrima autem hæc Allusio, facillima item est, nec de eâ reddendâ Interpretibus disconvenit: nisi quòd *Hieronymus* *Jod* Paragogicum, *Εὐφωγία*, *Metrive causâ*, in *Commate* hoc non uni voci adjectum, in בני tamen pro Pronomine acceperit.

8. חכלילי עינים, &c. Qui hîc *Oculos à vino rubentes* interpretantur, ad *Prov. XXIII. 29.* respexerint fortè: nescio tamen an utrivis loco satisfecerint. Hîc certè in *Judæ* Laudes illud afferunt, quod ibi in Vituperio ponitur. Nec verò utcunque eodem pede ritè processura sententia; cùm a *Lacte* non item albescant dentes. Concinnius ergò *Οἱ ὁ.* prout è Codice *Vaticano* legitur, *Υπὲρ οἶνον*; congruenter sequentibus *Η γλῶσσαι*. *Pulchriores* (inquit *Vulgar.*) *sunt oculi ejus vino, & dentes ejus lacte candidiores*. Nimirum & hîc apertè alluditur ad illud *Formæ decus amabile*, quod *Judæ* *ὁμῶς* modò monueramus; cuique nec ipsa deest *Albedo*, uti suprà videre est. A *Vini* autem comparatione, de quo proximè egit, novam hanc sententiam orditur.

חכלילי. *Χαερπῖοι*, LXX. (prout in *Chrysostom. Savil.* non *Χαερπῖοι*): apud quos חכלילי *Prov. XXIII.* (nec pluries legitur) redditur *Πελιδνότης*. Et verò eo in loco *Livoris* significatio apprimè convenit, post factam *Plagarum* mentionem: & ad vim vocis *חל accedit, quod

1 Vel etiam à قهي, quod in *Kamûso* est اطاع السلطان, *Obedivit Regi*.

2 At non ita placet ejus *Gieuhario*: cui هوو [Conj. 2^{da}.] simpliciter sonat اسكر الشراب, *Inebriavit Potus*; sine ullâ *Judaorum* contumeliâ. Nec Auctori Lexici *Mojmel-Allogat*, cui idem verbum est, خثرت النفس الشراب, *Mentem turbavit Potus*. Nec denique, *Phirouza-badio*, cui قهوو, ut rectè observatur è *Giggeio*, est الخطر دجى, *Suavis Cantilena*: item, اللهها, *Animi Oblectatio, Lusus, Res Jocularis*, &c.

est ¹ *Collyrium* è *Plumbo*, quo *nigrorem Palpebris conciliant*. Hic ergo Color gratus quidem est, & aliquatenus *Χαεσπός* dici potest, si de ipso oculo diceretur; quo tamen nomine veniret potiori jure *Cæsius*, aut verò *Fulvus*; qualis nempe Columbarum, *Salomoni* tantoperè prædicatus. Ne autem dicam non alium hîc mysticè intelligi, quàm qui à *Salomone* describitur: Color certè *Rubeus* vel *Vino* melius conveniet; quod eodem *Proverb.* loco *יחאדם* dicitur, tum cùm maximè arridet. *Judæi* ergò, *Chald.* & *Vulgat.* *יחאדם* uno ore *Rubens* interpretantur: nec *Lingua adversatur Arabica*; modò * *יחאדם* per omnia olim congrueret cum * *שכל*, uti nonnulla ejus significata hodiè repræsentat. Est autem * *שכל*, *Color flavus*, seu *ruber* (*Giggeio*): diciturque, seu ² *Rubedo ad albedinem vergat*, five *Nigrore commisceatur*. * *שכל* item (*Golio*) est vel ³ absolute, *Rubore conspicuus oculus*; vel comparatè, *Decentior*, *Venustior*: ista, inquam, si unquam in *יחאדם* competebant; acta res est: fin minùs id concedendum sit; utcunque pugnabunt à nobis *Rabbini*, & hanc divini Senis Allusionem fati tuebuntur.

Εὐλογίαν ergò hanc in 8 membra divisimus, in quibus ad *Jebudæ* fui Nomen variè allusit *Patriarcha*: ejus autem mens hæc.

Jebuda Tu; [fausto omine à Matre appellatus, per omnia Nominis tui bona fœlici fato iturus]: Te *colent* Fratres tui. *Manus* tuæ in hostium *Cervicibus*. Ex eodem tecum Patre nati coram te honoris se causâ *incurvabunt*. Fili mi, tu Juvenis *Leo*: *Prædâ* satur redis. [En ille], tanquam *Leo*, in pedes *cubat*, *Incurvus*; [profilire paratus]: quis eum excitare audeat? A *Juda* non recedet *Sceptrum*, nec de femore ejus deerit qui *Jura* dabit: donec veniat *cujus* sunt omnia, cui populi cuncti *obsequuntur*. [*Vindemiator* lætus, ovanisque] viti *Afinum*, viti generosæ *Afinæ* suæ pullum, alligans; *Stolam* suam *Vino*, *Pallium* suum uvarum sanguine lavabit. [*Pulcherrimus* interim ipse]; *Vino isto* oculos fulgentior, *Dentes* candidior *Lacte*.

¹ Et *اشكل* idem est quod *القطران* *Pix*. Unde *Zamachsharius*, *اشكل*, i. e. *Niger instar Picis*. Quæ quidem Comparatio, aliis etiam in *Linguis* frequentissima, si ad *Παύλου* referatur, ejus vim plurimum adaugebit.

² *Arabica* in *Kamûso* ita se habent, *اشكل ما فيه حمرة وبياض مختلط او ما فيه بياض يضرب الى الحمرة والكدرية*. Nec aliter *Gieuhar. Zamachshar. & alii*.

³ In *Oceano* idem valet quod *اشهل*, *Habere oculos rubore suffusos*. Quin & *اشكل* aliquando est ipsum *Rubere*. Sic *ما شغل من الدم*, *Zamachshario* est, *Aqua rubuit sanguine*. Immo & *اشكل*, eodem Auctore, est ipse *Sanguis*. Unde *Jariri* Carmen,

فما زالت القتلي تج دماوها
بدجلة حتي ما دجاة اشكل.

I. e. *Neque Occisorum sanguis influere in Tigrim prius desit, quàm aqua Tigris fieret اشكل*, seu in sanguinem verteretur.

זבולן לחוף ימים ישכן והוא לחוף אנרת
וירכתו על צידן:

Sextum Filium enixa *Jacobo Lea*, Virum suum cum ipsâ deinceps futurum promittit sibi, *Gen. XXX. 20.* unde Nato Nomen à זבול, quod est *Judæis* recentioribus *Habitans*, cuique hoc in loco ישכן respondeat: ut ex hâc quidem Etymologiâ *Zabulon* à *Jacobo* dicatur, quasi in Navibus *Habitans*, seu Navium *Statio*; nec nobis de Allusione aliâ quærendâ laborandum sit. At eorum Majores, LXX. diverso modo interpretantur. Illis enim זבולני est Αἰρετῆς μῆς: & זבול semel tantum per Οἶκος redditur, (sic enim accipio locum illum *Isai. LXIII. 15.*): aliàs, Αγίος, Τάξις, & Δόξα audit. Hæc quidem significata vocis זבול *Rabbini* non agnoscunt: neque apud *Arabes* protinus comparent; at in cognatis vocabulis statim deprehenduntur. Est enim סביל, *Conjunctio*, *Necessitudo*, quæ τῷ Αἰρετῆς respondeant. Significat etiam Viam²; cui benè quadret Τάξις, *Habac. III. 11.* præsertim si cum *Judic. Cap. V. v. 20.* conferatur. Et est verbum סבל, *Dicare in communem usum Religionis ergo*; quod ipsum est illud Αγίος σοι, *3 Reg. VIII. 13.* & videtur loci mentem aptius exprimere. Hæc, ni fallor, facile suadebunt *Hebræum* זבול in סבל latere. Et si observemus insuper, סבל significare, [Conj. 3^a.] *Confedit cum [alio], & Versatus fuit*; aut (ut loquitur *Giggeius*) *Continuò adhæsit alicui*; non tum à זבול longè abibimus: cum eadem vox in significatis *Fimi & Stercoris* conveniat cum זבול; & *Reliquiarum in fundo*, cum סבל. Habebimus insuper, ultra significationem illam *Conjunctionis*, quæ spectat ad istud Αἰρετῆς, & aliam, quam pertinere ad hunc locum vellem, *Lateris*, scilicet, & *Marginis*, quibus sibi res duæ affideant aut adhæreant: ut nempe זבול ad חוף referam. Est enim חוף [Conj. 5^a.] *A Lateribus circumcidere*; uti חוף, ita *Barbam concinnare*: Cujus rei ideò mentionem facio, quod eandem significet סבלה. Et planè חפה & חאפה sunt *Ora, Margo, Latus*; à חוף, *Ambire, Circumdare*. Ipsumque חוף, quod hîc & alibi per ὠρε separatim exprimitur à LXX. nonnunquam ab iisdem Αἰγιαλός & Παραλία redditur.

¹ Arabicè, سبيل, & سبيل, *Gieuhar*.

² Unde ابن السبيل, *Filius Viæ*, i. e. *Viator*. Idem.

³ Ita סבל cum ضيعة, *Agro*, conjunctum, *Gieuhario est*, جعلها في سبيل الله, *Pofuit eum in viâ Dei*: i. e. *Dicavit eum in Sacros Usus*; vel, ut est in *Lexico Jamiol-L.* (si vera sit lectio) جعلها في الله, *Consecravit eum Deo*. Unde & *Sibyllas* nonnulli dictas volunt; quasi nimirum *Deo dicatas*.

⁴ Idem enim est in *Kamûso* cum لازم, & فافرن, *Continuò affedit, Firmiter adhæsit alicui*. Inter cujus nomina invenitur حافت, quod à *Gieuhario* effertur per جوانب *Lateris*; & חוף planè respicit.

⁵ Nempe, وسط الشفة العليا, *Circulum in medio labii superioris*, (qui *Gracè* Μύσας dicitur,) interprete *Phirouzabadio*: cui etiam اسبيل sunt, حروف وشعاه, *Lateris & Labra* (Vasis). *Zamachshar*, اصبار, *Summa* itidem (ejusdem).

⁶ Et, quod notioni חוף magis adhuc conveniat, *Phirouzabadio* est ipse, جوانب الوادي, *Margo Fluvii, seu Littus*; *Gracis*, Αἰγιαλός.

Ad חף autem, potius quàm ad שכן, alludi hîc credet, qui vocem illam, Commate non longo, bis poni animadverterit. Secundo quidem loco posita, & חף אנית adjuncta, *Portum* significare poterit: at satis erit *Oram*, vel *Littus*, cogitari; ubi scilicet appellunt Naves. Ita conjector זבל à חף respici; & *Zabulonem Israelitarum esse quasi Hipponem Afrorum*. Vereor autem ne nimium argutari videar, si observavero, [*Arab. nostrum*] * סבל esse, *Giggeio*, *Expandere*, *diffundere*, *redundare*; *Golio* quidem, *Laxare*, & *dimittere*; & locum fortè fecisse iis quæ sequuntur de ירחו, quod hîc est Παρατηνῆ; at aliàs redditur à LXX. per Πλευρῶν, Πλάγας, & Εχατος; & eodem etiam spectare: ideò nempe factam esse *Sidonis* mentionem; quasi & illa Civitas à צד & צדא similiter duceretur. Non autem nescius sum, *Sidonem*, non minùs quàm *Bethsaidam*, folere derivari à צדד, seu ציד: ob *Capturam Piscium*, scilicet. At non minùs verum est, צד significare *Latus*; (utì * צדד: *Propinquus*, & *Ex adverso*;) & idem in compositione flexum, loco *Dagbesh*, facilè asciscere posse *Jod*.

Ita porrò, juxta prædicta, *Zabuloni* Benedicitur.

Zabulon utriusque maris *Littus* accolet: eritque ille in *Oram*, ad quam *Naves* appellant. Et *Latus* ejus verget ad *Sidonem* [cognominem; & finibus, & nomine, vicinis.]

ישכר חמר נרם בין המשפתיים

&c.

Iffascharianis dum *Jacobus* Benedicit, prædicit, Eos, (utì *Maffi*, in *Jof. XIX. 17.* verbis utar,) “habituros solum fœlix & amœnum; ideò-que non facilè passuros se inde pelli, sed potius vectigales futuros superioribus hostibus: similiter ac *Clitellarii Muli*, quantumvis onusti, si læta gramina, quæ carpant, per iter nacti sint; neque onere, neque facilè fustibus propelluntur. Quomodò & *Moses* gaudere jubebit *Iffascharianos* in *Tabernaculis* suis: significans, videlicet, lætâ eos regione habitaturos; domique libenter mansuros, contra morem *Zabuloniorum*.” Hæc ille: *Homericum* fortè *Asinum* cogitans cum *Ajace* Heroe comparatum, fata læta pascentem, & ægrè inde abigendum.

Priora verba, ישכר חמר נרם, sic reddunt Interpretes LXX. Ιατάχαρ τὸ χαλὸν ἐπεθύμουν: pro חמר, legentes חמר; fuòne errore, an Codicum, quibus utebantur, vitio, non dixerim; cum totius Prædictionis damno manifesto; & sublatâ, quæ illam maximè illustraret, Metaphorâ. Sed & Interpretum istorum Interpretes & fautores proprio errore hoc in loco hallucinantur, cum חמר per Επεθύμουν exponant, & τὸ χαλὸν τῷ נרם attribuant; *Arabibus*, quod non oportuit, inconsultis. Præter-

1 *Arabicè*, ارسل & ارخا, *Kamûs*. وشر & طول, *Ibn-Athir*. وشدل, *Affioth*.

2 Immo apud *Zamachsharium* idem planè valet quod *Hebraicum* חף, vel *Arabicum* حافة; nempe, جانبى الوادى, *Ripa*, vel *Littus*.

quam enim quòd aliud suadeat verborum ordo; notum est חמור, tum Hebr. tum Arab. significare *Rem Desiderabilem, Gratam, Præstantem*. Deinde נרם [Conjugat. saltem 4.^a] est, *Adamare, rei cupiditate teneri*; & נראם, *Amor*, ¹ *Amoris cupiditas*. At ista ut missa faciam; יששכר (*Issachar*, quomodo Græcis illis scribitur; aut quidem, ut Rabbini efferunt cum Shin primâ *Dagheffatâ*, *Issaschar*) Matri à Mercede dicebatur; cui congruit modò & Arabicum שכר. שכר autem, quod reipsâ Hebræo verbo æquè vicinum est, præcipuè significat *Rufum esse*: & אשכר est *Valdè rubens*, seu *rufus*; utי אצחר & אצחר similiter: quæ certè in *Masoretarum Iffaschare* statim conspicua erunt; si modò ad Nomen istud pertinere debeant, uti videntur debere. Ad illam enim significationem ² planè alludit vox חמר, à *Jacobo* hic posita. *Asinum* nempe significat, sed à *ruffo colore*, (quæ ei notio principalior): quo utique nomine *Ægyptiis* olim exosa fuissè noscuntur ista animalia. Etenim Arabicè חמור est *Asinus*; חמרה *Color Ruber*; & אחר, *Ruber, rufus*, respondens alteri אשכר: ut planè constet, præsagum Patrem *Laboriosam* Filii Sortem, & ingenium *Servile*, Nominis ipsius Proprio adumbrâsse: nec aliud, quàm interpretari voluisse *Isacharis*, seu *Iffascharis* Appellationem, cum *Asinum* denominaret. נרם quod attinet, ab *Hieronymo Osseus* redditur: Et sic *Asinus* iste Rabbini est *Asinus Ossium*; & pariter *Robustum* volunt. At *Arabibus* נרם est planè *Fumentum*: & si *Sarcinis* aptum velis, habet verbum נרם ³ *Ferendi & Portandi* notionem.

רבין בין המשפטים. Ανὰ μέτρον τῶν ἑρμηνειῶν, inquiunt LXX. unde autem, nescias; nisi idem voluerint cum iis, qui reddunt, *Cubans in Terminis*, & vocem istam à שפר arcessunt, (*Arab. שפה*) quod est *Ora, Latus*. Qui *Tripodes* interpretantur, *Arab. רפה* spectâsse poterant; quod est [Ollam] ⁴ *Tripode fulcire*. *Caulæ Stabulive* notio huic voci benè convenit *Judic. V. 16*. nec huc quadrabit malè, licet apud *Arabes* non compareat. At *Διτρίπους* (quomodo ibidem Græcis redditur absurdè) hîc malunt Recentiores: nec quidem loco alieno. Est autem ספט, *Saccus grandior*: ut duali numero idem futurum sit cum vicino ספחאן, *Duo Sacci, Hippoperarum more*. Est etiam *Giggeio*, si quid huc faciat, צפוט, *Gravis, ponderosus*: & צפאטה, *Ferendis sarcinis aptus*. Significata autem hæc ferè omnia, etiam & *Stabuli*,

¹ Et *Amore vincit*, أسير الحب, in *Kamûso* est.

² Quin, ut manifestior adhuc, si fieri possit, appareat Allusio, observare liceat, tria *Arabica* in medium hîc prolata, quasi *Iffascharis* nomen referentia, שכר, nempe, אשכר, & אצחר, per unicum חמר, à quo nimirum ipsius *Asini* appellatio, in *Gieuharii & Phirouzbadii* Lexicis, communiter exponi.

³ Respondet enim, juxta *Gieuharium*, verbo حمل, *Sustinuit, Portavit, Gestavit Onus*; item, *Oneravit Fumentum*. Quod si & idem esset Nominum, qui Verborum consensus; è familiâ etiam جنر sponte veniret *Fumentum*, [ut in *Maruphidis* Lexico certè venit,] idque *Onerarium*. Hoc enim vult حمولة.

⁴ Arabicè, اقفى القدر, Kamûs: وضع القدر على الاناقى, Lex. Jam.

⁵ ספט in *Kamûso* effertur per قعة, & جوالف; quorum illud est *Cophinus*, seu *Qualus*: hoc verò, *Saccus Frumentarius*.

⁶ Arabicè, الثقیل, Kamûs.

⁷ Ipsum scilicet حمولة, *Fumentum Onerarium*. Idem.

ad שפח revocari aliquatenus possunt; prout ab Arabico * חֲבֵר, cognato certè, repræsentatur, quod est *Constitit, Stabilis, Fixus, Constans fuit*. Inde enim *Terminos*, tanquam *Fixos, Certosque* petas; uti & κλήεις: inde *Stabulum* facilè; cum sit חֲבֵר, Conj. 5^a. *Sedem figere*: inde *Tripodas*, à *Firmando* scilicet; siquidem שפח, de Ollâ dictum 2 Reg. IV. 38. idem planè valet, ac supradictum * חֲבֵר: atque inde *Vincula*, saltem quibus astringuntur *Onera*; cum sic nominatim dicatur * חֲבֵר non modò de *Vinculis Fæminæ Calyptræ*, sed & *Sellæ Camelinæ*. *Asinus*, inter eos seu *Fines*, seu *Caulas*, five *Onera*, ἀναπαύμενος rectè dicatur, ab Hebræo רבץ, & Arab. * رُبِز; quod est non tantum *Cubare Leonis more*, de quo suprâ; sed absolute *Quiescere tuto & securè*. Est verò & alterum רבו, *Carne plenum & compactum esse*: quod huic loco non malè congruat; simul & respondeat significato isti שָׂכַר, *Pauco pabulo contentum esse*, & *Pinguem evadere*, juxta Sortem *Issacharis* proximè sequentem, de *Suppositis Oneri Humeris*, & *Pensitando Tributo*.

&c. In his variant solùm LXX. de voce נעמה; quam reddunt Πῶν illi; Alii, *Amœna*: uti ¹ Arabibus * נעם non tantum *Lætum & Jucundum* sonat, sed *Commoditatem & Opes*.

ויהי למס עבר. Ἀπὸ γεωργίας, Interpretibus LXX. Ut illis esset pro Arab. * מִיחָא, ² *Terra Plana & Mollis, (Frugifera, Giggeio)*; & Γεωργίας hîc, quò meliùs exprimeret עבר, acciperetur pro ὀνητικῶν, quales Ἐκτημόνοισι *Atheniensibus*, [PLUT. Solon. Ed. Steph. p. 155]. Et verò, in universum, *Agriculturarum vita Ignobilis & Servilis* visa est plerisque Populis; ad quorum mentem illud *Menandri* dictum, Εἰ τοῖς πολέμοις ὑπερῆχεν τὸν ἀνδρα δῖον, τὸ δὲ γεωργεῖν ἔργον οὐκ οὐδέ τι. Tales autem futuri erant *Issachariani* hî: *Qui essent*, ut ait hîc *Abenezra*, *Regibus Tributa semper Soluturi*; vel *suis, ne arma gererent*; vel *alienis, ne prorsus spoliarentur*.

Hæc de מס, juxta Græcos, hoc in loco: quod iisdem alibi est φέσς, & ἔργον. Et sine dubio significat *Quodcunque à subditis præstatur, seu Operâ, seu Pecuniâ*: five illud à * מַס fit; cum ³ *Opes, pars post partem, auferuntur*; five à * מס, ⁴ *Quicquid quempiam urget, Ne-*

¹ Qui & duo * נעם & * ארץ in ipsissimo eodem sensu, quo hîc à Patriarcha adhiberi videntur, etiam hodiè conjunctim legunt. Sic enim Phirouzabadi, اذيت ارضهم فتعمتني, *Veni in Terram eorum; & תנעמתני*, i. e. *Commoda, Salubris, Opportuna, Grata, Jucunda fuit mihi*. Et ita ferè Auctor Lexici Mogmel-Allogat, اذيت ارض بني فلان فتعمتني.

² Verba, quæ cum الأرض (Terra) conjuncta leguntur in Kamûso, aliisque Lexicis Arabicis, (sub radice ماث) sunt سهلت, *Plana fuit*; لانت, *Mollis*; مطرت, *Pluviam perfusa*: qualis nempe *Frugifera* esse debet.

³ Arabicè, اخذ مال الرجل شيئا بعد شي, Kamûs. E quo etiam observari potest, و idem aliquando valere, quod جلب Emulsi; uti & quod مخرج Medullam exuxit, Emedullavit: Unde forsitan *Tributa*, quasi nimirum *Publicas opes Exhaustientia*.

⁴ Arab. مست اليه الحاجة, Kamûs. Quin & aliter fortasse *Vestigalis*, seu *Tributi* notio ab hac voce elici potest. Scilicet, ت مس primariò & propriè est *Tangere*, seu *Tractare*: unde non incommodè forsitan *Græcorum* ἔργον. Metaphoricè verò, ut ait Ibn-Athir, idem valet, quod اخذ Accepit, seu جمع Collegit: & hinc, non minùs commodè, *Tributum*: præsertim etiam cum, juxta *Zamachsharium*, idem مـش fit idèd *Ditescere*, quoniam, qui divites fiunt, *Pecuniam* (اصبعا, i. e.) *Digitis sape Tractant*.

edere. Verbum autem hoc * דן in eâ significatione reperitur, unde illa *Serpentis* facile ducatur; quomodo *Golio* redditur, ¹ *Depresso Pectore* & ad terram vergente, anterioribus Pedibus brevibus esse: uti & * דן sonat *Sub, Infra*. Venia verò detur, si observaverim & נחש, quod hîc cum דן conjungitur, uti à * נכס venit, quod est *Pungere*; idemque est cum * נכו, quod etiam *Serpentem* significat: ita cum * נכס nonnihil commune habere; quatenus, nimirum, hoc cum * דן & * דנא convenit, & significat ² *Incurvum esse, Deorsum inclinari, in caput inverti*. Quod quidem, si ad hunc locum annotari non debuerit, faciet tamen fortè ad eum illustrandum (*Gen. III.*), in quo *Serpenti* maledicitur.

שפיטן עלי ארח. Arabibus * סך³ est *Serpens Albo Nigroque distinctus, valdè perniciosus*; *Serpens Alatus*: posteriori significato à * סך, cum quo convenit * שוף, derivato; quod est ⁴ *Juxta terram volare, & ei quasi incumbere*; atque etiam ⁵ *Intentâ acie respicere*. Et hoc ultimum fortè annotandum ad *Gen. III.* ubi שוף τοῖς ο'. per Τηρεῖν redditur; quo sensu de *Observatione hostili* accipitur, uti & Παρετήρεῖν αὐτὸν [*Marc. III. 2. Edit. Erpen.*] redditur * יתשופן. Hîc autem iidem שפיטן per Εγχαΐματος interpretantur; (quod *Hieronymo, Regulus*;) an tanquam *Observans & Insidians*? an à * סך & * שאף, *Propè ferri, rei imminere*? Ejusmodi autem est significatio vocum * דן & * דני: quin & * דן, quod *Infra & Sub* sonare diximus; quodque fortè ad *Equitem Cadentem* accommodaveris. De his autem Allusionum minutiis non multum sollicitus, ferè neglexi notare * דן aliquando *Viam* connotare; fatis habiturus, si hæc de *Serpente* Metaphora à *Danis* Nomine primò desumpta fuerit; quoquò deinde illam deflectere debuerat *Præfagiens Patriarcha*.

לשועתך קיית. *Salutem* hîc fortè, tanquam *Promissam, Debitamque, expectare* jubetur. Ita * דן *Giggeio* ⁶ *Promissum*: * דין verò *Debitum, Creditumve*; peculiariter, cui *Solvendi Terminus præfixus sit*.

¹ Arabica Gieuharii ita se habent, قصير اليمين: ذو الصدر من الارض.

² Arabicè, المطاطى على راسه & قلبية على راسه, Kamûs.

³ Exponente Phivouzabadio, cujus verba hæc sunt, سف الارقم او التى تطير, i. e. * סך est *Serpens, tam Punctis Maculisque distinctus, quàm Alatus, seu Volatilis*.

⁴ Arab. قدلى حتى قرب من الارض; nec non, دنا من الارض, Kamûs.

⁵ Quæ de * שוף in Lexico Jamio'l-Logat dicta sunt, & ejus mentem plenè exprimunt, & ad nostrum propositum non parùm faciunt. Ibi enim * תשוף idem valet quod * تطلع, *Prospexit, Respexit ad rem, Intentus fuit*. * שאף verò non solum est اشغى, *Rei imminere*; sed & planè اشرف, *Magnum efficere, Exaltare*. Unde facile *Hieronymi, Regulus*. Quin & * שתוף respondet duobus نظر & تطال; quorum illud significat *Videre, Aspicere, Attendere*; hoc verò *Efferre se*; nec non, *Protendere collum prospiciendi ergò*. Sequitur nomen الشيف, quod disertè sonat للقوم الشيف, i. e. *Vigiles, Custodes, Exploratores*: quorum nempe est, excubias agere, populumque à subitâ hostium incursione defendere. Et hinc Τηρεῖν, Παρετήρεῖν, & Εγχαΐματος, nullo ferè negotio deducuntur.

⁶ Arabicè الوعيد: quod, etsi in Kamûso exponatur per تهديد, *Minatio*, haud tamen video cur non & *Promissum*, quomodo à *Giggeio* intelligitur, reddi possit; cum sit وعد, quod tam *Promittere Bonum* significat, quàm *Minari Malum*, (unde وعدة, *Promissum, Votum*). Et certè *Golius*, licet priorem notionem præferat, haud tamen excludit posteriorem.

Quæ ergò de *Dane* dicuntur, sic sonant :

Erit & *Dani* sua, quam *regat*, Gens. Erit *Dan* [qualis audit] veluti *Serpens*, propter *Viam* accubans : veluti *Coluber*, juxta *callem* imminens observansque. Admordet ille Equi calcem, & Eques cadet retrò. Salutem tuam, Domine, expectabo : *Pensationem* nempe, seu *Retributionem* ; & suo tempore tandem præstandam.

גַּר גִּרְדוֹר יְגוֹרְנוֹ

&c.

Cùm natus esset Filius hic, בגר, inquit *Lea* : quod Τοῖς ο'. ¹ Εὐτυχῆ redditur : Benè scilicet vertat, faustum sit fœlixque : quomodò *Arabice* * גַּר *Fœlicitas*. Placet *Judeis* ut ב pro בא accipiatur ; & גר tum, simul & גרדוֹר, aut *Militem* significet, aut *Militum turmam* ; quo sensu hîc haud dubiè fumitur. Ita etiam *Giggeio* * גַּרְדָּר dicitur, ² Cùm quis in alterum *Insurgit*, eique imminet. *Hieronymo* videtur significantius exprimi *Εὐζώνος*, seu *Expeditus* : quomodò dicitur * כאן אנדר *Erat accinctus*, & se commovens. Quidquid sit ; ad Nomen hîc alludi patet : nec aliud prædici, quàm quòd juxta *Vicinos Latrocinantes* sito *Gadi*, erit secundum ipsius Nomen : *Incurreret in eum hostilis Turma* : & Ipse in eos *excurret* vicissim.

מֵאֲשֶׁר שְׁמִנָּה לַחֲמוֹ

&c.

Inde *Asberi* Nomen, quòd sibi eo nato egregiè *Beata* videretur *Lea* : at hîc à Patre aliorum, ni fallor, deflexum est, ad *Soli Pinguedinem* designandam ; quæ utique in *Oleo* & à *Mose* prædicata est, *Deut.* XXXIII 24. Ut enim *Hebraicum* מֵאֲשֶׁר in *Arabico* * יֶסֶר quærendum est ; quod non modò *Mollitiem* & *Facilitatem*, sed & *Opulentiam* & *Prosperitatem* significat : Ita & ad * מֵרֶר referri potest ; ubi (præter illud rei *Mollis*) & *Pinguedinis* significatum disertè occurrit. Est enim * מֵרֶרָה ³ *Mulier Pinguis* : & * מֵרֶרָה ⁴ *Moles Carnis*, ⁵ *Multa Pinguedo*. Quin & * חֵסֶר à ⁵ nonnullis eodem sensu accipitur. Nec opus monere, vocem לחם non pro *Pane* solùm, sed pro *Cibo omni* fu-

¹ Gratulandi formula, *Orientis* incolis adhuc usitatissima : Qui hominem prosperè agentem ita salutant, جددت يا فلان, i. e. O Fortunatum ! Ter Felicem ! &c. *Jamjol-L.*

² Quin & ipsum * גַּר (Conj. 3^a.) idem est in *Kamûso* cum حاقق, *Contendit*, *Adversarius* hostisque fuit ; uti & cum القتال, [ut in *Phirouzabadii* sui Margine annotavit *Pocockius*], *Vehementer*, nempe, *conflixit in pugna*.

³ *Arabice*, كثيرة اللحم : Quin & ipsum Verbum وثر idem est *Zamachshario*, quod سمن, *Pinguis*, nempe, seu *Obesus* fuit.

⁴ *Arab.* كثر اللحم, *Gienhar. Fam.* &c.

⁵ Immo ab ipso *Gienhario*, cui sonat السمن.

mi :

mi: à LXX. per Σάρξ semel reddi; eaque in significatione ab *Arabibus* semper usurpari.

De sensu vocum hoc in loco occurrentium non dubitatur: at de constructionis ratione non constat. Alii *Mem*, præfixum *Asberi*, idem volunt esse ac *De Asbere*; Eum quod attinet. Alii ארץ subintelligunt: nec hoc satis commodè. Alii *Mem* otiosi malunt; uti apud Τὸ ο'. Ita & hic Conjectationi locus. Quid ergo, sicut מחרה, sic שמנה, Adverbialiter sumamus; & לחו pro Verbo Plurali: atque ita reddamus, *Ex Asbere pinguiter victitabunt* [non ficco pane, vicini]; & Is Obsonia Principum, seu *Beatiorum præbebit*? [Oleum enim, inter alia οἷα ἐδ'οντο διοτρεφέες Βασιλῆες, præcipuè hinc petendum erat Lautioribus]. Hæc postrema, ut par est, dubitanter profero: non tamen æquè incertus de Sententiæ mente. Ad hunc enim modum, de *Asbere* Filio vaticinatur Pater.

Ex *Asbere Unctius* & Λιπαρὲς victitabunt homines: & præbebit Ille copiosè [*Beatiorum* illas] Delicias Regias.

נפתלי אלה שלחה

8cc.

Naphthali, pro vulgari vocis acceptione, est *Perplexus* planè, & *Tortuosus*. Non utique nec de primâ Nominis impositione constat. נפתלי אלהים נפתלי עם אחתי נם יכלתי, inquiebat *Rachel* [Gen. XXX. 8.]: h. e. secundum LXX. Editionis *Lond.* Συναρταλῶντό με ὁ Θεός· καὶ συναρταλῶν τῇ ἀδελφῇ με. Hæc autem significata Hodiernus *Hebraïsmus* non aliter explicat, quàm ex *Arabico* * פתל: quod per se est *Torquere*, *Convertere*; & adjunctum rei quæ circumeatur, *Stropham meditari*. Et possit quidem ad *Luctam*, quam tamen non offert, trahi. De verbis ergo primis אלהים נפתלי multum inter se laborant Interpretes: nec tamen iis de eorum Lectione disconvenit. *Hieronymus* enim Scripturam hanc jam olim literis signantibus disertè repræsentavit. In hoc verò solo variant *Græci* Antiquiores, quod ex voce נפתלי * duas fecerunt. Ii nempe videntur verbum נפת eo accepisse sensu, quo * נבת fumitur *Arabibus*: quod est *Enatum* fuit, *Germinavit*; & [Conjug. 2^a.] *Fecit ut Pullularet*, & *Cresceret*; non modò de *Plantarum*, sed & *Pecorum Hominumque* Progenie dictum. Quâ ratione, hæc erit *Rachelis* mens: Deus mihi *Progerminare*, seu *Progigni*, fecit fructum,

1 *Arabica* ita leguntur, فتل في ذرو، [ad literam] *Plicavit*, vel *fricuit* alicui *Gibbum*: i. e. inquit Auctor Lexici *Jamio'l-Logat*, يدور من وراء خديعة، *Circumvenit eum dolo*. Qua loquendi forma, ut pergit idem, inde orta est، ان خاطم البعير الصعب بفعل ذلك، *Completus*، quod, qui camelo nondum domito capistrum sit impositurus, ita facere soleat, ut astutè eum capiat. Cui etiam concinit *Pocockius* in MS². sua *Proverbiorum MEIDANI Expositione*.

2 Annon & נפתלי à * פתל petere, & pro Unica voce accipere potuerunt LXX? Ita fortasse videbitur, si Lexica nondum Impressa consulere libuerit. افتل enim *Assiouthio* dicitur de *Arbore*, افتل الفل، انا اخرجت الفل، cum primùm *Gemmare*, seu *Pullulare* incipit: & الفل هو دور العشاء، *Flos Spina*. Nec aliter *Ibn-Athir*, & alii. Quæ quidem, utcunque *Græco* Συναρταλῶν convenient, at Σπινος saltem repræsentabunt.

ex Ancillâ meâ. Illud enim Συναγγελῆτο pro Συνελῆτο, & de Impregnatione à Deo præstitâ acciperem; five Eum solum respicias, ut sit Συνελῆτο idem quod Συλλαμβάνω ἐποίησε, five etiam & Bilham Adjutricem, ut Præpositionis ἀντὶ ratio pariter habeatur. Tum verò sequentia hoc tenore procedere queant, & quidem vulgatâ פחל significacione, quam jam sequuntur Oī ō. *Ego Plexum mihi feci juxta Sororem*; (eum nimirum nectens ex me & Ancillâ;) Ⓢ ab eo invalui. At si liceret conjecturis indulgere liberius; uti statim ad Benedictionem Patris interpretandam mutuò accepturus sum significacionem à פחל, quam פחל * tradam; ita porro & à ברל * sumerem in eundem usum, ad Matris Gratulationem: & eò fidentiùs, quòd videam communionem significacionis aliquam inter ברל *Hebræorum* & פחל * *Arabum* jam intercedere, Separandi scilicet; & ab eâ significacione בתולה, *Virginem*, apud utrosque vocari¹. Significat autem ברל * *Arabibus*, Permutare, ² Substituere: & בריל * *Qui pro alio substituitur, Succedaneus*: qualis utique erat *Rachelis* Ancilla, *Bilba*. Et inde alius orietur verborum istorum sensus, utramvis formam constructionis serves: qui quidem, si, cum *Judeis* recentioribus, divisa à *Græcis* membra jungas in unum, erit hujusmodi. *Substitutione planè Divinâ* (quam nempe suggessit Deus, cuique jam iteratò favet) *Mei loco Succedaneam habui* [apud Maritum cum Sorore], & [per eam] *prævalui*. Atque inde alia Nominis *Naphthali* ratio: quod nunc sonabit, *Ex Substitutione, Meus*.

Hæc nova liceat tantum in medium obiter proposuisse, & cæteris de *Rachelis* Ονοματοποίησι Conjecturis addidisse. De Patris enim Effato mihi potius agendum est: & videndum, an illi Nomen illud *Naphthali*, utcunque primò impositum, nunc saltem congruat.

Verba autem ista, superius proposita, Oī ō. exponunt per, Στέλεχος ἀνεμψόν ἐπιδιδόνς ἐν τῷ γενήματι καλλῶ. In Στέλεχος nempe respexerunt ad אלה, quod Quercus nunc redditur, cuique Jod aliquando inseritur: perque ista ענ τῷ γνήματι vim fortè vocis אמר * expresserunt. In quantum nempe אמר אלשי * significat *Rei Multiplicationem*: & אמרה * *Concessit ei* (Deus) *Sobolem*, & *Armenta multa & numerosa*. Sic utique גיגי * *Giggeius*; & ad eandem ferè mentem גוליוס: Nec aliunde fortè *Hebræorum* אמיר, *Ramus*. Verba eadem ita vertit Hieronymus; *Ager Irriguus, dans Eloquia pulchritudinis*. Nimirum אלה idem habuit cum איל, & pro *Planitie* sumpsit; סלק * autem est *Aquæ decursus*. Cum autem *Eloquia*, qualiacunque sint, nihil faciant ad *Agrum*, quamvis *irriguum*; necesse est, ad sensum hunc complendum, aut *Ramos*,

¹ Quasi nempe, (ut Phirouzabadii verbis in voce رجل utar,) منقطعة عن الرجال, i. e. *Separatam* (seu intactam) à Viris.

² Arabicè, اخذ مكانه, *Loco alterius accipere*. Gienhar.

³ E suo scilicet Kamûso; ubi امر الله effertur per, كثر نسله وماشيت: i. e. *Prolem & Armenta ejus Multiplicavit* (Deus). Nec aliter Zamachsharius, cui امر بنى واران idem sonat, quod كثرهم: i. e. *Multos dedit alicui Filios*, seu *Posteris*. Quin & امر, de *Hominibus* dictum, Affluens est دشا; i. e. *Crescere, Adolescere*, &c.

⁴ Arabicè, مسيل الماء, Kamûs. Ubi etiam habes السلق, [ipsum scilicet *Hebraicum* שלח], quod sonat, ما السما في الغدران, *Aqua Pluvialis in foveis collecta*.

aut Γενήματα, hîc intelligi. Idem etiam *Hieronymus* verti posse dicit, prout habet *Vulgatus*, & nunc communiter placet, *Cervus Emissus*: Cui interpretationi notum est verba hæc respondere, modò congruerent reliqua. In hac autem Interpretandi varietate nobis, quibus de Paronomasiâ perpetua est suspicio, is maximè sensus arridet, qui *Naphthalis* Nomini accommodatio: ad illud verò proximiè accedere videtur LXX. Senum Versio: præsertim si Σπλέγχος, (qui est *Hesychio* Κλάδος, & Παράφυς,) cum *Hieronymo*, generaliter accipias; ita ut etiam *Virgultum* significet, & sit pro *Stolone*; & Ανεμδρόν non quidem cum illo *Resolutum* vertas, sed *Dimissum*, in Propaginem scilicet; quo quidem modo שלח & שלחור ab *Hebræorum* Magistris sumi notissimum est. Enimverò id tum velit *Jacobus*; *Naphthalin* Filium, à Paternâ Stirpe *Surculum*, longè licèt separatum, & in oris extimis deponendum; acturum tamen radices, evasurumque & ipsum in Arborem ramis fructibusque florentem. Nec à sensu hoc, non prorsus absurdo, longè abhorret vox *Naphthali*. Est enim פחל, ultra illa *Torquendi* significata, ¹ *Amoveri, averti, abire, declinare*: cognatum autem פחל, ² *Avelli, separari*; & quidem eo planè modo, de quo nunc agitur. Siquidem inde oriunda פחל, בחילה, &c. significant [³ *Giggeio*] *Palma exigua, à trunco*, uti ait ille, *velut à matre divisa, quæ per se stare possit*: five, *Golii* verbis; *Surculus Palmæ, idoneus à matre avelli, & seorsim plantari*. Patriarchæ ergò mens hæc fit, quam nobis Οἱ οὐ. suggererint:

Naphthali, veluti *Surculus, à me* [*Enatus & Dimissus in Propaginem*]; [*florebit olim Ipse*], *Ramos pulcherrimos editurus*.

בן פרת יוסף בן פרת עלי עין בנור
צערה עלי שור

&c.

Septuaginta sic reddunt: Υἱὸς ὑψημῶτος Ἰωσήφ, υἱὸς ὑψημῶτος μετὰ Ζηλωτὸς υἱὸς μετὰ νεώτατος, τοῦ μετὰ ἀνάγκης. *Hieronymus* sic: *Filius Auctus Josephus, Filius Auctus super Fontem; Filiae gradu composito incedentes super Murum*. Atque ad eandem ferè mentem, Alii omnes. *Ramum* enim hîc *Ramusculosque* intelligunt, sub *Filii Filiarumque* nomine.

Septuaginta quidem, cùm עלי עין per Ζηλωτὸς interpretantur, non dissentientes habent nec *Paraphrastem Chaldæum*, nec *Salomonem Scholiastem Judæum*; qui hîc de *Josephi Pulchritudine, & Grato aspectu* cogitant: quos sequitur *Hieronymus*, cùm צערה בנור intelligit de *Puellarum ÆGYPTI turbâ*, quæ de *Muris & Turribus* prospectarent, uno nimirum ex significatis שור. Clausulam autem posteriorem non

¹ Arabicè, صرف, قلب, افقت, تباعد, ازال, تنهت: *Gienhar. Kamûs. Zamachsh. &c.*

² Arab. قطع, & ماز من غير, Kam. اقرن, & طلق, Zam.

³ Nec aliter ejus *Phirouzabadio*, القسيلة من النخلة المنقطعة عن امها المستغنم. Cui consentit & *Gienharius*.

modò aliter intellexisse, (utì cùm שׁוּר reddunt per Ἀνάσσειον,) sed & legisse videntur *Septuaginta*; qui צַעַר, loco צַעַר, exponunt per Νεώτα-τ@: nisi fortè & horum Interpretatio ex eâdem Lectione, quâ nunc utimur, processerit. *Nec enim* (ut verbis utar Optimi Pocockii) *temerè ea sollicitanda est.* Fieri verò potest, ut, quomodò צַעַר alio in loco dederunt significationem צַדִּיק, sive צִיד * צִיד; per ὀψέμεν reddentes: ita hîc eam צִיד * צִיד tribuerint; quod est *Augmenti, Accessionis rei agnatæ*, & ipsius פֶּאֶרָה notio: *Josephi*, inquam, illius Νεώτατ@; non Filii quidem *Ultimò Accedentis*, sed certè *Penultimi*, scilicet, *Novelli*; &, cum Fratre suo Uterino *Benamine, Dilectissimi*.

Qui autem *Pulchritudinem* cogitant, פֶּאֶרָה referunt ad פֶּאֶר, *Decus, Ornamentum.* Alii, qui עַיִן de *Fonte* intelligunt, & *Arborem* ad illum positam dici putant, פֶּאֶרָה *Ramum* huc advocant; & בֶּן Metaphoricè accipiunt pro *Ramo*, tanquam *Arborum filio*. Tum verò *Josephum* volunt esse *Ramum* illum, seu *Surculum*, plantatum juxta *Fontem*; qui ipse per *Ramos suos auctus* fuerit, *Ephraïmum & Manasse*: utì exponit *Paraphrastes Chaldeus*.

Ad *Josephi* Nomen hîc alludi concedent omnes. At ultrà suspicor, Commatii hujus Πατρικισμός non ad Patrem solum, sed ad Filiorum utrumque extendi. Videtur enim, *Jacobum* Benedictionem suam *Josepho*, liberorum omnium charissimo, impertiturum, eam à mentione Filiorum ipsius, nuperrimè sibi benedictorum, auspicari voluisse. Et hoc quidem de *Ephraïmo* factum, facilè conjeceris è voce פֶּאֶרָה, bis continuè repetitâ: nec de *Manasse* fortè valdè abnuas.

Nimirum, velim *Jacobum* ab *Ephraïmi* Nomine, cui primas modò dederat, jam incipere. Prout enim *Josepho* Nomen erat ab *Augmento*, ita & *Ephraïmo*. Vocaverat eum Pater, *Ephraïm*: *Quia*, inquit, [Gen. XLI. 52.] *auxit me sobole Deus*, seu fructificare me fecit, in *Terrâ Afflictionis meæ*. Nec de Nominis ejus sic impositi terminatione פֶּאֶרָה jam quæro, an otiosa sit; & nihil aliud significet אֶפְרַיִם, quàm *Fructum Tuli ego*: aut apponatur ab פֶּאֶר, quod *Hebræis, Mulus*, consonans cum *Arabico* * أَيْم, *Solitarius & Destitutus*: Et sit inde *Ephraïm*, idem quod, *Ego meis Destitutus*, & quasi *Mulus visus*, nunc *Sobole auctus sum*. Id, inquam, non nunc quæro: cùm Interpretem neminem de hâc re sollicitum reperiam; nec verò ad rem, quæ modò in manibus, pertineat. Negotio enim nostro satisfuerit, *Ephraïmum* illum, à פֶּאֶרָה quondam dictum Patri, ab eâdem jam voce subinnui posse: si ritè procedant inde, quæ sequuntur.

Interea verò *Arbusculum Ramumve*, Interpretum plerisque hîc loci positum, non à פֶּאֶרָה, quod quidem *Ramus* est, peterem; sed à בֶּן: neque ab ipso Metaphoricè sumpto; sed propriè ac directè, quatenus ab *Arabico* * فَنّ paucillùm quidem discrepat, quod *Ramum* protinùs significat. Neque tum opus erit ut fingamus, cum Magistris *Judeis*, בֶּן Genus suum fœmininum, quo cum פֶּאֶרָה concordat, habere à subintellecto פֶּאֶרָה: cùm nihil obftet quin בֶּן, quatenus eadem est vox

† Præcipuè is, الذي لا زوجة له, qui caret Uxore, inquit Gienharius: Nec aliter alii.

cum פן, eo genere fit ipſa; & בן פורת æquè propriè dicatur, ac נפן פירה, *Pſalmo CXXVIII. 3.*

Ad *Manasse* autem ut veniamus. *Fœcunda vitis*, de quâ *Pſalmus* ille, *Domus Latera vestiens*, alium hunc à *Jacobo* memoratum *Surculum* refert, *ſupra Murum aſcendentem*: qui exprimitur per בנות צעדה. Vox autem בנות ſimiliter à פן videtur derivanda, cujus eſt אפנון¹, *Ramus Luxurians*: qualis hic, qui צעדה dicitur, & in *Murum aſcendere*, ſeu *emicare*. Eſt enim *Arabibus* צעד², *Ascendit*, *Conſcendit*, & *In altum excrevit* [Planta]. Et quidem, quâ ductus ratione illud בן פורת, *Ephraïmo* aſſignâſſem; eâdem hoc בנות צעדה attribuerim *Manasse* indigitando: cum נשא ſignificet *Creſcere*, *Adoleſcere*, *Efferri*; & fit non modò נשא³, *Primum Plantæ Germen*; ſed fit & idem planè vocabulum cum *Manasse*, מנשא⁴, de *Puellâ* dictum, *Adoleſcens*, *Procerior*.

וימררו ורבו וישטמחו בעלי חצים. *Septuaginta* ſic interpretantur, Εἰς τὸ διαβόλῳ μὲν εἰς ἐνέγκειν αὐτοῖς κύριοι τοῦ ζευματῶν. בעלי חצים ſunt, ut notum eſt, *Sagittas habentes*: hoc eſt, fortè, *Viri*. Eâ enim Homonymiâ eſt *Arabicum* נאשב; *Sagittas habens*, & inde *Vir*: cujus vocis mentionem ideò libentiùs facio; quòd verifiſimile fit, ad eandem originem *Hebræum* אשפה, *Pharetram*, referri debere: & ab hac non ita longè abſit *Joſephi* Nomen, ut non ad illud reſpexiſſe putes *Sagittas* & *Arcum*, hoc in loco poſitas. *Sagittarum* quidem ſignificatio ad derivata à נשב planè pertinet: cum fit non modò נאשב⁴, *Sagittas habens*; ſed נשאב, *Qui conficit eas*; & נשאבה, *Qui facit, ſeu Emitterit eaſdem*.

Si ימררו exponatur per διαβόλῳ μὲν, quæ vox primo loco ponitur; non ſatis liquet ejus ſignificati origo. At ſi διαβόλῳ μὲν legere liceat, (quæ formatio, quaſi à διαβόλῳ, uti habentur & αποβόλῳ & παρβόλῳ, contra Analogiam non peccat,) conſtaret & Vocis interpretatio, & Sententiæ, quæ Metaphorica communiter exiſtimatur, mens. Quo enim ſenſu dicit *Pſalmiſta*, (*Pſ. LXIV. 3.*) *Inimicos ſuos in eum emiſiſſe Sagittas verborum amarorum*, eodem dici poſſunt *Joſephi* Fratres, *Sagittarum Domini*, ſive *Sagittarii*, ipſi *Amaritiam fellis* ſui intuliſſe, calumnioſè cum eo diſceptaſſe, eique contumelioſè inſtituſſe: ut quem illi calumniis primò impetierant, jurgiis deinde proſequerentur, poſtremò contumeliis onerarent. Quò Metaphora longiùs procedat, ſunt, fateor, qui רבה per *ſaculari* exponunt; & רבה קשת, de *Iſmaele* dictum⁵, huc allegant. At de ſignificato illo nec ibi apud omnes conſtare video: nec neceſſe eſt ut continuetur uſque Metaphora per רבו; cum ſequens ישטמחו iſtuc trahat nemo. Hoc certè שטם, ſi detur ejus

¹ *Arabicè*, الغصن الملتف, *Kamûs*. Quin & ipſum فنى haud alios videtur *Ramos* ſignificare, quàm qui *Flexuoſi* ſunt, & *invicem Involuti*; cum idem etiam denotet, quod خصلة الشعر, *Comam* nempe *Spiffam*, & *Intricatam*. Lex. *Jamjol-L.*

² Ac præſertim, الى السطح, i. e. *In tectum Domus*, ut loquitur *Zamachſharius*.

³ Et hinc unum ex præcipuis *Canna*, ſeu *Arundinis Arabica* nominibus, teſte *Aſſionthio*, eſt الصخرة: *Quoniam*, ut inquit idem, تنبت مستقيمة, i. e. *Erecta*, & quaſi ad perpendicularum, (præ cæteris plantis) *in altum excreſcit*.

⁴ *Phirouzabadio*, صاحب النبل, *Dominus Sagittarum*; ipſe nimirum *Hebræorum* בעל החצים.

⁵ *Gen. XXI. 20.*

significationem ex Arabico * שחם petere, Contumeliam, vel dicti, vel facti; simul & ex alterius dolore gaudium, connotabit. * סדם autem non solum Odium, quod intelligunt hîc Judæi; aut τὸ ἔγκλωττον, aut ὁ Μανίας, quomodo reddunt aliquando οἱ οἱ. vel ipsorum ὁ Μανιώσας, [Conjug. faltem 2 7^a.] exhibet: sed 3 Dolorem etiam, & Tristitiam. Et Contristatio ista, si minùs istud per verbum significata, per Fratrum certè summas injurias concepta, subinnui poterat à Jacobo ex ipsius Nominis. Nempe è Josepho, futurum eum * אסף, 4 Tristem & Dolentem, & verò Captivum.

ותשב באיתן קשתו ויפוז זרעי ידיו מידי אביר יעקוב משם רעה אבן ישראל: Reddunt hæc LXX. καὶ συνετελέθη μὲν κράτος τὰ τόξα αὐτῶν καὶ ἐξελύθη τὰ νεύρα βραχίωνων χειρὸς αὐτῶν, διὰ χεῖρα Δυνάσιν Ιακώβ. ἔκειθεν ὁ ἀποχρύσας Ισραήλ. Quod חשב interpretantur per συνετελέθη, id, uti notum est, à שבב, Frangere: cui convenit Arabicum * وارب, significatione eadem. Est & פון, Dissipari, diffilire, cui respondet ἐξελύθη. At, ut hæc à Deo inflictæ dicantur in Josephi Fratres, non finunt particulæ; quæ non eos notant, sed eum.

4 De Josepho ergò sunt ista: Ejusque Arcus permansit firmus in Viribus [suis], & ejusdem Brachia Valida fiebant, Torosaque, à Deo, qui Jacobum valentem fecerat, &c. חשב autem reddo, Firmus permansit: quod videam non modò * ורב, Habitat, respondere Hebraico ישב; sed esse & * ורב, 5 Immotus, Stabilisque suo loco mansit; quod ejusdem significationem adaugeat. Similiter & יפוז per Validum esse & Torosum expono; quod reperiam in eo sensu apud Golium (6 pag. 2888.) Verbum * פון.

אביר, Δυνάσιν Ιακώβ. אביר hîc, cum de Deo dicatur, appositum sibi habet Patriarchæ hujus Nomen: cujus ergò, τοῖς οἱ. dicitur,

1 Vel etiam ex شطم; cujus شطم in Kamûso idem videtur significare, quod تخطف; nempe Percussit, [unde Græcorum μαρτυρεῖν,] & conjunctum cum الضرب, sonare, Dictis aliquem impetere, seu convitiis verberare. شطم vicinum est & voce, & significato, السطام; quod propriè denotat حدة السيف, Aciem Gladii: Metaphoricè verò, teste Assiouthio, شوكة الناس, Asperitatem & Acrimoniam hominum.

2 In quâ قنسدمون, Num. XIV. 42. respondet Hebræo הננפו, Percutiamini, Plagis afficiamini. Pentateuch. Arab. Erpen.

3 Phirouzabadio, غيظ مع حزن, Ira cum Dolore: & هم مع حزن, Cura cum Penitentiâ.

4 Arabicè, الكامس, Kamûs. الاسير, Ibn-Athir. Porro observari potest, similem planè Allusionem ad Nomen Josephi occurrere in Alcorano, Cap. XII. v. 85. Edit. Erpen. ubi Jacobus, (ut fabulatur Pseudopropheta,) incertus quid de suo hoc Filio factum fuerit, cum gemitu exclamat, يا اسفي علي يوسف, (Ta Asfa' ala Toûsosa,) O Dolorem meum super Josepho!

5 Arab. ثبت بالمكان فلم يزل, Kamûs.

6 Observat Golius, loco citato, vocem فيز in Duobus istis, quibus usus est. Codicibus, Dupliciter exponi: Quippe in uno verti per الشديد العض, Valido esse Brachio: in altero verò, per الشديد العضل, Validis esse Musculis. Posterior Lectio haud dubiè Verior; utpote à tribus, quæ in Bibliothecâ consului, Kamûsi Exemplaribus commendata. Utrovis autem modo legas, idem erit sensus.

a Gen. XXVII. 41.

b Hof. IX. 7, 8.

c Job. XXX. 21.

d Vir doctissimus sanè & κατανόητος, pro Brachia Manuum, reddit Vires Manuum; quod τρε eo sensu sumi potest: & Brachia Manuum dici commodè nequit; siquidem Manus sit Brachii pars. At contra Xæg Græcum, Totum illud membrum significat, quod à Digitorum extremis usque ad Humerum porrigitur; quodque in duo sui membra dividitur, Πᾶν & Βραχίονα: Et similiter * ي Arabicum protenditur. Et verò * دراع est striatè sic dictus Cubitus; qui poterat & Brachium dici.

aut Διωξίης, ut hîc; aut *Θεός, ut alibi; aut verò *Ιούς. [Aliàs, & sine alicujus appositione, *Taurum Rabbini* Nobisque significat, non *Græcis* modò Interpretibus: his verò & **Equum*, & **Angelum*]. Mens ergò hujus Commatii hæc fuerit: Corroboratum iri *Josephum* à Deo; qui *Jacobo* dederat Vires eas, quibus jam non ut Πτερυγίης, sed ut Παγχαμαγίης prævaleret; nec *Jacobus* vocaretur amplius, sed *Israel*.

יִשְׂרָאֵל, משם רעה אבן ישראל, Εκείθεν ὁ παγκοσμίως Ισραήλ. Ita *Græci* Interpretes, de *Viribus* etiam pergendo dicere; quasi hoc sensu: *Ex eo prævalebat* (five ut prævaleret roborabatur) *Israel*. Atque cùm pateat, eos hâc mente verbum רעה cum אבן construxisse; & רעה apud *Golium* exponatur, *Terra firmis constans Lapidibus*; constare inde poterat de Interpretationis ratione: nisi monitus fuisssem à Viro harum linguarum peritissimo, videri sibi *Golium*, hâc in voce reddendâ, à **Manuscripto* fortè suo deceptum. Nec tamen defunt alia indicia, quæ eodẽ nos ducant. Etenim *ראי [Conjug. 4.^a] significat **In terrâ defigere* [*Vexillum*]. Et ne *Vexillum*, vox apposita ad notionem verbi explicandam, quod vocatur *ראה, à *ראי *Vidit*, ei originem dedisse videatur; observari potest, in Linguâ *Hebræâ* non deesse verbum סוּרָפֵנִס isti, ירה, scilicet, quod in ipsâ *Jacobi* Historiâ superiùs usurpatur de *Lapide* ab ipso *Erecto* & *Stabilito*. Legitur enim, Gen. XXXI. 45. *Accepisse Jacobum Lapidem*, & erexisse eum in Statuam: & deinde de eo ait *Laban*, *Hunc Lapidem, quem ego ירתי*. *Lapis* autem hic, de quo nunc *Jacobo* sermo est, est quasi *Fundatus* & *Angularis* ille, qui *Isaia* XXVIII. 16. memoratur, cuique credatur securè. Hæc si placerent; nollem vocem משם per Εκείθεν interpretari, nec à שם illam ducere: sed à *רם, (sub quo tamen habetur & *רם pro *illic*,) prout significat **Stabilire* & *Firmare*; & Sententiam Priorem sic continuarem; *A Stabilitore illo, qui Jacobi Lapidem defixit*. Similiter etiam &, Clausulâ proximâ, vocem יעורר accipere liceret pro *Firmare*, & *Indurare*; cùm *עור, quod est *Juvare*, inter derivata sua numeret *עיואר **Firmus*, *Durus*. Tum verò, si quid placerent hæ Conjecturæ, & aliam tentare auderem; annon hæc omnia, de *Josepho* dicta, à Nominis sui radice subindicarentur. Siquidem *אורח non modò significat *Seſtari*, *sequi*, & *se adjungere*; unde *Additionis* notio *Hebraica*: sed & *אורח format, quod est *Firmus*, *Stabilis*.

1 Quæ de *רעה habet *Golius*, è *Kamûso* decerpfit; cujus omnia, quæ ad manus mihi erant, Exemplaria in Voce istâ sic legunt, رعية الأرض فيها حجارة دائمة, i. e. رעה est Terra, in quâ Lapidibus sunt Prominentes. Quæ certè à *Golianis* istis non adedò longè abludunt, ut à re nostrâ aliena esse incipiant.

2 Arabicè, روض العلم, Kamûs. Ubi habes & *أرى, idem quod ثبت, & ممكن, Firmavit, Stabilivit.

3 Arab. اجكام, & اصلاح. Ibn-Athir.

4 Arab. الشدج, & الصلب, Kamûs. In quo & Verbum ipsum *عور notionem fortitur hîc loci minimè aspernandam, eandem nempe cum وقف, Confirmavit, Stitit, Permanere fecit.

5 In Oceano idem valet quod الثابت, Fixus, Stabilis, Constans. Et ejus Verbum اصف, Conjug. 5.^a. Zamachshario est, الف امكان فلا برحه: i. e. Firmiter Permanfit in loco, neque discessit ex eo.

a If. LX. 16. Pf. CXXXII. 2.
d Pf. LXXVIII. 25.

b If. XLIX. 26.

c Jer. VIII. 16.

Græca Versio si minùs arrideat; nec aliæ satisficient. Qui enim משם interpretantur, *Ex eo Tempore*, Orationem reddunt æquè hiulcam; & habent *Abenezram* aduersantem, qui שם pro אז nunquam accipi pronunciat. Ut hiatus ille evitetur, Magister ille שם vult esse Nomen *Dei* istud, quo appellatus est modò, nempe אביר יעקב : consilio quidem bono, sed non admodùm aptè. Qui etiam אבן & רעה in consuetâ significatione sumunt; & vertunt seu *Pascit Lapis* [Fortis aut Columen] *Jacobum*; seu *Pastor*, & *Lapis*; eas voces duas ἀσμενολας faciunt, si non ἀσμενολας . Quid enim *Lapidi*, & *Pastori*? Hoc item incommodum ut effugiat memoratus *Scholias*, אבן idem significare statuit quod עצם ; & non modò *Robur* connotare, sed *Identitatem*: ut dicatur de *Josepho*, Eum, ope sic nominati *Dei*, Pavisse Patrem suum *Jacobum*; quod scilicet factum esse suprà memoratur. Alter Recentior אבן accipit pro כל ; quod nimirùm *Lapis*, unum aliquid sit: quo sensu paverit *Josephus* Omnem *Israelem*, nempe, Omnem ejus Familiam.

Si autem oporteat voce hâc שם *Deum* intelligi, uti *Abenezra* mavult; quod certè oportere videtur: non necesse est ut ad solum *Denominandi* significationem respiciamus. Ut enim illa competit *Arabicis* vocibus שם & אדם , prout à verbo סמי derivantur, quod est *Nominare*¹: ita altera convenit voci non multùm diversæ, ab eodem סמי ductæ, *Altum* & *Suprà esse* significante. Siquidem ab illo est סאם *Altus*, non minùs quàm *Hebræa* שמים *Cæli*; poteritque fieri ut *Eliph* quiescens facile excideret; & ut *Deus* appellatione hâc, non minùs quàm alterâ עליון , dignosceretur. Nescio verò an prorsus absolum esset, si vocem hanc à² verbo סום peterem, *Pastum* vel *Ire*, vel *Mittere*; sensu cum רעה magis congruente: atque exinde aliud *Deo* Cognomen darem; uti & Nomen *Semo Patriarchæ*, cujus è Posteris Nobilissimi *Pastoritiam* vitam agebant.

Tum autem & de אבן ampliùs dispicerem; si fortè & illud ad sensum aliquem accommodari possit, vocibus illis sic acceptis magis consentaneum. Primò autem occurrit בן *Filius*; quod *Arabibus* אבן : & quærenti satisfaceret, modò apud *Hebræos* Scriptores alibi reperiretur. Proximo autem loco invenies ipsum אבן , apud *Arabes* significaturum³ *Pone sequi*; unde & *Qui Sequuntur*, *Posterius*, facile deriventur: nec fortè vel בן ab illo alienum erit, licèt ad בנה referri obtinuerit apud Lexicographos tum *Hebræos*, tum *Arabes*.

Addi etiam potest; pro אבן *Lapide*, apertè poni אבן , 1 Sam. VI. 18. fierique potuisse, ut significationibus commutatis acciperetur item

¹ Immodè & (Conjug. 2^a.) In Nomine DEI loqui; seu formulâ بسم الله , *Bismillah*, uti. Nisi forsan تسميت , seu potius تسمية , (cui ista notio in Lexicis Arabicis tribuitur,) malis esse à سميت , *Intendit*, quàm à سمي , *Nominavit*. Quod tamen aliter se habere videtur. Vid. *Golii* Lex. Col. 1210.

² Quæ de سوم apud *Gieubar*. leguntur, ita se habent, $\text{سامتن الماشية اي رعت}$ $\text{واسمتها اذا اخرجتها الى الرعي}$: i. e. سوم , Conj. 1^a. significat *Gregem Pascere*: Conj. verò 4^a. *Pastum educere*.

³ *Arabicè*, قف , *Secutus est*, *Pressit vestigia*. Lex. *Mojmel-Al*. *Gieubar*. &c.

אבן pro אבל, in eo sensu sumpto, quo אבאלה, *Socii, Affecles*; aut אבן, *Tois o. Γέννημα*. Sin autem ista acceptio vocis אבל pro אבן à nobis non stet; obiter tamen annotetur, Lectionem istam *Masoretarum* hodiernam non ideo sollicitandam esse, quòd LXX. eo loco legisse videantur אבן: cum *Arabibus* * עבל fit *Crassum esse*; & * אעבל, *Lapis crassus, asper, in quo album quid, rubrum & nigrum*.

Ad hanc autem, in quâ nunc sumus, * עב significance, observari denique potest; eam acceptioni isti, quâ * ארף *Sequi* significat, benè convenire: vel si minùs interpretatio, quam * אבן modò attribuiamus, arrideat; & si שם solum, sic acceptum, cum suo רעה cogitemus.

אבן, &c. sequuntur superioribus connec-tenda. אבן *Nostri* Interpretibus, *Deus* absolute: *Tois o.* etiam hìc, * אבן: alibi, *Ισχυρς*: nonnunquam, *ἡγεμνος*: quò facit *Arabicum* * אבן, (quod ab * אבן,) *Regere, Praesse*. Cognomen autem *Dei* אבן, per quod se semel *Manifestasse* dicit ipsemet *Deus, Abrahamo, Isaaco, & Jacobo*; antequam per Nomen Sacrosanctum, *Jehova*, innotescere ipsi placeret; & *Græcis* Interpretibus variè redditur; vel per * אבן, uti videtur loco isto: vel * אבן, ut hìc, & passim: vel *Παντοκράτωρ*, quo sensu *Hebræis* vulgò fumitur: vel *ἰσχυρς*, quam significationem iudem etiam agnoscunt, sicut à די: vel *Κύριος*: vel *Επισταμιος*. Horum omnium significatorum vestigia deprehendas in vocibus cognatis *Arabicis*. *Κύριος* habetur in * אבן, *Dominus, Princeps*: ut אבן non alius fortè sit, quàm אבן; & deinde ejus loco * אבן, Nomen Numinis generalius, ponatur; quomodò ponitur aliquando loco * אבן *Adonai*. Non verò includitur solum * אבן *Παντοκράτωρ* significatio, in illâ *Domini*; sed comparet in * אבן, & apertius, quàm in Radice suâ אבן *Hebræorum*; quâ præcipuè notatur *Vastandi, & Perdendi Vis*. Verbum enim *Arabicum* gaudet * notionem *Constringendi, Stabiliendi, Firmandi*, [puta *Regnum*]; & *Corroborandi* [*Lacertum, hoc est, Vires*]. Et in istâ significatione *Constringendi* planè respondet verbo * אבן; unde Christianis *Arabibus* suum * אבן, quo *Omnipotens* designatur. Porro *Επισταμιος* referri possit ad * אבן, quod est in *Altum efferre* [*Tectum*]: uti * אבן, quod idem cum *Hebræo* שמם, & est *Omne quod supernè*

1 Vel quo * אבן, quod in *Kamûso* est المباركة من الولد, i. e. *Felix Filiorum Copia*, exponente *Giggeio*. Nisi forsan hæc vox ad *Camelorum* præcipuè Prolem sit restringenda. Quod si ita sit, habemus tamen * אבן, cum *Tesbaid* * אבן, quod apud eundem *Kamûsum* idem valet quod *جبل*, nempe *الامّة*, *Genus, Populus*; immò, *Golio*, ipsa *Progenies*.

2 *Arabicè*, *حجر اخشن غايظ يكون احمر وابيض واسون*, *Kam*.

3 *Tò* * אבן *Gieuhario* est, *ساس*, *Regere, Administrare*: *Phirouzabadio*, *ولى*, *Praesse, Principatum tenere*: *Zamachshario*, *حكم*, *Judicare*, seu quamlibet aliam potestatem exercere. Quin nec tacendum est, *Ibn-Athir* vocem * אבן, per quam intelligere videtur *Hebræorum* אבן, inter *Derivativa* nostri * אבן ponere, eamque disertè pronunciare اسم الله تعالى, *Nomen DEI Altissimi*, ac efferre per *الربوبية*, *Dominium*.

4 Quam notionem exhibet *Gieuharius* his verbis: شد عضده اي قواه وقول شد الله. Et ad eandem fere mentem *Zamachsharius*.

5 *Zamachshario* est simpliciter رفع, *Extulit, Elevavit*; sine *Tecti* mentione.

nos tegit, ad suprâ memoratum * סמא, *Altus fuit, Extulit*, pertinere ponitur. 'יגוּס autem quod attinet; * סדאד est, ¹ *Quo satisfit necessitati vitæ*. Et porro notandum venit, Verbum Radicale, unde hoc סדאד derivatur, * סד, [Conjug. 2^a.] significare ² *Recto ductu propitius juvit*; nec non * סד, [Conjug. 4^a.] *Bene meritus est, Donavit*.

An hoc *Dei* Nomen, quo insigniri se olim voluit, quoque in Libro *Jobi* antiquo illo frequentissimè appellatur, à *Potentia* (quod volunt *Judæorum* plurimi); aut à *Stabiliendo*, & *Corroborando*; aut à *Ducendo*, & *Dirigendo*, & *Adjuvando*; (quomodo *Latinorum* JUPITER, à *Juvando*;) aut verò à *Supremâ* ejus *Cœlestique Sede*, impositum fuerit; non dixerim: Appositè certè, & aptissimè à *Jacobo* in Benedictionum, quæ sequuntur, Serie explicandâ adhibetur. Idem enim erat, quo se *Abrahamo* & *Jacobo* notum esse voluit Deus, cum tam amplè illis benediceret ipse, eorumque Posteris tanta Sobolis & Terrarum augmenta promitteret: eoque ergò hîc invocatur, ut illa omnia *Josepho* huic præstaret jam, & potissimùm impertiretur. Nimirum, quod dederat Deus Primis hominum Parentibus, ut Fœtificent, & Multiplicarentur, & latè Imperarent; quodque *Patriarchis* deinceps Tribus peculiari munere concefferat: hoc id est, quod *Jacobus* jam *Josepho* suo dilectissimo apprecatur verbis maximè sequentibus: Fructuum utique Copiam, è Soli læti Ubertate; & Liberos Gregumque Abundantiam, ex Animantium Fœturâ, eleganter conjungens. In vocibus, quibus hoc exprimitur, difficultas nulla est. Et earum mentem, ne in Conjectationibus nimius sim, ad Cognomen שדי non traham: quanquam annotari posset, cognatam ei vocem דדי significare *Madefecit, Irrigavit*; quæque facili *Orientalibus* Populis Metaphorâ (utî in * בל) connotare queat ⁴ *Bene meritus est, & Benefecit*, quod nempe à * סדי significatum diximus; & quæ deinde ad Latines eos *Fœcundantes* & *Alentes*, qui hîc memorantur, aptissimè deducatur.

Penè oblitus sum admonere, in *Versione Græcâ* hæc verba, תהום, רבצת תהום, sic reddi, Τὴν γῆν ἐχέουσαν πύματα ἐνερῶς. Ubi תהום illis est ἡ: alibi, (utî hîc *Judæis*, eosque sequentibus,) Ἀβυσσος. Et est quidem *Arabibus* * תהם, sub *Te* Radicali, ⁵ *Terra ad mare vergens; Depressior* scilicet, qualis ἡμα, quam apud *Homerum* à *Montibus* distingui observat *H. Stephanus*; & qualis ארץ, *Deut. XXXIII. 16*. Est & vox * תום, quæ significat ⁶ *Interiora terræ*; cui *Te* Servilem præponas:

¹ Arabicè, ما يلقى حاجة العيش, *Astouth*.

² Hinc ista Precandi formulâ à *Zamachshario* memorata: اللهم سددي ووقني: i. e. *Dirige me, Deus, & Propitius esto mihi*.

³ De * סדי ita *Ibn-Athir*: اسدي واولي واعطي بمعدي: i. e. * סדי in 4^a. Conj. idem sonat quod اعطي, & اولي; quorum اولي est, *Benefacere alicui, Bene mereri de eo*: اعطي verò, *Donare, Largiri, &c.*

⁴ Quò alludere videtur istud *Zamachsharii*, ارضع فلان ثدي الضرم, *Suxit quis mamillas Liberalitatis*: i. e. Animum habuit ejus Præceptis imbutum.

⁵ Arab. متصوبة الى البحر, *Kam*. Et hinc quædam *Arabia* pars vocatur القهامه; ob *Humilem*, nempe, & *Depressum* ejus Situm.

⁶ Arab. بطنان الارض, *Kamûs*. Nec aliter *Ibn-Athir*, & alii.

sub * quâ est * המים, *Abundans Aqua* [Puteus]; cui comparari potest * המא, *Fluxit, Manavit*. Porro, in sequentibus manifestum est, per istud ἐνεχε exponi תחת: & ideo ἐχέσθαι πάντα respondere debere תחת רבצת. Ista autem Significatio latet, ni fallor, in *Arabico* * רבו, quod est [Conj. 8^a.] *Absolutus, Perfectus est*. Ubi videas hîc commisisse LXX. Interpretes, quod sæpe aliàs ab illis factum, ut Verbo significationem aliquam suam, licet à loci mente alienam, affigerent. Observandum autem est, illud ἐνεχεν, perversè hîc positum, constructum deinde cum εὐλογία, Casum ejus mutasse; simul & mutationis in eadem voce iteratæ, Commationque sequens luxantis, causam dedisse.

Restat alterum Commation hujus Εὐλογίας:

ברכות אבך נברו על ברכות הורי, &c. Οἱ οὐ. sic interpretantur, Εὐλογίας πατρός σου καὶ μητρὸς σου ὑπερίχυσεν ὑπὲρ εὐλογίας ὁρέων μονίμων, καὶ ἐπ' εὐλογίας θηγῶν ἀεινάζων· ἐστὶν αὖ ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ Ἰωσήφ, καὶ ἐπὶ κορυφῇς αὐτοῦ ἡγήσατο ἀδελφοί σου.

Ut missam faciam variationem terminationis in voce εὐλογίας, modò notatam: observari potest, vocem הורי à nonnullis pro *Montibus* hic accipi, prout in *Deut.* XXXIII. 15. & pariter adjici videri: vocemque קדם, ibi positam, ἀρχῆς reddi; hîc μονίμων. Quo modo μονίμων pro קדם poni possit, non quæro: Nec hujus est loci. Existimaverim enim, *Patriarcham* non ita hîc procedere, ut sententiam priorem prosequatur, & à *Planitie* laudandâ veniat ad *Montes*; licet *Moses*, *Israelitis* benedicens, à *Montium* fertilitate ad *Camporum* ubertatem descendat: sed Sententiam hîc novam à *Benedicentis* ipsius *Mentione* incipere; eumque, postquam copiam illam omnem, à *Shaddai* conferendam, satis speciatim auguratus fuerit, in eo jam definere, ut summam Optet universas eas *Benedictiones*, quæ vel *Sibi*, vel *Majoribus* unquam suis tributæ fuissent, simul cumulari in hunc *Josephum*.

Verba enim quod attinet, quibus hoc significetur; concedunt ferè omnes, הרה posse non de *Matribus* solis, sed de *Patribus* dici; & ad omnes *Progenitores* extendi. נבר quidem, uti τοῖς οὐ. redditur per ὑπερίχυσω; ita nunc communiter accipitur. At sub * נבר *Arabico* non tantum illa *Potentiae* significatio invenitur, in * נבאר *Præpotens*, Παντοκράτωρ³; quâ gaudet & * חבר, cùm *Magnificare* significet: sed & alia⁴ *Consolidandi*, & *Redintegrandi*, in * אלגבר, noto *Algebrae* nomine; quâ convenit cum *Hebræo* חבר, *Affociare, Conjungere*. Non ergò *Benedictiones* has *Jacobi*, sive *Activè*, sive *Passivè* dictas, comparari hîc putem cum *Majorum* suorum *Benedictionibus*, iisque præferri; (quod

1 Vocem * המים commodius forsan sub * הם quæstiveris.

2 *Arabice*, كم, & كمل; Kamûs. Ubi & idem valet quod اكمل, Implevit. Quin & ipsum رضى Gieuhario est في, Ad Victum Sufficit: Ut καὶ ἐχέσθαι πάντα, idem fortè hic *Jacobo* sonet, quod *Homero*, Ζειδωγὸς Ἀγυρᾶ, *Iliad.* β'. 548.

3 Vocem * נבאר, cùm pro DEO ponitur, sic definit *Assionthius*, الحبار من اسمائه تعالى, وسماعه الذي يظهر العباد على ما اراد من امر ودهى. i. e. * نבאר est unum ex *Nominibus* Altissimi: Qui ita dicitur, quoniam Potestatem habet cogendi homines ad obedientiam in omnibus qua precipit, sive jubendo, sive vetando.

4 Sic جبر العظم Gieuhario idem est quod كسر, Os fractum reposuit & solidavit, seu in integrum restituit. Quin & جبر & (in 5^a Conjug.) cum مال, Facultasibus, seu Divitiis, conjunctum, effertur per اصاحه, i. e. Affecutus est eas: Rem instauravit. Kamûs.

usitator, mutatum fuerit. Illud autem constat, eos vim נור hîc expressisse per 'הגִּדְּמַי, quomodo usurpatur 'Arab. * נטאיר, quod vult *Præstantiores, Optimates*. Atque, quod ad rem hanc facere poterit, est * נריר, non modò *Deo Devotus*², sed etiam *Monitor*³, &, peculiariter, qui simul *Minatur*. Significationem autem eam quod attinet, quam modò prætuli, quæque aliis multis placuit, *Eximii*, nempe, & *Præcipui*; ea facilè deducitur à Separatione istâ, quam eloquitur *Hebræum* נור: & verò ab *Arabico* * נדר⁴ disertim enunciatur. Neque quemquam moveat, me literas istas medias indifferenter habere; & quodlibet in voces meas verbum arripere, in cujus medio earum una aliqua similis reperitur: cùm satis constet, eam esse modò inter voces *Arabicas*, literis affinibus constantes, necessitudinem, ut sensus suos sibi mutuò facillimè accommodent. Illud autem unicum observatum, cujus specimen in verbis his clarè cernitur, *Linguae Arabicæ* Intelligentiam, Variarum Significationum confusione laborare aliàs vi-
fæ, non paulo explicationem reddet.

Dum sensus Simpliciores hujus Commatis scrutaremur attentius, non vacabat ad Allusiones aliquas παραστροφάς animum advertere. Observare verò licet, non solùm Coacervationes illas Benedictionum juxta *Josephi* Nomen esse: sed ipsam Benedictionis rem ab illo non prorsus alienam esse. *Psalmi* enim CXV. Benedictiones cùm sic enunciantur, *Benedicat Deus Domui Israelis, benedicat Domui Aaronis; benedicat Deus ipsum reverentibus, tam minoribus, quàm majoribus*; sequitur; יוסף, *Addet Deus super vos, & super liberos vestros; Benedicti estote vos Domino, Creatori cælorum & terræ*. Ubi videmus Benedictionem hanc Sacerdotalem, huc usque productam, mediante voce יוסף, continuari: quæ ergò idem posse videatur, quod vox ברך. Licet enim illa, sub *Additionis* notione accepta, locum hîc aliquem tenere possit: intelligi tamen debet eo sensu *Amplificandi, Augendi, & Felicitate mactandi*, quo Benedictio à Deo intelligi item debeat. Quin & Benedictionem etiam, per verba scilicet *Bona*, ab eadem voce significari licet suspicari: cùm * וצף fit non modò⁵ *Famulari, & Servire*, cui convenit * אסף, *Servus*: Sed &⁶ *Narrare, Laudare*; & * וצף,

1 Respondet enim in *Kamûso* duobus الافاضل, *Præstantes, Excellentes*; & الاماثل, *Optimates, Proceres*; utpote illustria Virtutis Exempla. Et hinc نظامير الجيوش, [juxta Auctorem Lexici Jamio'l-Logat] li sunt Milites, qui summum in exercitu imperium meritis suis obtinuerunt.

2 Golio idem quod ipsum *Hebr.* נריר. Qualem etiam sensum obtinet in *Kamûso*, aliisque Lexicis *Arabicis*.

3 Præcipuè qualis habetur in Exercitu; qui in anteriori ejus parte (*Arabicè* الطليعة dicta) versatur, Militesque, tam monendo & hortando, quàm minando, si occasio fert, merumque injiciendo, hostis appropinquantis certiores facit. Quæ est notio vocis المنذر apud *Ibn-Athir*: quam igitur *Giggeius* disertè reddit, *Dux Exercitus*; ipso nempe *Græci* 'Ηγεμῶν sentiu.

4 Est enim *Alphiumio*, تقدم في الفضلة, *Præcedere aliquem Virtute & Dignitate*. Unde دابة القرن in *Kamûso* est, وحيد العصر, *Phœnix Seculi, Vir Incomparabilis*.

5 *Arabicè*, خدم, *Phirouz*. عبد, *Ibn-Athir*.

6 Teste *Zamachshario*, qui de voce وصف, inter alia, hæc habet; خواصه بالكرم, *Generosi Titulo aliquem Insigniverunt: Nobilitatem ejus Prædicarunt*. Unde sequitur, اوصاف حسنة, *Nomen Honestum, Clara Existimatio, &c.*

Attributum, Laus; & * עָרַף, ¹ *Encomiaſtes*. *Narrare* autem & *Laudare* Bona, quæ cuiquam in futurum evenient; quid aliud eſt, quàm ei Εὐλογεῖν, eumque de iis, ſeu ſuper ea, Εὐδαμονίζεω? Et verò eo narrandi genere, Benedictiones hujus Capitis pleræque concipiuntur: & illa *Balaami* tota contextitur. Aliam etiam offert Conjecturam Ἀντιπαύης illa ultima hujus Perioches, quâ Phraſes duæ *Joſephi Caput*, & *Eximii inter Fratres Vertex*, ita ſibi invicem reſpondent, ut in idem recidere videantur. Sicut enim dictum jam eſt, נִרְרִי ſonare *Eximium* & *Præcipuum*: ita habet & צַפָּא, unde Futurum יִצַּף formari poſſit, voces ſub ſe poſitas צַפָּא, quæ eſt *Pars rei Melior* & *Selectior*; ² *Muhammedi* apud Suos Epitheton; & מֻסְתַּפִּי, *Mustaphi*, Nomen, idem ſignificans, quo eorum multi [quo etiam & ipſe *Mubammedus*] aliquando inſigniuntur. Ad hanc verò convenientiam vocum נִרְרִי & צַפָּא, porro confirmandam; addi poteſt de voce נִצָּאָר, quæ illi נִרְרִי affinis; ³ eam proſus idem cum צַפָּא ſignificare; *Partem ſcilicet rei Purioris* & *Præſtantiorem*.

Sic ergò *Jacobus* Filiorum Præſtantiſſimo, *Joſepho* ſuo, Benedicit:

Eſt Ramus, per quem increvi [ego], *Joſephus*: Ramus, ſuper fontem ſitus; *Increſcens* ipſe, & fructifer [per *EPHRAÏMUM*, *Incrementum* ſuum]: Ramus item ſupra Murum emicans [per *Florentem* & *in altum enitentem*, *MANASSEN* ſuum].

[Tum Fratres ipſius, tum Alii, in quorum manu fuerat] *Sagittarii*, Illum [*Virum* non minùs *Sagittarium*] Probris & Calumniis impetebant: [ex *Joſepho Aucto*, jam *Aſephum* factum, *Dolentem Triftemque* nempe, & *Servum*.]

Arcus interim ejus *permanſit firmus*; Viresque manuum ejus prævalidæ erant factæ; à Manibus ejus, qui valentem fecerat [me] *Jacobum*; à Stabilitore illo, qui defixit fundavitque Lapidem mei *Iſraelis* [apud Deum & homines prævalentis]: à Forti illo, Deo Patris tui, qui & te *Stabiliat*: ab Optimo illo & mihi Beneficentiſſimo, qui & tibi *Benedicat* [& quidem *cumulatiſſimè*] *Benedictionibus* [illis Soli,] tum quæ à Cœlis deſuper influant, tum quæ è Terrâ ſubtùs emanent; *Benedictionibusque* ſimul iis, Uberum, & Uteri.

Benedictiones hæ Patris tui [quæ aut modò à me prolatae, aut quibus ipſe fuerim beatus] *inſuper additæ* omnibus *Benedictionibus* Majorum meorum, qui unquam fuerunt, ex quo Montes [nati]: ſint [unâ conſignatae & collatae, quaſi ab impoſitis omnium noſtri manibus,] in Caput *Joſephi*, [ſic *Aucti* ſcilicet, & *Maſti*]; & in Verticem ejus, qui [merito ſuo, & votis noſtris,] inter Fratres ſuos *Egregius* porro ſit & *Eximius*.

¹ Arabicè, العارف بالوصف, *Kamûs*.

² Rationem habes apud *Gienharium*, وقال محمد عليه السلام صفوة الله من خلقه, MOHAMMEDI eò ſunt indita, quòd à Deo *Selectus* ſit inter homines.

³ Unde & ipſiſſimis, quibus נִרְרִי * צַפָּא, verbis in *Kamûſo* exponitur; nimirum, الخالص من كل شيء.

בנימין ואב יטרף

&c.

Interpretes LXX. exponunt **ואב יטרף** per *Λύκος ἄρπαξ*, Nominaliter : Nec aliter Recentiores : *Castalionem* excipio ; qui sic reddit, *Ceu Lupus prædabitur*. Nimirum, *ceu* interponit ; ne sint **ואב** & **בנימין**, ἀσυν-
 δετοι : quale quid, per totum hunc *Jacobi* Sermonem, antè non acci-
 derat. Quid si ergò **ואב** hoc Infinitivè sumi placeat ; (nec enim *Pun-
 cta* moramur, *Masoretarum* commentum ;) ejusque significatum ab
Arabismo petamus ? Ubi verbum **ואב** sonat, *Lupi* ¹ *more agere*,
Prædam undique captare, *Grassari* : **ואברה** ² *(Giggeio)* ³ *Illud colle-
 git* (undique nimirum) ; & **ואב אלשי** ⁴ *Rem variis vicibus accepit*.
 Tum, nimirum, ita processura est Sententia : *Benjamin (Lupi more)*
 undique, variisque vicibus, captando, Prædabitur ; Manè nimirum,
 Vesperique, &c. Ita prorsus congruit Explicatio hæc iis, quæ statim
 dicuntur : simul & Futurum **יטרף**, **ואב** sic adjunctum, Futuro isti
 pulchrè respondet, quod in **בנימין** latet ; quòque poterat *Jacobus* re-
 spexisse. Est enim verbum **ואב** ⁵ *Pascere familiam*, *Alimenta submi-
 nistrare*, *Sibi suisque de necessariis prospicere*. Hæc si non inconcinna
 videantur, constabit, Nomen **בנימין** non jam ab **אב** deduci debere, nec
 in *Mem* literam definere ; utut legant Codices *Samaritani*. Istud
 certè meliori multum Omine à Patre impositum est : ut quem Ma-
 ter à *Dolore* & *Gemitu* suo appellatum voluit, Filium illum *Jacobus*
 à *Fælicitate*, *Opulentiâ*que auspiciatius denominaret. Siquidem est
ואב ⁶ *Benedictio*, *Augmentum*, *Vis*, *Robur* : & **ואב** ⁷ *Felix fuit*, *O-
 pulentus*, *Rerum copiâ cumulatus* ; quæ ultima Significatio **ואב** non
 longè abest ab illâ cognati sui **ואב**, quod dicitur, cum *Sumptu mag-
 no* & *copiosè alitur familia*. Atque ista, modò placeant, in *Benja-
 minem* ⁸ suffecerint. Neque enim opus est, ut *ὁμωνυμίαν* **ואב** multis

1 Nempe, **ואב**, *خبثا*, ut habet *Gieuharius*, i. e. *Astutè & Improbè*. Et hinc **ואب**,
 auctore *Zamachshario*, sunt *من صغاليكهم يشطارهم الذين يخلصون*, *Pauperrimum*
Nequissimumque Arabum genus, qui, Luporum more, rapinis vivunt. Hinc & qui *Vasfrè*
*Simulatè*que agere amat, *Meidanio* dicitur, *لئيب في مسك سخلة*, *Lupus in polle Ovinâ* :
 vel, si *Græca* malis, ista habes *Matt. VII. 15. Λύκος ἄρπαξ ἐν ἐνδύματι Προβάτου*.

2 Arabicè, **واهد**, *Kamûs*.

3 Verbum **ואברה** in *Oceano* exponitur per *تداول*, quod *Lupum* ultrò citròque, *Prædan-
 di* causâ, circumcursantem aptè repræsentat. Denotat enim, *Per vices & periodos huc & illuc
 se convertere* ; *Se invicem Obire* ; *De loco in locum migrare*, &c.

4 Arabicè, **واهد**, *Kamûs*. *التمون كثرة النعمة على العيال ومادة قام بلغايتهم*. *Kamûs*. *فلان يمدون*
عياله. *Zamach*.

5 Arabica *Kamûsi* ita se habent ; **واهد**, *Benedictio*, *Augmentum*, *Felicitas*, *Abundantia* :
واهد, *Potentia*, *Virtus*, *Robur* : **واهد**, *Status*, seu *Locus honestus & illustris*. Quibus
Alphumius addit **واهد**, *Magnitudo*, *Vis*. Quin & ipsum verbum **واهد** in *Gieu*. Lex. contra-
 rium esse dicitur **واهد**, & exponitur per **واهد**, quod in *5*. Conjug. significat *Felicem esse* :
 pec. *benedictione* *DEI*, & *latâ rei copiâ*.

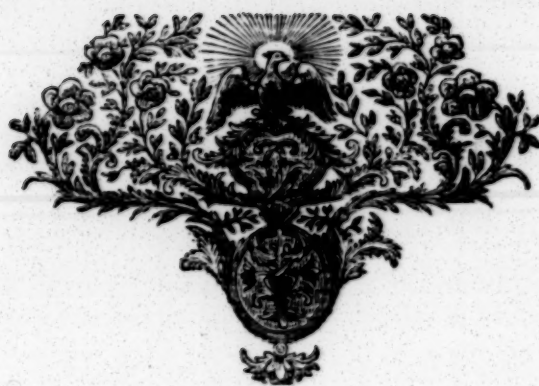
6 Nisi forsan id unicum adjicere fas sit ; Nimirum, quòd Auctor *Kamûsi*, varia **واهد** ⁷
 Derivativa recensens, **واهد** *BENJAMINEM Josephi Fratrem*, iis aperte
 annumeret.

explicemus, quod τοῖς ο'. per ἐπ redditur; cæteris omnibus rectius, per *Prædam*, ab *Arabico* * אַדָּ; quod supra vidimus de *Jebuda*.

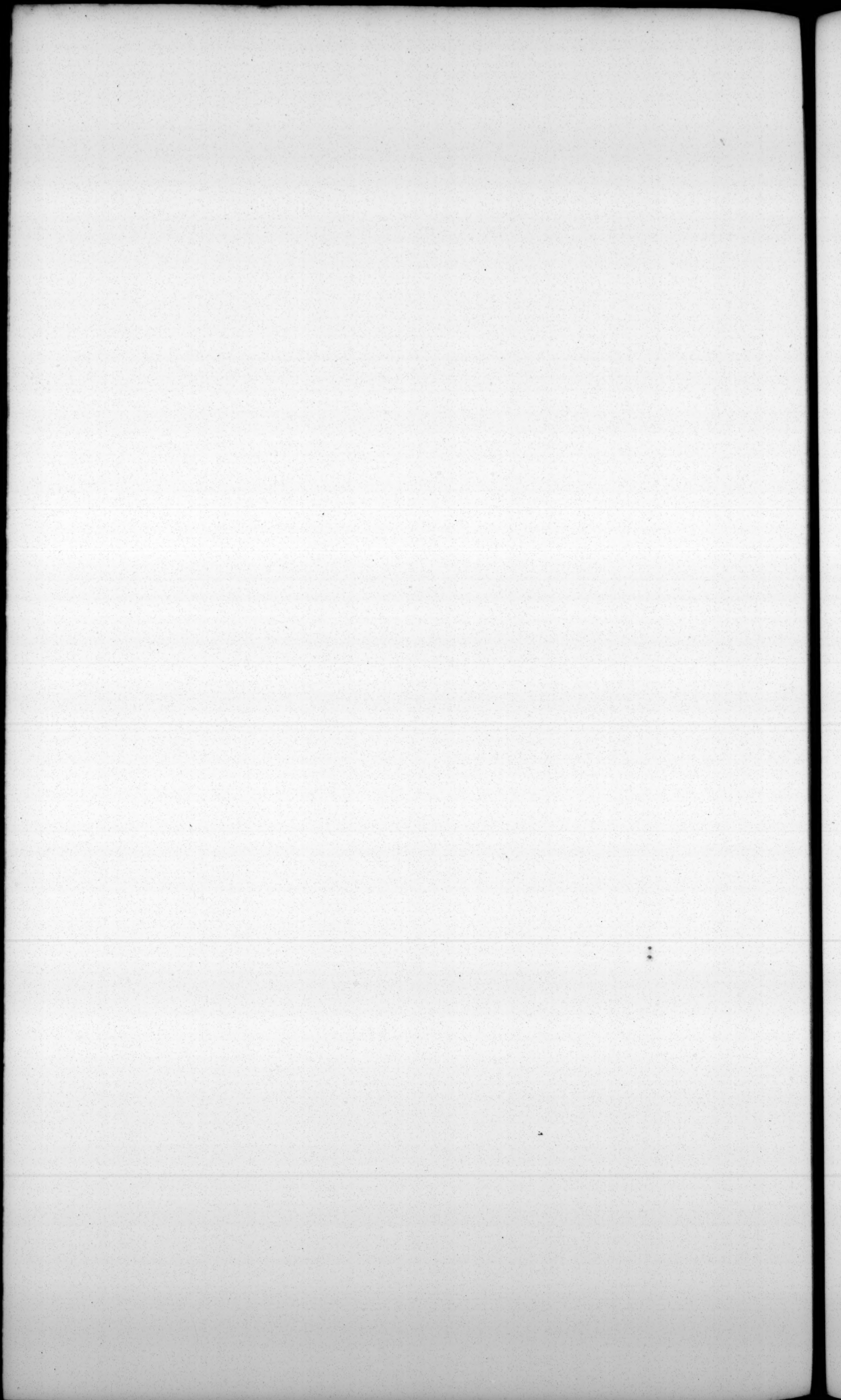
Quare ista fit *Benjaminis* Εὐλογία :

Benjamin [Filius quondam mihi dictus à Fœlicitate, Viribus, Opumque copiâ, eadem usque propria habebit: quodque illi Nomen in futurum promittit, *sibi suisque* affatim *prospiciet.*] Lupi instar, ubique, nec simplici vice, grassando, Prædabitur: & Prædam comedet Matutinam: & Spolia Vespertina dividet.

F I N I S.



E I G H T
S E R M O N S,
P R E A C H E D O N
S E V E R A L O C C A S I O N S.



T H E
C O N T E N T S.

S E R M O N. I.

PReached before the LORD MAYOR, at *Guild-Hall* Chapel,
Octob. 30. 1681.

*GALAT. V. 22, 23. But the Fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy,
Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Tem-
perance* Page 569.

S E R M O N II.

Preached before the KING, at *White-Hall*, on *Nov. V. 1681.*

*MATT. XXII. 21. — Render therefore unto Cesar, the things which
are Cesar's; and unto God, the things that are God's* p. 591.

S E R M O N. III.

Preached before the QUEEN, at *White-Hall*, on *Sunday, Jan. 25.
1690-1.*

*LUKE XVI. the last Verse. And he said unto him, If they hear not
Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one
rose from the Dead* p. 607.

S E R M O N. IV.

Preached before the KING and QUEEN, at *White-Wall*, *Jan.
14. 1693-4.*

*JOHN VII. 17. If any Man will do his Will, he shall know of the
Doctrine, whether it be of God* p. 621.

S E R M O N V.

Preached before the KING, at *Kensington*, *Sunday, Jan. 20. 1695.*

*I JOHN III. 20. If our Heart condemn us, God is greater than
our Heart —* p. 637.

S E R M O N. VI.

Preached before the HOUSE of COMMONS, at St. Margaret's Westminster, on Friday, Apr. 4. 1701. being the Day of Publick Fast and Humiliation.

PHIL. III. 20. *For our Conversation is in Heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour —* p. 651.

S E R M O N VII.

Preached before the HOUSE of LORDS, at Westminster-Abbey, on Monday, Jan. 31. 1703-4. the Fast-Day for the Martyrdom of KING CHARLES I.

2 COR. X. 3, 4. *Though we walk in the Flesh, we do not war after the Flesh:*

For the Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty — p. 669.

S E R M O N. VIII.

Preached before Both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT, at St. Paul's, on Tuesday, July 7. 1713. being the Day of General Thanksgiving for the PEACE.

PSALM CXXII. 7. *Peace be within thy Walls, and Plenteousness within thy Palaces* p. 683.

A
S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE

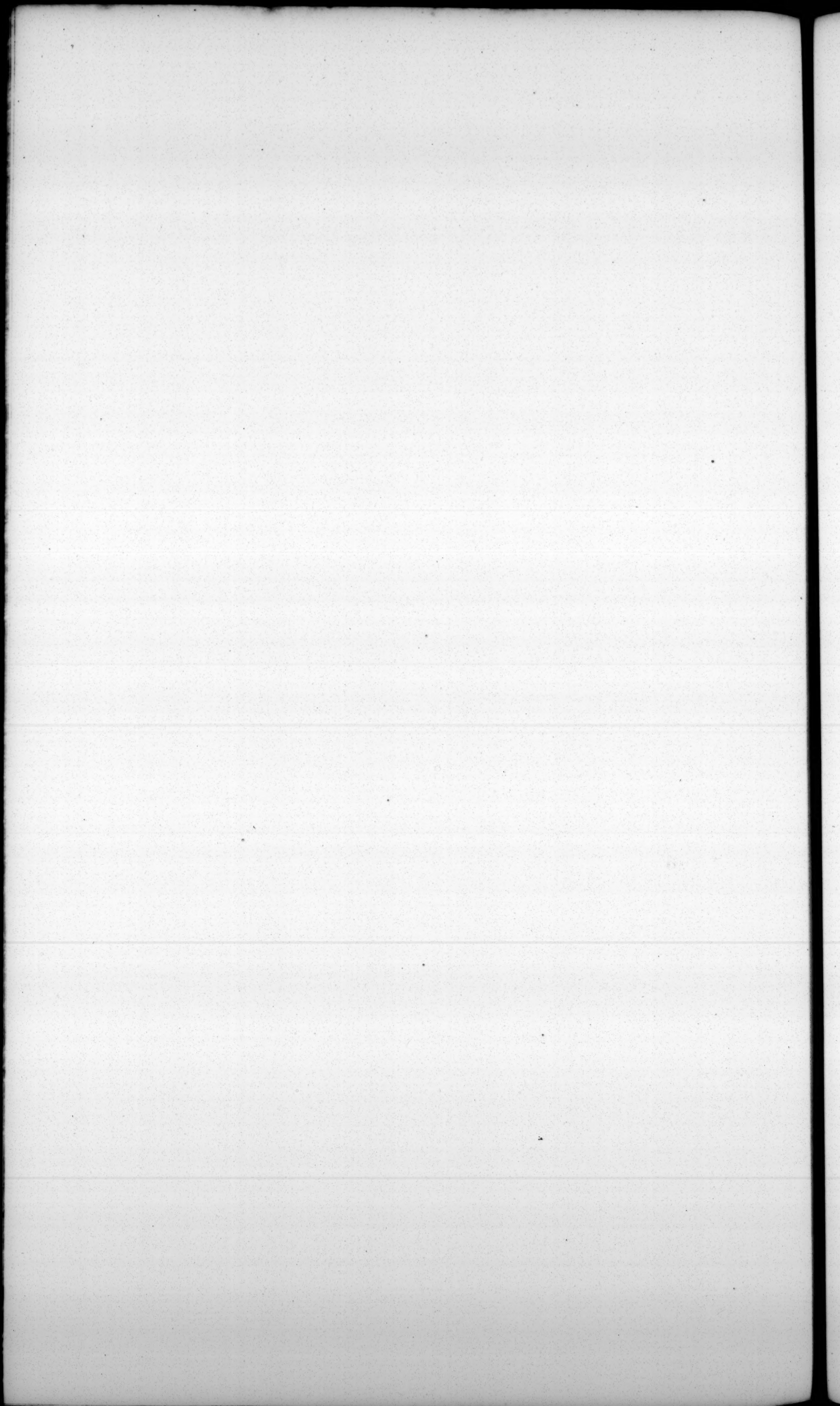
The RIGHT HONOURABLE

The LORD MAYOR,

A T

GUILD-HALL CHAPEL,

Octob. 30. 1681.



TO THE
RIGHT HONOURABLE
Sir JOHN MOORE, Knight,
L O R D M A Y O R
OF THE
CITY of LONDON.

MY LORD,

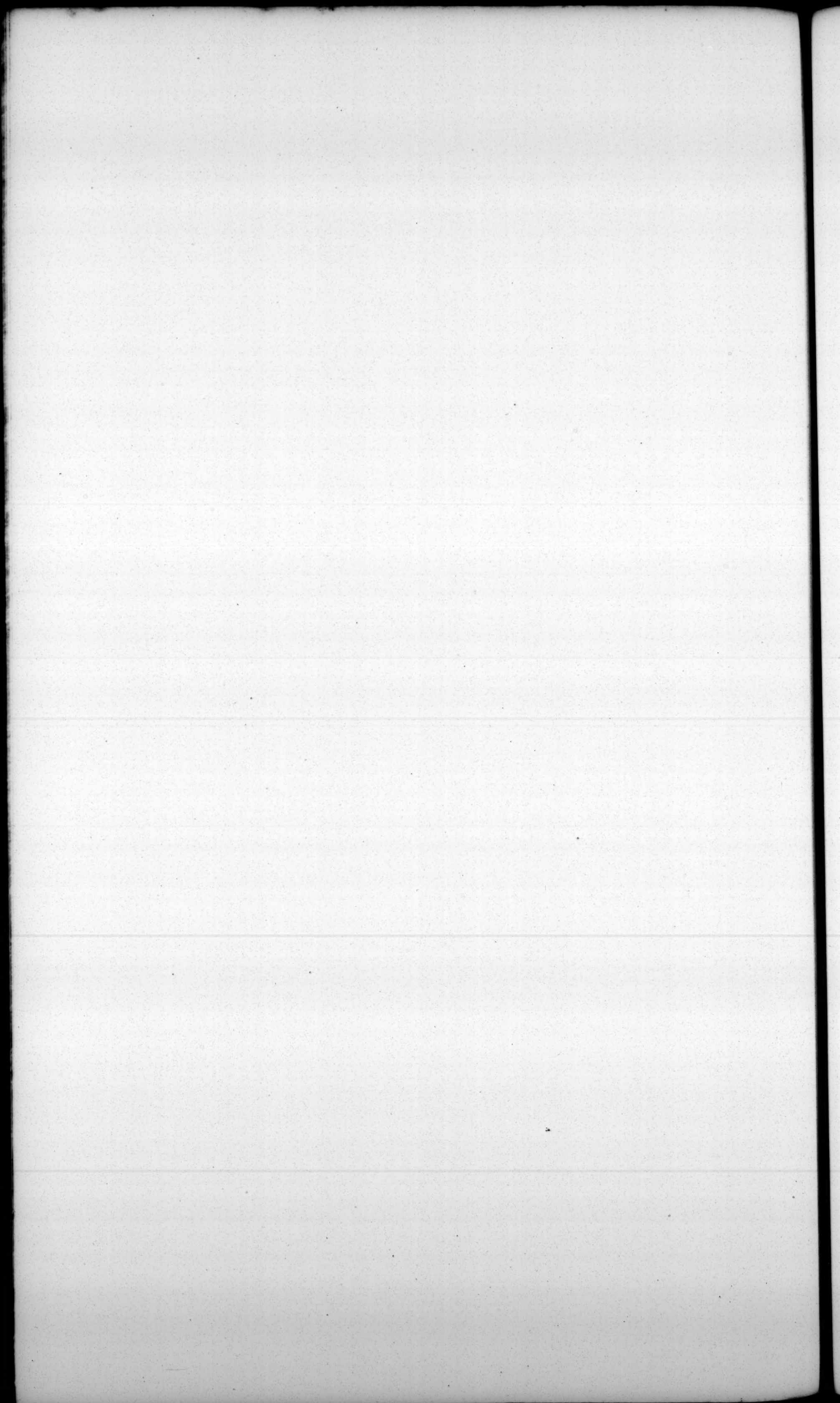
THIS Discourse, as it doth justify its becoming now more publick, by so good an Authority, as that which it hath prefixed; so is too to confess, that it owes that Honour to the Subject, of which it treats. Those Graces of the Blessed Spirit were likely to procure Favour, from your Lordship, to one that did but mention their Names: and might be understood well enough, though in an imperfect Description, by such as were no Strangers to them. That the Holy Ghost may proceed to exhibit them to your Lordship and your Brethren, in their own Life and full Power; that by the Influence of your Government, Love, and Joy, and Peace may be once again restored amongst us; that by such Fruit your City may flourish now, and Yourselves be everlastingly happy hereafter; is the Prayer of,

My LORD,

Your LORDSHIP'S

Most Obedient Servant,

GEORGE HOOPER.



S E R M O N I.

PREACHED BEFORE

T H E L O R D M A Y O R, &c.

GALAT. V. 22, 23.

But the Fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance.

I *Will not leave you comfortless*, said our Blessed Saviour, upon his Departure, to the disconsolate Disciples; *I will come unto you*^a. And this Promise he afterwards graciously verified, in the Mission of the Holy Ghost: when the Divine Nature came yet nearer to them, than it had before done in the Incarnation; did not take Flesh apart, and constitute a distinct Man: but united itself in particular to each Believer, came in unto them, and dwelt within them: not now to work its Wonders in its own Person, or only to declare Laws; but to endue others with that Power of Miracles, and to enable us all for the mighty Works of Obedience, to perform those his Commands.

That is the *Manifestation* of the Spirit, spoke in the same Chapter; *and given to every one to profit withal*. But, because too there are Differences of Spirits; and those as great, as between the Holy and the Wicked, the Blessed and the Accursed; because it is necessary to know, which to ask of God, and cherish in ourselves, which we should command to avoid, and get behind us; *and the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God*^b: this Manifestation is not yet clear, till we are taught to discern the Spirit; and till the Holy Ghost, in farther favour to us, shall have informed us of the Manner and Signs of its blessed Presence: how it operates, and where it is to be presumed.

And if the Operation of our Souls, the Apprehension of the Understanding, and Inclination of the Will, afford such advantageous and delightful Speculation to Rational Minds; our Thoughts being no other way better entertained, nor further improved, than by such Reflections: the Motions of the Holy Spirit within us, the Actings

^a Job. XIV. 18.

^b 1 Cor. II. 11.

of that new Divine Soul, as they are infinitely more exalted, and more concerning; so are they a far nobler, and much more necessary Subject for our most attentive Consideration.

Our Saviour entered upon this Subject, in answer to *Nicodemus*. *The Wind*, saith he, *bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof*^a, &c. Not to direct us, to know the Holy Spirit by the sound; for we may hear of it loudly, where it is not: nor that we should expect it always in Storms and Tempests; but to inform us, that its Substance is invisible, and that it is discernable only by the Effects. And after those Effects we are now to enquire.

That therefore we may know how to stir up the Gift of God that is in us; and may duly thank him for those Graces of his, we find in ourselves, or in our Brethren; that we may not be deluded by our own Imaginations, or others Pretences; let me engage you a little while into so noble, so useful a Contemplation, while the Spirit, in *St. Paul*, tells you what Fruit of it ye are to expect in yourselves, and others.

The Fruit of the Spirit, saith the Apostle, *is Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Faith, Meekness, Temperance*. And in these words you may consider, I. The Natures of these Graces; and their orderly Production: II. Their Beauty, and Advantage: And, III. Our Obligation to produce them.

I. The *Love*, here first mentioned, is the same with that you find throughout the whole New Testament, sometimes under its own Name, sometimes under that of *Charity*: and is nothing else but the Love, with which the Christian is affected to God, first; and then, for God's sake, to his Brethren. This Fruit contains the Seeds of those that follow: the Holy Spirit producing the rest from it, in a most natural manner. And this, how it is raised itself; we are first to consider.

And, in order to this, it will be necessary to premise, that one of those Graces, which results from Love, and is here rendered Faith, ought not to be taken for that Faith, by which we become Christians; but for Faithfulness or Fidelity: as will appear hereafter. The initiating Faith, whereby we assent to the Gospel, being here presupposed; and leading us to Love: as Love will afterwards incline us to Fidelity.

For the Apostle begins here, where he ended in his Epistle to the *Corinthians*^b. There, after he had discovered the temporary instrumental Use of those Miraculous Gifts, which shined out in some Christians for the Benefit of others, he directs them earnestly to covet the better; those which were to abide, and were necessary to their own Salvation. *And now*, says he, *abideth Faith, Hope, Charity, these three*. And as these three have the preference before those

^a *Job*. III. 8,

^b *1 Cor*. XIII. 13.

other afore mentioned ; for they tended only to excite Faith, the first of these : so, amidst these too, the preeminence is given to the last : *but the greatest of these is Charity.* Faith and Hope themselves being but of a transitory nature in respect of Love : they serving only to create that ; and not continuing in the next World. And this Love he there largely commends by the Effects ; of which he here gives us a more particular Enumeration.

For this reason, the Apostle mentions here neither Faith nor Hope, the preparatory Graces : but begins with Love, their perfect Work ; and this agreeably to the ordinary Method of the Blessed Spirit, whose Gifts he now describes. For so, in the *Acts of the Apostles*, after the new Convert had given Assent to the Doctrine of Christianity, and, in Hope of its Promises, had been Baptized ; then it was, that the Apostles laid on their Hands, and the Holy Ghost descended. The Spirit had indeed before secretly cooperated to that Faith, and encouraged that Hope ; it had privately prepared for itself a fitting Mansion ; but did not make its publick Entry, till the Temple was ready. When those previous Graces were formed before, then it solemnly appeared ; and thorough them powerfully exerted itself ; either in Signs and Wonders, or in the more desirable Fruits, those here of the Text.

When therefore the Holy Ghost was come, it did in many Believers of the first Age, for the Conversion of those that believed not, so exalt the Faith it found, and endue it with such an extraordinary force ; that the Christians, in the strength of their pure Belief, wrought the greatest Miracles, and were able, by no more of it than might be compared to a grain of Mustard-seed, to remove Mountains : to such Effects the Blessed Spirit advanced the nature of Faith, in a singular manner, on a particular occasion. But it was however always to be understood, that then the Operation was most Divine, and the Improvement most natural ; when from Faith and Hope, God giving the increase, there arose Love, their proper genuine Fruit : whose Production you are now to see.

For when a Man, by a steadfast lively Faith, shall be assured of the Existence of his God, as firmly as he is of his own ; and shall have on his Mind any suitable Conception of the Divine Nature, any View of those ineffable transcendent Perfections ; shall have once discovered the Eternal, Immortal, Omnipotent, Allwise, the absolutely Holy, Just, and most infinitely Good : As he cannot but fall down prostrate before all this Greatness, and adore the Majesty ; so must he, if there be in him any resemblance of such Qualities, be infinitely affected at the sight of so much Purity, and passionately devote himself to so great Goodness. Had Man no Interest in those Attributes ; did he stand by only, and see ; and were the Kindness of the Gospel directed to the Angels : yet certainly he could not but take part, and concern himself to Esteem and to Love ; he would be naturally attracted, and fixed on such an Object, by the tendency of a Rational

Soul, the Sympathy (if I may so say) of a Spiritual Being. But, if he shall find Himself the happy Object of all that Goodness, that all those glorious Attributes shine on Him; if by the same Faith he shall come to learn that this Being, of such inconceivable Perfection, was wonderful in nothing more, than in his Love to Mankind; and had prevented any Affection, we could shew, by one conceived for us before the Foundation of the World: when he shall reflect by what Hand he is made, and whose Likeness he has the honour to bear; that himself, whatsoever he values himself upon, or whatever he delights in, is owing all to the Benignity of the same Cause: when he shall have read in the Holy Writings such passionate Expressions of Good Will, how earnestly and concernedly the Almighty bespeaks us, how willing he is to pardon, and how glad to reward; how he loves us more, than we do ourselves; in one instance, appeared to love us more, than he loved his Only Begotten Son: when Man shall have perceived so much Love for him, from a Being so infinitely to be beloved himself; if he retains any thing of the Image of his Maker, will he not resemble him in a correspondent Affection? Except he be yet but Earth; if he has any Apprehension, any Sense; will he not discover it by grateful dutiful Resentment? He might as well, at the Creation, have refused to Live; as now, to Love.

This way would a lively attentive Faith move. After it has laid before us the History of the Divine Love, it would of itself excite us to Demonstrations of our own.

But further, when Faith hath given us such a beauteous glorious *Idea* of the Nature of God, such an obliging engaging Representation of his Goodness to Man; and has had its proper effect upon us; has created in us a due Value and Adoration for his Blessed Being, an Approbation of his Holy Will, and a warm zealous Devotion to his Service: it then too begins to give us the Confidence of entitling ourselves more peculiarly to the Favour of God, and we presume of a particular Interest in his gracious Promises. Assured of the Veracity of *his* Love, and conscious of the Sincerity of our *own*, we look not only on the past Testimonies of his Goodness, but expect the Glories of the future; and hope now as earnestly for Heaven, as we certainly believe it.

And if Faith alone, which is in itself but a passive Impression on the Mind, has that force in it, as to be the Cause of so much Love; this Hope, when once conceived, being of a moving active Nature, will not fail to quicken our Desires anew; and absolutely inflame our Divine Affection. To sum up then the whole: The Soul, having from Faith the glorious amiable View of God's infinite Perfections; together with the History of his exceeding Kindness, his undeserved and unchangeable Affection to Mankind; and seeing too before its Eye, by Hope, the Prospect of Heaven, its assured, blessed, immortal Expectations; which way will it turn itself, where it shall not see Cause to Love and to Admire? It must give itself up,
encompassed

encompassed on all sides, surrounded with infinite Attractives, and everlasting Obligations. If any Person is to be beloved; it is this, which Faith presents: if any past Favours can engage us; none earlier, nor greater, than His: if any future Hopes can prevail; none more certain, nor more glorious, than those. And these Bands of Love, each of them singly, would certainly hold, and fix us irremovably: but, joined together, and twisted in a threefold Cord, they are impossible to be broken.

And so far have I represented to you these Workings of Faith and Hope, after the manner of Nature, and without the Cooperation of the Holy Spirit. But if we shall suppose, that God himself comes in, enlightens our Understanding, and warms our Affections; if he shall be pleased to draw the lovely Image of himself on our Minds, to form in us a right Sense of all his Goodness, and a true Conception of his everlasting Joys, to enliven the Thoughts, and actuate the Motions of the Soul; what Raptures and Extasies are we then to suppose? Whom then would we have, but God? And whom should we desire on Earth, in comparison of him? Then should we be all on fire from Heaven; *and a Flame kindled in us, that many Waters would not quench, neither could the Floods drown*: Our Love for him would resemble his Divine Nature; and as much surpass any Worldly Passion, as God excels the Creation.

This then is the Holy Passion of those, that are grown up, in Christ, to their full Stature. This is the Fire they are Baptized with, who are Baptized with the Holy Ghost. And, as soon as the Breathings of the Spirit have blown up and kindled it, Man has, as it were, a new Soul, and becomes a new Creature; discerns his Heavenly Parent, and begins to cry, *Abba*, Father. His greatest speculative Pleasure is in the Contemplation of this infinite excellent Wisdom, Holiness, and Goodness; and his greatest practical Delight, in the mean humble Performances of that little Service he can be thought to do, of all that Honour he shall be allowed to pay. Our Love then to God is answerable to that of God for Man: we worshipping and serving by the same Principle, that he created and redeemed, out of free Choice and pure Inclination; endeavouring now to please him by the same Motive, he has prepared for us those eternal Pleasures, by the Motive of a real Affection. We should be so much new Men; that we should not love ourselves, but as we are the Workmanship, and the Care of a God: no other Reason should dispose us to affect ourselves, than what carries us to affect the rest of Mankind, all made, all in some measure beloved, by our great Creator.

And this is the Love here first placed; so much mentioned by our Saviour, and his Apostles; so eminently visible in their heavenly Lives, and willing Deaths. It is this Love towards God for his own sake, and for him towards our Brethren, that performs all the Commands, makes the full Character of a Christian; and is preferred justly before all other Graces; the Perfection of such as go before,

and the Parent of those that follow. A Love for Mankind unconceivable brought our Saviour down from Heaven, subjected a God to the Meanness and Infirmary of our mortal Nature, to the Agonies of the Garden, and the Death of the Cross; induced him to lay aside his glorious Happiness above, that he might *bear our Grievs, and carry our Sorrows; might be wounded for our Transgressions, and bruised for our Iniquities.* And a Love resembling that infinitely deserved by it, and kindled at it, a Love of Gratitude and Duty burning in his Disciples, in a just return and humble emulation, devoted back their Bodies and their Souls to the Honour of him that had redeemed them; consecrated and sacrificed their Lives to the Service of that blessed Name. Out of Affection to their Saviour, and to those whom their Saviour Loved, they published the Propitiation of his Death, with the Peril of their own: They too, in their Office of Reconciliation, *despised the Shame, and endured the Torment; rejoicing in their Sufferings, and filling up that which was behind of the Afflictions of Christ.* On such Love of our Saviour's is our Salvation founded: by such Love of the Apostles are the good Tidings declared: and with the same in Us is the Gospel to be entertained and obeyed.

Now, though in an Age so lukewarm as Our's, these holy Fervours of the Heavenly Love may not be commonly understood; though to some this Gift of the Spirit may be as strange, as that of Miracles, and may seem to have ceased as well; yet what Christian is there, that will not profess he knows God? And who can know him, that does not Love him? This is certainly the Fruit of the Spirit, in those in whom he dwells: and from this Fruit the other, that follow, do as naturally arise.

As, 2. *Joy.* And this is the inseparable Companion of Love; its nearest Attendant: Delight, Complacency, and Satisfaction surrounding it on every side; we being pleased with the Object, before we Love; pleased with it, while we Love; and pleased with the Love itself: for so must our Joy have begun early, grown up, and heightened, from the same Discoveries of Faith, and by the same Proportions, by which our Love advanced.

Believing, we shall not only Love with a Love not to be expressed, but *Rejoice too with Joy unspeakable.* For, as the Creation is cheered at the Rising of the Sun; as Rational thinking Minds are ravished at the Discovery of some noble Truth; such must the Joy be, but of an infinitely higher Degree; when the Day dawns, and the Day-star arises in our Hearts, and God himself shall appear; when he shall shine in upon us with the Brightness of his Glory, and reveal the Excellencies of his Nature; when Greatness shall be discovered in all its Majesty, Honour in all its Lustre; when Holiness, Justice, Truth, and Goodness shall be seen in their purest *Idea*, and utmost Perfection. This Sight, as it will be hereafter, clear, and at hand, is justly stiled the Beatifical Vision; and may, of itself, make Happiness enough for a Heaven: And here on Earth, as much of it, as the
Eye

Eye of Faith may let in, would create on the Soul of Man a Pleasure, it had never before known, not to be experimented by Sense, or fancied by Imagination; a Joy, that we could not well bear; and which is to come mixed and allayed, in Mercy to our mortal Constitution. *Many there are that say, Who will shew us any Good? But the Lord lifts up the Light of his Countenance on those he Loves; and puts Gladness in their Heart,* more than *what Corn, and Wine, and Oyl* would give^a. So much Pleasure have we from Faith, in the bare Speculation of God: we *behold his Face* only, and are *satisfied*^b. God saw the Creation, delighted in it, and pronounced it good: What Judgment then must they make; and what Joy will they find, that look on Him?

But then too, if we proceed to the other Manifestations of our Faith, as it relates to ourselves: whatever Delight God might take in Creating of Man; Man cannot have more, than to find himself the Work of God; that we have the Honour to come out of his Hands, and the Happiness to be considered by him. On what other occasion should we express a greater Joy, than when we know ourselves to be under the Care of his Providence, and Guard of his Protection: not be his Creatures only; but Friends in his House, and Sons of his Family? And if this Joy be interrupted by the Sense of our Guilt, and Dread of his Displeasure; yet it is only stopt a while, to break out in greater abundance, when that Fear shall be removed, and the glad Tidings of a Pardon come: when, after a Cloud and Showers, the Light shall return clearer; and his Love shall shine again upon us, with a more fervent Heat. At the Conversion of a Sinner, Angels rejoice above: and shall not the Sinner rejoice below, at his own Salvation? So, we see, as Faith goes on, it multiplies our Joy: which Hope raises yet higher; when it shows us Heaven before us, cheers us with that happy Prospect, and blesses us with our Immortal Expectations. And this way does Joy rise equally with Love, and proceed distinctly from the same Causes. It will too, that our Joy may abound, take yet a new Root, and spring out of Love itself. For perfect Love, and assured of a reciprocal Affection, as that is which the Spirit inspires, *casteth out Fear, and has no Torment*; is full of Chearfulness and Gladness: is, in its own nature, the sweetest, the most delightful, and most agreeable Motion of the Mind. And lastly, as we observed of Love, that its Motives from Faith and Hope were powerful enough in themselves; but invincibly prevalent, when enforced by the Blessed Spirit: so is the Joy, that arises from them and Love, certain and sure in its immediate Causes, and necessary from their natural Influence; but exalted yet more by the Concurrence of the Holy Ghost, and supernaturally enlarged by its Operations. For the Motions of the Holy Spirit within us cannot be supposed to be, but in the most grateful chearful manner: It is

^a *Psal.* IV. 6.

^b *Psal.* XVII. 15.

the Spirit of Comfort, and Consolation; and in its Presence is Fulness of Joys: as the Property of the Wicked one is to torment; to infuse Grief, and Anguish, Sadness, and Despair.

3. From Love and Joy springs *Peace*, of both kinds: of the Mind and Conscience within; and to the World abroad. In such a Breast is no Disorder, nor Trouble: nothing but Content, and Satisfaction; a Quiet and Serenity, as if it were in Heaven: no outward Accidents, nor inferior Cares can discompose it. And if Peace be preserved within, it will appear in our Conversation; and we shall be as easy to others, as to ourselves. In those Passions of Joy and Love, the Spirits move outwards; and diffuse the Sweetness and Equality of their Temper into all our Actions. Here will be no Envy, Anger, nor Discontent: we shall not be turbulent, disorderly, nor seditious.

4. Thence too *Long-suffering*: not easy to be disordered, disturbed, or provoked, by Sufferings, by Injuries, by Failing of better Expectations. None of these things will move Minds, that are wholly set upon their God; nor will their Divine Joy suffer them to be sensible of the lighter momentary Afflictions. So far will they be from being hasty, froward, captious, querulous, and repining.

5. From the same Cause is *Gentleness*, or Sweetness of Temper; to be ready to forgive, and easy to be reconciled. This will be done, in imitation of God's Love to us; and out of Love to our Brethren, for God's sake. Besides that Joy of itself disposes to pardon: opens our Heart, and our Arms.

6 *Goodness* too is perfect from the same Principle: as we here may take it for an universal Kindness, Pity, and Compassion; to be ready to do all good Offices to all the World, in the most obliging manner; out of Affection, and with Joy.

7. *Faith*, which here follows, is, as I premised before, fitly understood by Integrity, or Fidelity; and the reason of this rendering may recommend it the more to the better part of this Audience. These two words Faith and Meekness, as they are joined here, so are they found together in elder Authors; and probably in the same signification. As in *Ecclesiasticus*: *Faith and Meekness are God's Delight*^a; and afterwards in the Description of *Moses*: *He sanctified him with Faithfulness and Meekness*^b: (where Faithfulness is, in the *Greek*, the same with the Faith before.) And these two Qualities, that make up here the Character of the greatest Magistrate, and wisest Governour, *Moses*, are the same that are recorded in the Book of *Numbers*. The first, this of Fidelity, God himself gives him: *My Servant Moses,—who is Faithful in all my House*^c. The other, of Meekness, the Holy Writer makes his peculiar Commendation: *Now this Man Moses was the meekest Man in all the Earth*^d.

The Faithfulness of *Moses* appeared eminently, in the whole Course of his Ministry, in the Delivery of his Messages, and Discharge of his

^a *Eccles.* I. 27.

^b *Eccles.* XLV. 4.

^c *Numb.* XII. 7.

^d *Numb.* XII. 3.

Duty ; but most remarkably amidst the rebellious Prevarication of the People of *Israel*. He never connived at their Mutinies, nor gave countenance to their Ingratitude. His Brother had suffered himself to be led by the People, and set up a Molten Image ; but *Moses* is never found in their Murmurings and Discontents : he kept his Integrity, and preserved his Loyalty to his God. His Meekness too was as singular. Not fierce, proud, and haughty, arrogant, and imperious ; but modest, humble, and affable. This being that other part of the Character of that holy Governour, and the signification of the word here translated Meek, and answering to the *Hebrew* notion of Lowliness and Modesty.

For this reason, we take leave to render the word Faith by Faithfulness. When God gave *Moses* of his Holy Spirit, this was the Fruit. And in this sense, it comes here most properly amongst the other Attendants of Divine Love. It being here, as in Conjugal Affection ; where Fidelity and Truth are the most proper, and most necessary Companions of that and Peace.

For when our Affection is once engaged to God ; there will follow a faithful Perseverance in all known Duties ; Obedience to Laws Divine, and Human ; Loyalty to God, and his Representatives. But, on the contrary, when Love and Peace are banished ; and Hatred, Animosity, Faction, and Sedition take place ; they presently introduce Prevarication, Dissimulation, and Treachery ; they are the constant Causes of Calumny, Slander, Falshood, and Perjury. As *Satan*, the first Rebel, is the known Father of Lyes.

8. The other Grace of *Meekness*, as opposed to Insolence, is too a Fruit that necessarily grows from Love. For that Disposition of Mind, as it is peaceable, easy, and gentle ; so too does it equal, and level ; and respects all Mankind but as Brethren of the same House, though under differing Circumstances. This causes that the Superiors stoop, and condescend ; are not harsh, nor supercilious ; are civil, kind, and treatable. And if it has that Power over Governours, and makes the Character of a Magistrate ; it may well become Subjects, and suit with those of a lower Degree. Humility, Modesty, Deference, and Submission are proper to their Station : as Insolence, Contemptuousness, Affronting of Government are both absurd in Morals, and impossible in Charity ; and neither consist with the Spirit of God, nor with Order and Policy.

9. The last is *Temperance* : which is but an Argument of our Love to God, in not preferring the Pleasures of the World before him. For as the Spirit of God is Holy ; and cannot dwell in a Body polluted : so neither can it be supposed, that a Soul accustomed to Divine Love, and Spiritual Joys, should relish any longer those sensual Satisfaction.

These are the Fruit of the Spirit, with this Connexion, and Dependence. Heavenly Love is the Original of those that follow ; and they, like the Issue of the same Parent, have indeed a near Resem-

blance; but so, that their Natures are distinct, and their Difference discernable: Gifts fit for the Holy Spirit to give; and worthy each of a more particular Description.

II. And now, after we have known and considered them distinctly, I shall entreat you to bestow one Reflection upon them all together. This Fruit how fair it is to the Eye, how lovely, not forbid us, as that of Paradise; but given, and presented: of which if we have tasted, we are restored to a Condition of Happiness greater than that designed in *Eden*: *we are become like Gods, and we shall live for ever*: we have a Heaven in our Breasts; we make the Sphere of our Conversation so to all about us. We are only less happy now, than we shall be hereafter; but in a Felicity, begun already, of the same kind.

For let us suppose, that God would appear bountiful to some fortunate Man here below. What Present should we expect from Heaven? Power? or Honour? or Riches? They are not necessary Causes of a happy Life; are not inconsistent with Trouble and Vexation: They are, what the World, Chance, or the Devil may bestow. But a Gift, fit for a God to give, what can it be, but Himself? what can it be, but to bless our sight with *Moses* his View, a Display of all his Excellencies; to *proclaim himself, and cause his Glory to pass before us*^a? To proclaim our Style too, to call us his Friends, and adopt us for his Sons; to publish our Pardon aloud from Heaven, and declare his Love before all the Creation; to discover too to us, as to *St. Paul*, his future Glories, and to open his third Heaven to our View, and our Expectations; and, lastly, till he shall take us up thither, to come down himself, to come unto us, and make his abode with us, to bring his Heaven here. In what Trouble now shall that Breast be, that is secured of the Affection of a God? And what other thing will he desire, that Loves him? His present Fruition is greater than any thing, but his Hopes: and of those too he is as well assured, as of what he now enjoys. His Peace no man can take from him: his Joy must be perfectly compleat; and his Satisfaction infinite.

This inward Joy, when it fills and overflows the Heart, how will it cheer and enliven the Countenance? What an agreeable Lustre, and divine Brightness will it cast? Then will the Face of Man look indeed like the Image of God; and discover by the Glory, who it is that dwells within. This Love burning inward, when it sends forth its Light and its Heat, and shines out on others in Kindness, Long-suffering, Gentleness, and Goodness, must too engage and warm their mutual Affections: nothing can appear so Attractive, nothing so Lovely. The Temple of *Solomon* in all its Beauty, overlaid with Gold within and without, and filled with the Glory of the Lord, was not

^a *Exod.* XXXIII. 19, 22.

so glorious, as one of these Houses under the Second Dispensation, as one of these Temples of the Holy Ghost. You have the Pourtraiture of this, in the Description of St. Stephen. *He was full of the Holy Ghost. And all that sat in the Council, looking stedfastly on him, saw his Face, as it had been the Face of an Angel^a.*

These Graces, if vouchsafed to any Family, would recommend it, in the Eyes of a discerning Heathen, to be more happy, than Plenty, Authority, or Greatness of Blood could make them. The Gentleness, Goodness, and Meekness of the Master; the Fidelity, and Affectionate Concern of the inferior Relations; Temperance in all their Lives, and Joy in all their Faces; the Peace of Man, and of God; the Correspondence betwixt themselves; and the Intercourse of Love betwixt them, and Heaven: all this must make the admiring Spectator take up Jacob's Saying; *Surely the Lord is in this Place! This is none other but the House of God; and this the Gate of Heaven^b!*

And were there but a City composed of such Families; this yet would be but one Family, and like that now described: the Spirit of God dwelling in it, and his holy Protection watching over it: *Peace within its Walls; and Plenteousness within its Palaces*: all the Inhabitants nearer in their Persons, than their Dwellings: the City esteemed, not from the Beauty, Proportion, or Order of the Buildings, but from the Symmetry, the Harmony of the Inhabitants. Such an Union as this is to make the true Neighbourhood, and the happiest Commerce. So compacted, it would have a surer Strength, than from Walls and Bulwarks. This would make it the fairest, the strongest, the best ordered, the richest City of the World. It would be like the Great City, the Holy *Jerusalem*, descending from God, out of Heaven; at each Gate an Angel; its Building of precious Stones.

For all Policies and Ordinances of the best constituted Cities are but faint Imitations of the Graces of the Spirit; are set up to procure the Shadow of Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, &c. Joining of Houses designs Uniting of Minds: a Corporation speaks itself to be one Body: Companies and Fraternities are appointed for nearer Associations; to make yet a firmer Tie, than what results only from common Interest. There are seasons of Cheerfulness, and days of Joy: Civility thence called; and there learnt: affected Gentleness, and customary Complaisance, artificial Goodness, and pretended Love. There is the profession of faithful Dealing; Order and Obedience are owned; and Intemperance, as well as other Filth, removed out of sight; and from the Observation of these Rules, and the Benefit of Peace and Security, arises Wealth and Plenty. As, on the contrary, when the Manners of Men are distant from any Likeness of these Graces; when Hatred, Discontent, Variance, Spite, Insolence even in Subjects, Faithlessness, Fraud, and Luxury come to-

^a Acts VI. 5, 15.

^b Gen. XXVIII. 16, 17.

gether, and take place; a City then is only an Association of Evils: and the Nuisance as great, as the Advantage that was intended. As neighbouring Houses, at other times a common Strength, are found too nigh in a Fire: and Company, the Comfort and Convenience of Mankind, is dangerous in time of Infection; and it is their Wisdom then to live at a distance. If Intemperance prevails in the Town; it is no better than a common Receptacle of Impurity: if Fraud, and Perjury; it is but as a Den of Thieves: if Malice, Revenge, and Mutiny; it is as a Place of Battle. *If ye bite and devour one another, take heed,* says the Apostle in this Chapter to the *Galatians*, *that ye be not consumed one of another.* Neither is it needful to shew how damageable these Vices are to Commerce: and how impossible it is to manage it, in that Company. We may only observe, that Tumultuousness and Sedition are as great Enemies to Trade, as they are to Government; while they are growing, they disturb and hinder it; as hereafter, when they are formed into a War, they will plunder its Effects. Parties and Animosities take off Men's Minds from the Business of their Employment; and Faction grows up to be a Trade: Men are Apprentices to other Mysteries; and set up for Politicians: and then no wonder, if our Commerce flourishes not; if Honesty, and lawful Industry, Riches, and Plenty go seek out other Dwellings. After a great and general Judgment of God, *the Children of men went to make Bricks to build a City and a Tower, that should reach to Heaven*^a. But when, by another just Judgment from the same righteous Hand, they begun to vary, and spake not the same Language; they were scattered abroad, and left to the Place the Name of Confusion.

So that, although it is not fit to persuade to these Graces from the Advantages of Commerce; for they are Gifts of the Holy Spirit; and, to desire them on any temporal account, and to make Merchandise of them, would be a Crime against the Holy Ghost; and truly *Simony*: yet, however, their proper intrinsic Worth may be sensibly understood, by their visible Consequences; and their Beauty will appear, by the Comparison of their opposite Vices. The certain Effects of the one, are Poverty, Ruin, and Desolation: And the natural Tendency of the other, to Riches, Honour and Prosperity. With these, the spiritual Graces will probably bless us: but they will too make us happy, without them; for they are able alone to give us the best Joy and surest Satisfaction, here: and they only can consign to us Everlasting Happiness, hereafter.

III. We shall therefore, in the Third Place, consider the greater Obligations we have to beg of the Holy Spirit to produce this Fruit in us.

^a *Genes. XI.*

And,

And, 1. As Christians in general. For this is the Fruit, which if the Tree beareth not, it will hereafter be hewed down, and cast into the Fire. And indeed we take only a Name in Baptism; and begin thence to be called Christians, only for distinction sake on Earth; for in Heaven it will give none: except a real Change is made in the Person, said to be regenerate; and the Holy Ghost enters into the Temple, so purified by Sprinkling. For by Baptism we are cut off from the old Stock; and grafted into the Body of Christ: but so as to close, and grow, and bear Fruit. By it we are indeed dead unto all former Sin: but dead too, and lifeless we continue; except we are quickened by his free Spirit. Man, in Baptism, being like *Adam* new formed, and as yet but Clay; expecting the Breath of his Nostrils: and this, we have seen, was the Method of the Baptism, our Saviour received, and the Apostles gave. When the new planted Disciples were *watered*; then came the *Spirit*, and gave the *Increase*.

We therefore, that have not been *baptized with the Baptism of John only*, but *know there is a Holy Ghost*^a, ought to know ourselves for true Christians, by the true distinctive Character, its proper Fruit: not by a search into a Baptismal Register, but by what we find in ourselves of these Graces; by the *Seal of the Spirit*. Our Title to the Name is not good, but after this Confirmation. Neither are we, at our grown Age, to take ourselves for Believers, if we stood at the Creed, not only to declare our Assent; but, in the posture of those warlike Christians, with Swords drawn in its Defence: the true Judgment of our Faith is not only, whether it be resolute, and obstinate; for that may be from a wilful Mind: but whether the Belief of the Divine Existence be so lively; the Representation of his Perfections so clear and distinct; the Sense of his Love to us so great and engaging, as to oblige our mutual Affection; to possess us with a Delight, no other Joy can equal; a Quiet and Satisfaction, not to be interrupted here below; to inflame us with a Love for all his Images, the whole Race of Mankind; to disengage our Minds from all earthly Pleasures, and meaner satisfactions, admitting no Rival with our God. This is the Catholick Apostolick Faith; and whoever believes so, shall not perish everlastingly.

Such a Faith as this, so well rooted, and so fruitful, if it does differ in some lesser speculative Points, yet is not like to be misinformed long: its Meekness disposes it for Instruction; and its Fidelity is ready to confess the Mistake: *and if in any thing he is otherwise minded*; yet *God, the Giver of all good and perfect Gifts*, and who has given to him those other already, *will reveal even this unto him*^b. And however, if the Error shall be suffered to continue; it will produce no ill Effect, under the Governance of Peace, Long-suffering, and Gentleness: And this Stain may be purged at last, by the

^a Acts XIX.

^b Philip. III. 15. Jam. I. 17.

Fire of Love: as others are said to be, by that of Martyrdom. If then we find those Qualities bestowed upon us, happy are we for the present, and secure for the future: they are Gifts in their own Value inestimable; but they are too Earnests of a greater; *of our Eternal Inheritance, the Redemption of the purchased Possession*^a.

And as the first of these Graces, the Love of God, is the most natural Effect, the most certain Argument of a Christian Faith: so, that we love God entirely, and solidly, not in Fancy only and Conceit, in a holy Dream; the best Proofs we can produce, are its genuine Results, the Fruit here mentioned; Peace, Long-suffering, Gentleness, Goodness, Fidelity, &c. And if, in this Age of Distinctions, we would discriminate betwixt those that are Christians, and those that are not; our Saviour has given us a Text: *By this shall all men know that ye are my Disciples, if ye have Love one to another*^b. In vain shall ye pretend the Love of God, or of his Son, if it be not seen on your Brethren. *He that says, he loves God, and hates his Brother, is a Lyar*; says the loving, and beloved Apostle^c. A Lyar as great, as he that should say, he loved his Brother; and yet was provoked on the next Occasion, never would pardon him the least Fault, and refused him the smallest Kindness: as great a Lyar, as he that should pretend Meekness, and Faithfulness; and yet be guilty of Treason, and Rebellion.

By that Mark the Christians of old were known: *Behold how they love one another!* said the Heathen, admiring their Unanimity; ignorant of the Spirit by which they were led, of the Graces which so inclined them. But if one of those Heathen had been acquainted with their powerful Principle of Love; and yet had afterwards found them discontented, mutinous, revengeful, factious, passionate; he might have cried out, *Behold how they hate one another!* with greater Admiration.

The Qualities of the Text are the proper Disposition of a Christian Mind: they are the Life and Soul of our Holy Religion; all its Precepts, all its Institutions tend only to produce and cherish this Fruit. For all the Revelations of the Scripture are nothing else, but Discoveries of God's Love to us, to create in us a Love for him: and all its Commands have no other Intention, than that this our Love to God should be exemplified in Affection to our Brethren; and demonstrated by our Indifference for all Worldly Pleasures. This is the Sum, the Spirit of the Christian Religion: into this we are Baptized: for this the Holy Ghost descends: and this Love the Blessed Supper feeds, by the Pledges of Christ's Love, the continual Remembrance of his Death, to our great and endless Comfort. And however Men may refine in their Pretences; and be singular in their Denominations, and Titles of purer Professions; if their Doctrine does not at last determine, and center here; it is Christian Religion falsely so called:

^a Ephes. I. 14.

^b Job. XIII. 35.

^c 1 Job. IV. 20.

it is counterfeit, and has not to it the Witness of the Holy Ghost. *The End of the Commandment is Charity, out of a pure Heart, and good Conscience, and Faith unfeigned^a: for in Jesus Christ, neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor Uncircumcision; but Faith, which worketh by Love^b.*

So contradictorily do they act to our Holy Religion, who think they may be malicious, disorderly, false, perjured in its Defence: so little do they consider the Nature of God, who consecrate their wicked Passions, and offer the Service of their Hatred and Anger to his Name; who, like the *Pope*, give Absolution to all Lusts, that list themselves in a pretended holy War. *For the Works of the Flesh are manifest, says our Apostle, which are these, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleanneſs, Lasciviousneſs, Idolatry, Witchcraft, Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Heresies, Envyings, Murders, Drunkenneſs, Revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they, who do such things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. But, as the Text continues, the Fruit of the Spirit is Love, &c.*

By this Fruit are all Christians to be saved.

But, 2. Those are obliged to abound in this Fruit, in a more particular manner, who make a more peculiar Claim to the Holy Spirit.

Those that pretend to the Gifts of the Holy Ghost, happy are they, if they have attained them. They seem sensible of those blessed Influences, every good Christian is to expect, and to cherish: and pretend to no more, than what is necessary to the Salvation of each Believer. Neither is he yet Partaker, in any measure, of the Heavenly Gift, that shall envy it to any, that are called by the Name of Christ: such a Thought suits neither with the Love of God, nor of his Brother. *Would God, that all the Lord's People were Prophets!* said the meek *Moses^c*, when those, that shared of the Spirit, were too to have their part in the Government. Besides that the Holy Ghost himself has informed us, in his first Speech after his Descent, how largely he intended his Bounty. *The Promise, says he by the Mouth of St. Peter, is made to you, and to your Children, and to all that are afar off; even as many as the Lord our God shall call^d.* God fulfil his gracious Promise; and make all these Partakers of the Gift, that own it!

But, on the other side, because a good Opinion of one's self may be taken for the Holy Ghost; and we may not impose only on others, but ourselves; because there cannot be a more dangerous Delusion, than to mistake the Lying Spirit for the Spirit of Truth; and to be possessed, instead of being inspired; we are therefore commanded to *make Trial of the Spirits, whether they be of God^e.*

^a 1 Tim. I. 5.
^e 1 Job. IV. 1.

^b Gal. V. 6.

^c Numb. XI. 29.

^d Acts II. 39.

When, then, the Holy Spirit itself is content to be tried; he will betray a great want of it, that is not meek enough to submit to the Examination.

And here too, the Proof is to be by the Product. *By their Fruits too shall ye know the Spirits.* And the Holy Spirit, the Spirit of Life, will not fail presently to discover itself, by sensible Signs, by strong vital Indications.

But the Effects, we are to expect, are not Miracles, Curing of the Sick, or Raising of the Dead; they were illustrious Signs of the Divine Presence; are not heard of after the first Ages, nor mentioned here. They are not Talents of Eloquence and Discourse, Copiousness of Language, or a fluent Volubility in publick: this seems to be of the same kind with the Gift of Tongues, and to have been but of temporary Use; here, we are sure, not expressed. They are no other, than those you find recounted in our Text; they are Love, Joy, Peace, &c. Things not so glorious indeed in the Eyes of carnal Men; but the most proper, most natural Effects of the Holy Ghost; as visible Marks, and as convincing Proofs of his Presence; as the louder, and seemingly more mighty Works.

He then, that lays a more particular Claim to the Possession of the Holy Spirit, is to shew it, by a Love more exalted towards God, and more enlarged towards Man: extended in all its Dimensions, *Height, Breadth, Length, and Depth*, to God our Sovereign in chief, to his Vicegerent, to all Magistrates, all Superiors, to Equals on all sides, and Inferiors of all kinds. He is to do Miracles of Charity; to be a Wonder of Contentedness, Peaceableness, Gentleness, Lowliness, and Condescension; his mighty Works will be in Temperance, Goodness, and Fidelity.

The Fathers of the Hermits of *Syria* are said to have tried the Spirit of an Anchorite, of a new kind, in one of these Qualifications, in Meekness. If he shewed Submission, and Humility, they presumed the Singularity of his Posture guilty of no Affectation nor Design.

We may make a more certain Judgment from all these Signs, the Text affords us. Nor will it be a difficult thing, to view the Conversation of Men, and to discern, whether their Behaviour be more quiet and peaceable; whether they are patient, freer from Murmuring, and Complaint; easy, gentle, and tractable; not censorious, nor backbiters, not proud, nor disobedient; not given to the World, and its Desires, to Ambition, Covetousness, or Carnality. Happy is he, on whom this difference is found: against him *there is no Law*. He is to be cherished, and esteemed by all; to be blessed, and imitated by all good Men.

But, on the contrary, when a Man is readier to Hate, than to Love; so far from affecting his Brother for God's sake, that he endures not his next Image upon Earth, his immediate Representative; so full of Rancour and Malice, that the abundance of the
Heart

Heart breaks out at the Mouth; where one searches for Occasions of Complaint, and is fond of Grievance and Discontent; is weary of Peace, wishes and prepares for War; so little Long-suffering, that he is under Indulgence, as if he were under Persecution; insolent, provoking, despising Dominion; pardoning not the least Defects, though in his Father and Prince; calumniating, slandering, libelling even Authority itself; making and delighting in a Lye, suborning Falshood, and confounding Truth; heady, refractory, and disobedient: The Evidences against this Man's Pretences are so great, that, did he work Miracles, they must find no Credit; they too must be ascribed, not to the Blessed Spirit, but to him that works in the Children of Disobedience. To assign them to a Divine Cause, would be a Slander against the Righteousness of God; would be, to Blaspheme against the Holy Ghost. *If there are among you Strifes, and Envyings, and Seditions; are ye not carnal, and walk as Men?*

In the Name then of God, and of Religion; let Men, in Pretences of so high a nature, at least dissemble well; let there be some Colour of Love, some Disguise of Gentleness, Humility, and Obedience; let Men see something of the Complexion and Shape of this Fruit, something the Holy Ghost may own: and they may then have leave to think charitably, and to presume, from what they do see, of what they cannot; that the Spirit dwells there. But, to believe the Spirit to be, where there appears nothing but the Works of the Flesh, is the same absurd Creed with that of Transubstantiation; it is to subdue our Reason and Sense, so far, as to take that for a Sheep, which has the Shape and Qualities of a Wolf; to think that a Dove, that you see hiss, and bite, and sting.

This was the Case of the Church of *Rome*. When its Bishops first began to change their Title into an inherent Quality, to challenge Holiness to their Persons, as well as in their Style; when they pretended the Holy Ghost, and claimed to be infallible; and rested so far on that Presumption, as to justify their Actions by the Pretence, and not to take care to make their Pretences good by Actions answerable; the World, though held in by all Arts of Policy, and Force of Power, yet could not but discover and reject the Imposture: rather than believe the Spirit should dwell in such restless, ambitious, bloody Men, they abjudged it from the See; and thought it more reasonable the *Pope* might err, than that the Doctrines of Image-Worship, Indulgences, and Transubstantiation should be true; that Decrees for Perjury, Rebellion, Despoising and Murdering of Princes should come from God.

This certainly: Whatever Sort of Men attribute to themselves the Spirit of God, in them should be seen nothing but what is agreeable to it; nothing whereby it should be grieved within, or dishonoured without. Pure they should be within, as those that lodge a God: and careful of their outward Actions, as of such as may be imputed to the Holy Ghost. For, to use our Apostle's Argument, Profess ye,

that ye are the Temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you? If any man defile the Temple of God, him will God destroy. For the Temple of God is holy, which Temple ye are^a. It is holy; not so, as to bring a necessity of Holiness on your Actions; but to affect you with an unpardonable Guilt, if ye unhallow and profane it.

The Pretence to the Spirit so is it to be examined by Man: and, when false, is in their sight a bold Presumption. But can it impose upon the Holy Ghost himself? Or will the unlike Counterfeit appear less impudent before him? The Divine Nature had before an irreconcilable Aversion to Wrath, Anger, and Hatred. But what an Indignity and Provocation must this be, to find itself entitled to it? That, instead of Man's being changed by the Spirit, the Spirit of God should have received new Impressions from Man? *Ananias and Sapphira* were struck dead for telling a single Untruth, concerning the Value of an Estate: They *lye boldly to the Holy Ghost*, whose Falshoods are concerning himself. And, till Interpreters shall be agreed, what hainous Crime is that Sin against him; well may this bear the Name.

And may not the Strangeness of our present Temper prompt us to suspect, that the Blessed Spirit has not only deserted us, but abandoned us to the Wicked one? For, if our Luxury, Variance, Emulations, Perverseness, and Discontent consisted with our Interest; if there were no temporal Danger that they threatened; were these Divisions in a time of confessed Safety, and general Security, and we at leisure and liberty to quarrel: we might then be content to say, that those things were not the Fruit of the Spirit; were the Works of the Flesh, and the Fulfilling the Lusts thereof. But, when common Danger alarms us continually within, and threatens terribly from abroad; when the Interest of the Liberty of our Native Country calls upon us to unite and arm against the growing Strength of a violent Foreigner, and a Tyrannical Religion, presented upon the Point of his Sword; when all Moral Considerations join in with the Suggestions of the Spirit, and call for Love and Peace, or we are utterly ruined, here and for ever: then, not to hearken; to continue this unnatural Feud, is not from the Flesh only, from a carnal Mind; for that would have at least carnal prudential Thoughts; but is, one would fear, from the Prevalence of the Evil Spirit. There must be something more than human, that is the Cause of all this Infatuation: enough to justify the Liberty of the Speaker, if he should take up that of the Prophet *Micaiah*: *I saw the Lord sitting on his Throne, and all the Host of Heaven standing by him, on his right Hand, and on his left. And the Lord said, Who shall persuade Ahab to go up and fall^b? Who shall persuade a Country, full of the Blessings of God, but ungrateful and unworthy, to give up, what they have forfeited; and execute God's Wrath upon themselves? Who shall per-*

^a 1 Cor. III. 16, 17.

^b 1 Kings XXII. 19, 20.

suade a Country of so much Strength, Riches, Liberty, and Peace, to fall voluntarily under Dishonour, Poverty, and a Foreign Yoke? In the Text, *there came forth a Spirit, and stood before the Lord, and said, I will persuade him. And the Lord said unto him, Wherewith? And he said, I will go forth, and I will be a Lying Spirit in the Mouth of his Prophets.* And what is it, but a Lying Spirit, that shall accuse the best Reformed Church, of Popery; the easiest Government under the Sun, of Tyranny: that shall talk now of Grievances, and Impositions; and shall speak of Want of Trade, in times of the most flourishing Commerce: that shall haunt Places of publick Resort, and fly about the Land in libellous Prints, with false Tales and mishapen Truths, to enrage the Minds of Men against lawful Government, their only common Security; to confound our just Fears with ridiculous Jealousies, and distract us, in the Face of an Enemy, with false Alarms? And if to this Spirit God shall have added seven more, as wicked as the other: if he has mingled a perverse Spirit in the midst of us; a Spirit deaf to *the Voice of the Charmer, charm be never so wisely*, hearkening to no Accommodation, submitting to no Terms of Communion, fearful in things indifferent, and bold in things unlawful; a Conscience tender at one time, and seared at another, easy of belief in Surmises against Authority, but difficult and beyond all Precedent scrupulous in Proofs that are for it; a Spirit of Revenge and Ambition in the great, of Mutiny and Sedition in the meaner; a Spirit of Schism in Matters Ecclesiastick, and of Faction in Temporals: if to all these the Lord shall have said, as to that, *You shall persuade, and prevail; go forth and do so*: they will then effect their Errand. By our Hatred of one another, by our Frowardness, and Disobedience, they seem to be now at work: by these they will engage us into a Civil War, and expose us to a Foreign; and then will Arbitrary Government and Popery, things of Foreign Growth, and Strangers to our Land, come in, with armed Force, through the wide Breaches we have made ourselves.

But may God be more merciful yet to us, that so little deserve it: check these unruly Spirits, that are gone out in the midst of us; and give us of his Holy Spirit. May He, that commands the Wind and the Sea, and they obey him; He, that is not in Tempests, nor Earthquakes, but in the still Voice; restrain the Striving, lay the Swelling of the Waves, compose our Minds, and assuage our Animosities; *turn the Hearts of the Fathers to the Children, and of the Children to the Fathers, lest he come and smite the Earth with a Curse.* May He, that has graciously joined us in so many common Advantages Spiritual, and Temporal, shed his Love abroad in our Hearts by his Holy Spirit: that, as we have one Baptism, one Spirit, one Faith, one Hope of our Calling; so we may be before Him as one holy Congregation: that, as we have one Prince, one Law, one Interest; so we may be as *a City at Unity in itself.* God unite us before himself,

in his Worship; and before the Face of our Enemies, for our Defence: that we may be an Example to those of our Religion, that yet enjoy it undisturbed; and a Refuge to those that are distressed: that we be not the Scandal now; and a little after, the Ruin of the Protestant Profession.

To this effect, let us beseech Him, that by his Spirit He would give our Governours an affectionate Zeal for his Honour, for the Good of his People; Long-suffering and Gentleness towards those, who much need it: that He would possess the People with a reverent Love for the Majesty of God; for his Vicegerent, with Meekness, Faithfulness, and Goodness: that He would endue all subordinate Magistrates with proper Graces, with the steady Resolution of a true Fidelity to God, their Prince, and the Law: that He would grant, that we abuse not wantonly the blessed Means of our Reformed Religion to Schism, or Heresy; the publick Quiet to Civil Discord, our Liberty to Faction, nor our Plenty to Luxury and Intemperance: That the Peace of God may be on all our Consciences, and the Joy of the Holy Ghost on our Minds: that our Fruit may be unto Holiness, and our End Everlasting Life.

A
S E R M O N

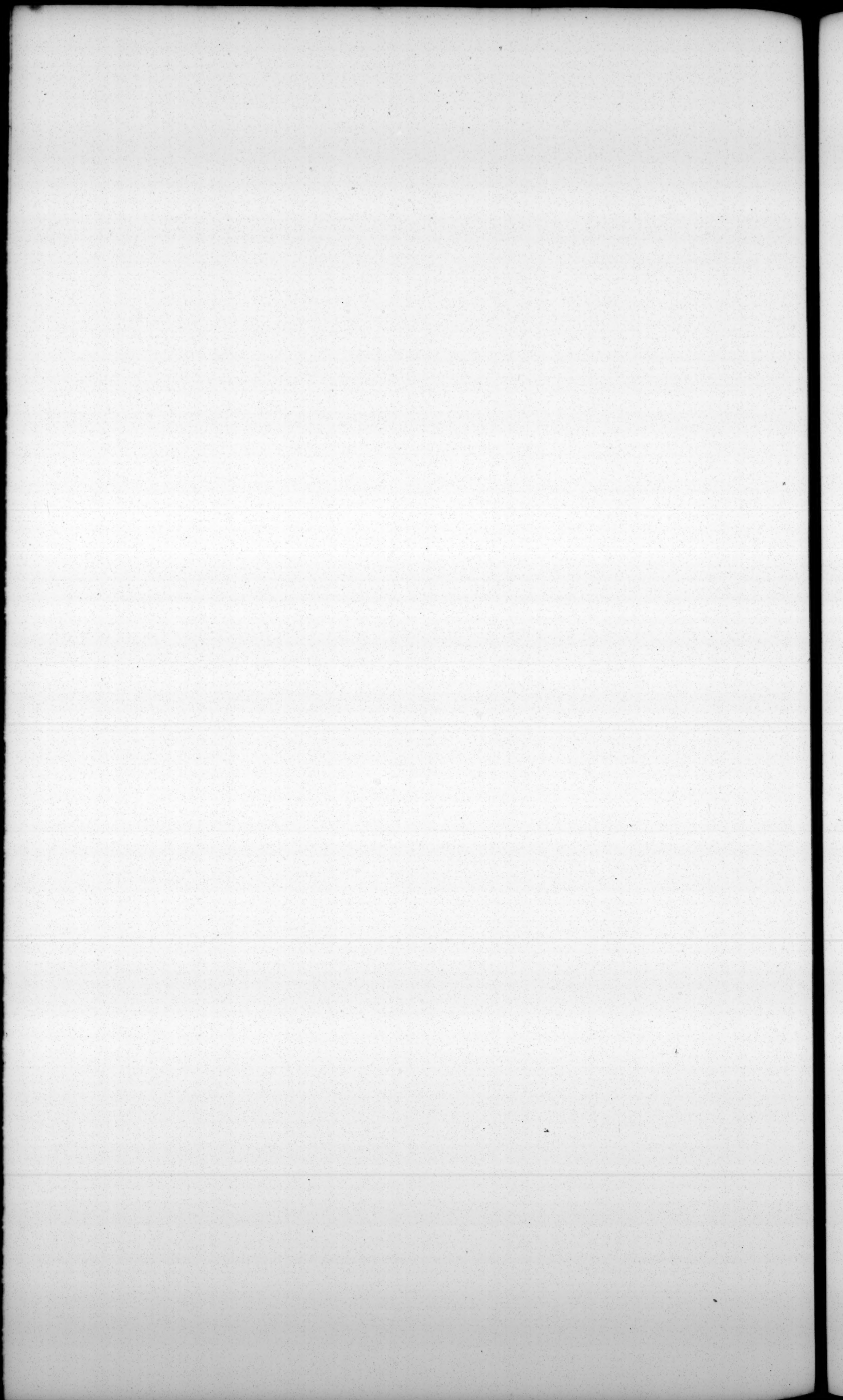
PREACHED BEFORE

The K I N G,

A T

W H I T E - H A L L,

On *Nov.* V. 1681.



S E R M O N II.

PREACHED BEFORE

T H E K I N G, &c.

M A T T. XXII. 21.

— *Render therefore unto Cesar, the things which are Cesar's; and unto God, the things that are God's.*

THE Pharisees and the Sadducees, though divided in their Opinions and their Interests, yet both looking upon our Saviour as their common Enemy, (he equally opposing the Impiety of the one, and the Hypocrisy of the other,) conspire together *to entangle him in his Talk*; and make here in this Chapter their successive Attempts upon him.

The first, that of the Pharisees, and which gave an occasion to the Reply of the Text, was managed with Address and Design: they had so laid their Ambush, that, which way soever he took, he might fall into the Snare and perish; the Answer he gave, they expected, would certainly offend either the Zeal of the *Jew*, or the Power of the *Roman*.

For the *Jews*, although they had now for a long while been under Subjection to the Uncircumcised; although their great City had been ruined by the *Babylonian*, and their whole Nation transplanted, hardly a Stone left upon a Stone, nor a *Jew* in *Judea*; although, after their Return from their Captivity, they were still Vassals to the *Persian* Empire, then part of the Conquest of *Alexander the Great*, after under the *Syrian* Kings, then reduced to the *Roman* Obedience by *Pompey*; (for their Chiefs, whether Princes or Priests, were still tributary and dependent;) yet they still retained their high Spirit, a peculiar Sense of their Native Liberty and Sacred Prerogatives. But when afterwards the *Romans* took the Government into their own Hands, removed their Tetrarch, and brought them into the Condition of a Province, to be commanded now by one sent from *Rome*, who should have the Power of Life and Death, and Tax them at his Will; this seemed insupportable to the greatest part of them; and was esteemed as unlawful, as it was burdensome: that they were a holy People; their Persons and Estates sacred to God; and, to give

Obedience to any Foreigner, was to withdraw it from the Lord of Hosts. Nor shall we think it was any hard matter, to persuade a People, so well satisfied of their National Privileges, and of so stubborn a Temper, that it was an ungodly thing to suffer Impositions, to pay Taxes was Irreligion. He then, that resisted this Heathen Authority, was the truest *Israelite*; the truest to the Liberty of his Nation, and the Honour of his God; and as *Moses* had delivered them from the *Egyptian* Bondage, so they expected a *Messiah*, who should redeem them from the *Roman*: and if our Saviour pretended to be that great Person; he was, they thought, obliged to take this Yoke from off their Necks, and declare against the *Roman* Government.

On the other side, the *Romans*, knowing what People they had to deal with; that they were a rebellious City, hurtful unto Kings, and unto Provinces, which would pay neither Toll, Tribute, nor Custom; (for so they stand of old described to *Artaxerxes*;) had a very watchful Eye over them, and were jealous of every Motion: They had their Spies, the Herodians here in the Text; and restrained their unquiet tumultuous Spirits with severe exemplary Executions. So that to accuse one of a Crime against the State, as an Enemy to *Cesar*, was the greatest Revenge the most malicious Enemy could take; it was to expose him to certain Ruin, to an ignominious cruel Death. For so we find the Chief Priests, when they had taken Counsel together, to put Jesus to Death for Crimes, as they thought, against their Law; yet presenting him to *Pilate* with this Accusation: *We found this Man perverting the People, and forbidding to give Tribute to Cesar, saying, that he himself is Christ a King.* We have them therefore here preparing that Article, whereby hereafter they intend to murder him. They endeavour now, by the Question they maliciously propose, to take such hold of his Words, that they may deliver him over to the Power and Authority of the Governour.

The Disciples therefore of the Pharisees, who possibly were against the Payment of Tribute, and the Herodians, who were for it, being both here met together, the one to tempt, and the other to inform; begin their Discourse to him with this flattering treacherous Insinuation: *Master, we know that thou art true, and teachest the Way of God in Truth, neither carest thou for any Man; for thou regardest not the Person of Men: thou art not afraid of the Government, and wilt not for Fear disguise the Truth, as our Scribes and our Doctors do: Tell us therefore, What thinkest thou? Is it lawful to give Tribute unto Cesar, or not? But Jesus, as the Text proceeds, perceived their Wickedness, and said, Why tempt ye me, ye Hypocrites? Shew me the Tribute Money. And they brought unto him a Penny. And he saith unto them, Whose is this Image and Superscription? And they say unto him, Cesar's. Then saith he unto them; returning them a precise distinct Answer, and no other than what they themselves had produced; Render therefore unto Cesar, the things which are Cesar's; and*

and unto God, the things that are God's. The Sovereignty of *Cesar* over you appears by his Prerogative of Coining your Money: You know your Governour, for you see his Face; and in the Inscription, you read his Authority. Why therefore should you deny him the Testimony of your Subjection, and refuse to pay him Tribute? His Stamp, I see, is current with you; is the Regulation of your Contract, the Standard of your civil Commerce: and, as in Payments, you cannot refuse to accept it, so here you are obliged to give it. If *Cesar* be your King, this Payment, he asks, is as due as any you demand: and that he is your Prince, the Money, you would withhold, of itself testifies against you. God does not here interpose any particular Claim; nor will he lend his Name to countenance your Disobedience against your King, and his Vicegerent. If indeed he sets up his Image in the Temple, you are not to suffer it for God's sake; and if he commands you to worship This, you are not to obey him: but to give it in Tribute is your Duty; it is that which God does so far not forbid, that he does command: *Give therefore unto Cesar, the things which are Cesar's; and unto God, the things that are God's.*

The Words of our Saviour relate indeed to a particular Question, and chiefly there concern the giving of Tribute; but they are too the Foundation of a general Rule, and determine alike in all matters, that can come in dispute betwixt God's Supreme Authority, and that which is delegated to the Sons of Men: they importing, that some things there are peculiarly belonging to God, and some things belonging to the King; and, whose they are, we may know by the Inscription.

And this Determination we shall crave leave to prosecute, that way the Occasion of the Day leads: by representing, First, The Rights of God, and of *Cesar*: Secondly, The Usurpations of the *Pope* upon both: And, Thirdly, the Redress and Reform.

I. The Rights of God, and the King; and the Robbery the See of *Rome* has committed upon both, have been made so evident by others, that they will need here but a very brief Recapitulation.

First, If we enquire, What is God's: We are to consider him as Lord in chief, and sole Proprietor, whose is the World, and all that dwell therein. Part indeed of his Dominion he hath been pleased to bestow on the Sons of Men; but so, as to be held of him by such Laws, with such Services, and under such Reservations, as it shall have pleased the Almighty Donor.

1. He has therefore reserved to himself the Power of declaring Laws, and those not to be overruled, nor superseded, but by himself; to bind every where, and for ever; to pass through all Countries, and continue to all Ages. And those you may read: he has delivered them in Writing.

2. He has accordingly prescribed the Worship that shall be paid him, and the Services he expects. Those, that are peculiar to him,

have his Image, his Mark set upon them; and are incommunicable. For he is a jealous God, and will not give his Honour to another.

3. And, for this peculiar Service, he has chosen to be waited upon by a distinct peculiar People; that the Homage and Worship of the World may be presented to him in publick, by proper hallowed Hands. And these Men, they too have their Character; you may know them whose they are, and to whom they belong.

4. In the last place, we may mention as proper to God, not what he has primarily reserved, but what afterwards his pious Servants, out of Zeal and Gratitude, have offered to him. Such are all Donations sacred to his Name, and appropriated to his Service. These Possessions and Revenues, whose they are, you will find too by their Inscription; look into the Charters of their Foundations, and you will see: they belong to God.

Secondly, Consider we, What is *Cesar's*. And if we look upon him, we shall know his Quality and his Value. Whose Image bears he? And whom does he represent? Is he not the Vicegerent of God?

1. Wherever therefore his Sovereign, the Almighty, has not prevented him by any precedent Commands, there he has Right and Liberty to put forth his: in those cases to expect an active chearful Obedience; and that we should in no case, and for no reason, resist.

2. Be this Civil Government Heretick, or Infidel, we are not discharged of our Allegiance. We are obliged by the same Divine Authority to preserve our Religion under it, and to continue to it our Subjection. Nor are any modern Governours of the Church greater than their Fathers, the Apostles; who obeyed patiently the worst of Heathen Emperors; submitting either to their Edicts, or Persecutions.

3. The Duty of the Christian Emperor being to restrain Vice and Irreligion, to promote Holiness, and the Worship of God; to him it belongs to order and direct the Church, the way he shall think most proper for those Ends; to be its Temporal Overseer.

These are the unquestionable Rights of the Civil Power, affirmed in our Articles, and asserted at large by others; and to be given up to it by those that will render to *Cesar*, what is *Cesar's*.

II. Neither are the Rights of God, and the King more evident, than that the *Pope* has invaded both. His Usurpations are now grown as conspicuous, as his Greatness; and to recount them all, would be to give a Particular of his whole Authority.

Every one knows, his Principality over the other Churches of the World, what an unjust Claim it is, and how meanly founded. How his Authority, at first, was no greater than that of his Neighbour Bishops; the Style the same, and his Holiness in common: His Precedence not in the Right of Saint *Peter*, but of a Capital City; and Addresses first made to him, not because he was next to God, but

to

to the Imperial Court. How from the Civility of a Precedence they claimed a Superiority; because they had been consulted with, they would afterwards command: from arbitrating of Differences, referred to them by their Brethren concerned, they usurped a Judicature: and then, when none durst contradict them, they could not err, and grew Infallible.

It is too as well known, how, taking advantage of the Weakness of an old Empire, and making still Conditions with the new; authorizing the Usurpations of others, in Countenance to their own; abusing to their private Purposes the zealous Devotion of new converted Barbarians, and imposing on their unlearned Simplicity by the Authority of forged Donations, and counterfeit Decretals; and having before by various Arts, and thorough the Connivence or Assistance of Princes, gained an absolute Power over the Bishops of the West; they then, by the Aid of the enslaved Clergy, and their Garrisons of Monks, attempted openly on the Princes themselves: confined their Jurisdiction; and forbid them to meddle with the Persons or Revenues of Ecclesiasticks: authoritatively interposed in all Differences between Prince and Prince, or Prince and People, with their Spiritual Thunder in their Hands; commanded the World to lay down, or take up Arms at their Pleasure: exercising every where by their Legates the Sovereign Power of Peace and War; giving the Law, and disposing of Crowns and Lands, as they thought fit. He, that disobeyed, was first thrown out of the Church, and then out of his Country; his Subjects absolved from their Allegiance; and those justified, that had a mind to rebel, or to invade. They did the Holy Church and Saint *Peter* Service, that seized upon his Estate or his Person: he stood delivered up to *Satan*, to be buffeted on Earth, and tormented in Hell.

These are the Steps to the *Papal* Throne; and, when they were mounted, so have they lorded it; trampling imperiously on the Necks of Kings and Bishops, in an equal Violation of all Authority, Sacred and Civil. They are the first, that directed pretended Holy Orders of Men, and Sons of Perfection, in Separate Congregations, to despise their true Spiritual Governours: and first instructed traitorous Subjects, to rebel against their King, the sanctified way.

And these Injustices of their Growth, and Violences of their grown Power, lie so open in the successive Annals of the Christian Times; that, to secure their Cause, they have reason to forbid the Reading of all Histories, as well as of the Holy Bible. There we may as easily discern the Beginning, and gradual Advance of the aspiring *Papacy*, as of any other usurping Empire: and that this New *Rome* has, by Means, as humane as those the Old practised, and with as little of Divine Right, extended the Narrowness of its original Territory into a Catholick Dominion. And there we shall find, as soon as it rises to its Plenitude of Power, nothing but Robbery and Cruelty; the World in a perpetual Disturbance, by Interdicts and Excommunications;

tions; all the Wars and Confusions of whole Ages, commanded and managed by this unchristian Authority: Emperors at their Feet; kicked away; deposed by them, to be murdered by their Subjects, and their Sons: the Crowns of *England* and *France* given away on any Distaste; as if those Princes had been only Vicars of the Church; and at best (what they forced one of ours to own) but Homagers to the Holy See.

This Usage, on all Occasions, Crowned Heads of their own Communion have felt from their Holy Father. But, if the Crime, the *Pope* charged, bordered on Heresy; then the Thunderbolts flew, and the World was to tremble: to invade that Prince, was like a Journey against Infidels; to stab him, meritorious; and the Assassin to be Canonized. And so in the last Age, on the Presumption of such a Sentence, died *Henry* the Third of *France*: the villainous Murderer in open Consistory recognized by the *Pope* for a Religious *Hero*; and the Relief of *Paris*, by such an ungodly Fact, compared with the Redemption of Mankind. Under the same Danger, by a more express Decree, lay *Henry* the Fourth, his Successor; till he suffered himself to be instructed, how he might be safe from the Master of the Assassins, the Old Man of the Mountains; and laid down his Conscience at the *Pope's* Feet, to hold his Life and his Crown.

And, not to mention their impotent Fury against our *Henry* the Eighth, their former Defender; by the same Authority, and with as little Effect, did Four of that See successively thunder against our late glorious Queen; and solemnly declare her deprived of her Kingdoms. As they had deprived her of those and her Life, if God would have suffered private Treachery, open Rebellion, or a Foreign powerful Invasion to succeed. And in consequence of such a Declaration made by the last of them, and with as much Justice, was the Traiterous Attempt made, we this Day remember; and King *James* of Blessed Memory, and the Three Estates of the Realm together, condemned to one Fire.

So do they give to *Cesar* his Due. And what then can Heretical Subjects expect? They are to fall by thousands, self-condemned, and without the honourable Ceremony of a *Bull*: to be slaughtered like Sheep, abandoned by the angry Shepherd; as in the Butchery of *Paris*, or by the Wolves of *Ireland*. For Mercy is not the Due of a Heretick; nor has he Right to common Faith: his Life belongs not to him.

But how is it, that the great Spiritual Father deals with his obedient Children? Does he not render *them* their Due? He, like an Old *Roman* Father, treats them with an unaccountable Power: allows them no Propriety; and denies them the Use of all that their good God had given them.

He takes out of their Hands the Holy Scriptures, the greatest Gift of the Holy Ghost; their only Comfort, and Instruction. And, instead of it, puts a Legend: for the Word of Life and Truth, unedifying

fyng fabulous Traditions: for Bread, a Stone: for Fish, a Serpent. If that See had pretended but a little earlier Power over the Blessed Spirit, they might have commanded it not to write: however now they forbid the People to read.

He keeps from them the Legacy of their dying Saviour; one Half of the Spiritual Nourishment bequeathed them.

He denies them the Use of their Understandings and Judgments, in almost all the Articles of their Faith: of their Senses too, in that of Transubstantiation.

He takes from them the Knowledge of the Prayers, offered in their Name: and lets them not understand their own Desires. So are the People to appear before God, dumb and senseless; like one of their Idols. All is to be referred to the Priest: the Pardon of their Sins is to depend on his Discretion; and the Efficacy of that Part of the Blessed Sacrament, that is left, on the Sincerity of his Intention.

So is Man robbed of his Spiritual Consolation: and the good God, of his gracious Purposes. But they are more bold yet with the Almighty.

That Princes may not complain of Respect of Persons, they absolve, in some Cases, from the Obedience of God himself; and avowedly allow, what he as positively forbids: authorize incestuous Conjunctions, and license Perjury: pass Pardons for all Sins, committed against the Divine Majesty.

They make the Authority of the Writings of God to depend upon their own: and add to them, as they see Cause; creating new Articles of Faith, and instituting almost a new Religion.

They give away his Worship: make their devoutest Addresses, and pay their most humble Acknowledgments, to the Virgin *Mary*; to Angels, to Favourite Saints. And, that there may not be wanting Rivals with our God,

They create Saints; give Crowns above, as well as below: and dispose of Heaven as their own.

They give Divine Honour to Bread; which they call a God: and to an Image; which to the Eye they might better Transubstantiate.

And, to cover their Idolatry, they commit Sacrilege, steal away one of the Ten Commandments; and by their *Index Expurgatorius* blot the Two Tables themselves.

So far has the *Papal* See been from observing the Rule of the Text; from giving to *Cesar*, what is *Cesar's*; or to God, what is God's.

III. The Church, of which we have the Blessing to be Members, and whose Preservation we more particularly acknowledge this Day, with Thanks to God Almighty its Defender, appears, in its Reformation, to have proposed to itself this Rule of our Saviour's: to have had in it no other Design, than by a just and equal Distribution to give to God, what is God's; and to Man, what is Man's. It has

surveyed the several Claims in the Name of God, and of the King; has considered whose peculiar Stamp and Character those things, that were challenged, bore; and has restored them, by the Direction of those Marks, to their rightful Proprietors. In this disposal of Rights, and general Restitution, it has not minded any Interest of its own; nor laid its Hands on what belongs not to it: it has not had any private Design, to gain by what it was to distribute: it has stood upright, and held the Ballance steady; dealing to each their own, ingenuously, and with an impartial Hand.

To God, as is most due, it renders first his own; to his Person, a Worship entirely Divine; an Honour not before lessened on any rival part of his Creation: to his Laws, an Obedience, which no other Command shall controul, nor Dispensation release.

To Princes next, and those that are in Authority, it has restored the full Exercise of their lawful Power: their Countries, and their People, again their own; no Place privileged, nor Person exempted; no foreign Potentate sharing the Authority, nor dividing the Revenue; their Subjects bound in an Allegiance, not to be withdrawn on any Pretence of Schism or Heresy; in the Power of no Consistory to discharge.

And here we see no Politick Reserve: that our Church has not provided for itself any other Refuge, but in the Providence of God, and the Piety of the Civil Power. What was not her own, she has given out of her Hands: where she cannot communicate, yet there she will obey; and where she cannot obey, she is ready to endure; expecting her Reward in Heaven. Not ignorant, how much she suffers now, from the Contradiction of disloyal Men, for the Truth of this Doctrine, and how much, by its Meekness, she stands exposed to future Persecution; yet she professes to know too, that her Saviour's Kingdom is not of this World: that the Rendezvous against a Prince is not protected by being in a Church: turns not her Congregations into Armies. That the Sword is joined with the Keys; and that Excommunication is armed with any Civil Penalties; it acknowledges to be, from the Care and Authority of the Civil Government: that thence it has its Temporal Power over Subjects; so far is it from assuming any over the Superiors themselves. And, though Parties, seemingly opposite, agree in the contrary Opinion; we take not that for an Argument of its Truth: equally detesting the Holy League of the one, and the Solemn League of the other.

If the *Cesar* be Heathen, and like him in the Text; so far our Church obeys: if he professes the Faith, and she finds him in her Assemblies; she gives him, as his own, the supreme Direction and Guidance of Ecclesiastick Affairs, to settle its outward Policy, and be its Moderator and Governour. And yet gives not so much, as to take away from the Ordination of God. Her Ministers act under his Protection: but in virtue of a Commission from above; of an Authority Spiritual, and derived by other Hands.

So

So far hath the Church of *England* been from opposing, or flattering the Civil Power; neither exalting itself against the Prince, nor the Prince against God: in a constant uniform Practice of this Rule of the Text: *Giving to Cesar, what is Cesar's; and to God, what is God's.*

In the same Temper, and with the same Impartiality, she has endeavoured to reduce all things to their antient Limits; and render to every one their Due. Arrogates not to herself an Infallibility in her Decrees: but permits to every private Person to judge, and consider: and yet authorizes not a wanton giddy Spirit, a Judgment without Discretion; but advises the unlearned to attend to those that are over them: neither grossly to think, they cannot err, nor easily to think, they do. Keeps a Mean between a blind Obedience, an implicit Faith: and between a blind Disobedience, a froward contemptuous Rejecting of what a Congregation of God's People shall Decree. She has restored to the People the one Half of their Lord's Supper; the Blood, the Life of the Christian Sacrifice; detained before by a sacrilegious Impropriation. Directs to discern the Elements of the Communion, from the corporal Substance of Christ; and from common Food: to receive them with Reverence, but not with Adoration. Renders into their Hands the Holy Scriptures, intercepted by the *Roman* See. Hides them not under the Cover of a strange Language; nor in the Closets of the Doctors: but sets them on a Candlestick, that they, which come in, may see the Light. Takes not from them the Word of God, lest they should misinterpret it; but labours that they may not: admonishes, interprets, and explains. Lets them understand their God, speaking to them; and themselves, speaking to God: returns them their Prayers in their own Tongue: returns them, I say. For neither was it thought fit, to depart from those old Forms of Supplication, which God had been pleased to accept from Holy Men of the first Ages, which had been consecrated by the Mouths of the best Christians; neither was it to be imagined, that God was to be pleased with the Variety of a new Phrase, or surpris'd by an extempore Petition. In like manner, she prays not to Saints; but mentions their Names with Honour: uses not the Intercession of their Merits; but thanks God for their Example. And as the Substance of our Worship is not oppress'd and overcharged with Ceremony and Circumstance; so neither is it left neglected, and unattended: We wait upon our God, with the whole Man; in composure of Mind and Body.

And thus has the *English* Church rendered to every one their own: purged from Superstition, and free from Novelty; reformed from Abuse and Corruption on all hands; it deservedly takes place of those of the last Ages; and may be ranked with the first, and best Centuries. The primitive Christians, if they could be supposed to return upon the Earth, would profess our Faith; for it is theirs: and would certainly be of our Communion, for here they would find their own

Doctrine, and their own Government. An Universal Infallible Bishop, they had never been acquainted with: and, of a Church without a Bishop, they had never heard.

So stands our Church, upon a Rock; beaten upon by Waves on all sides: and, were the Strength of its Adversaries only in their Arguments, secure enough. It stands firm, and upright: leans on neither side; and by its Frame, is in no danger of falling. But the Malice of its Enemies is restless: they assault openly, and privately undermine; no Way left unattempted; not by Men above, nor by Hell beneath: if they cannot throw down; they blow up.

And, amidst all the Antichristian Variety of Ruin, which the Contrivance of those of *Rome* has designed against this Church and Nation; none so unlikely to be prevented, so sure and speedy in the Execution, so like themselves, and of so Catholick a Destruction, as that of this Day: when the Invention of a Monk, applied by the Malice of a *Jesuit*, had well nigh gratified their *Roman* Master with a Wish of one of his Heathen Predecessors, another Vice-God; and dispatched a Nation at a Blow. Neither have we had any reason to think, that the same sort of Men are now more quiet, or grown more merciful: their frequent Disappointments may have only enraged them: and the Memory of this Day they are to blot out, with the Success of another.

They have always acted with the greatest Violence against this Kingdom, and against this Church: and for the same reason. Our Country, for its natural Strength, great Riches, and Courage of its Inhabitants, is the firmest Support of the other Protestants: and, as soon as this Island were reduced, the Conquest of the other Hereticks, as they call us, might be easy; weak as they are, and divided. With the same Prospect, are their Designs, within this Kingdom, levelled against our Church, as it stands here established. That is their great, and considerable Enemy. A Church regularly founded, by full Authority, Temporal, and Spiritual; not tumultuously collected. Its Doctrine bottomed on the sure Basis of the Scripture; Apostolical in its Government, and its Ministers; having, on its side, all that true Antiquity, which they themselves vainly pretend. A Church they are not able to reproach, either with Novelty, or Sedition: whose Learning has been eminent to their Confusion; and whose Interest, by the Grace of God, has yet been well enough united, to withstand their continued Attempts. Against this Body, and this Constitution, they direct all their Aim: apply their open Force, and their secret Practices. This (which God forbid) if they should ruin, they may think it would be no difficult thing to destroy the other ill grounded, disunited Societies that are among us, tied together by no Government, consenting in no Form of Doctrine, met together upon Fancy and Humour, holding they know not what, and agreeing they know not how.

Neither

Neither are they so barren of mischievous Invention, as to be at a loss, if Poison, Dagger, or Powder fails: they can work on other Mines; and lay other Trains, than those of this Day. It is indifferent to them, by what sort of Artifice the Frame of our Government flies asunder: what it is, that tears, and rends, and breaks in pieces our Church and State: whether the Matter, that is to scatter us, be under the Places of our Assemblies, or in them: whether Houses are burned by their Wild-fire, or Men's Minds inflamed, and our Cities in a more dangerous Combustion: whether our Religion be ruined by them; or by their Friends, Debauchees, Atheists, or Enthusiasts. They thankfully accept the Pains, those of the Separation take to divide and distract us; the liberal Present they make of our whole Church into their Bosom: contentedly allow all their Clamour against Popery, if they will but serve them so far, as to fasten that odious Popery upon us: glad to see the Papal Designs executed, at the Expence and Scandal of those that bear a Protestant Name: to see their Brethren of the Recusancy as vigilant and vigorous at it, as if they were some new Order of the *Pope's*, and had a General at *Rome*; so well agreed, that we are never in more Danger from the one, than when we are threatened by the other: Then our Church is not capacious enough, and should be rebuilt, say those that would pull it down; then its Gates are not broad enough, and Breaches to be made, wide enough for an Enemy to come in. On this side, the Papist mines, on that, the Dissenter countermines; till by both the Foundation is sapped, and the Fabrick sinks. Our growing Schisms giving our common Enemy certain Hopes of our future Ruin, and furnishing them now with the best Argument for a Head of Unity, and an Infallible Judge.

Other Plots and Designs, which those of the Church of *Rome* may have, it may not be in the Power of private Persons to encounter: To oppose them there, may be the Work of other Hands; and the proper Business of Authority; (for we are to give to *Cesar*, what is *Cesar's*.) But to oppose their most dangerous Designs, and that without which no other can prevail, that is in our own Power. It is every particular Man, that is to hinder his being disunited; to prevent and disappoint the Advantages expected from our Divisions. And, to exhort and beseech Men to lay aside private Animosities, humorous and fanciful Distastes in Matters of Religion; to keep the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace; is a fit and necessary Duty at all times, in an Age that wants Charity so much, and has so little of Christian Condescension: but, at this time, more eminently seasonable, and absolutely necessary. To agree now in the Service of God, as it is the Duty of each in private; so it is the Interest of the publick. The House of God itself, if divided against itself, cannot stand. Whatever other Instruments of our Ruin those of *Rome* may have, let no Protestant suffer his Zeal to be made one.

To be truly opposite to the Church of *Rome*, to prevent their future Designs, and in Gratitude for our past Deliverances; let us, in Obedience to the Direction of the Text, and in Imitation of our Church, render to every one their Due. To the Constitution of the Church, that just and thankful Testimony, that nothing can be more contrary to the Falshoods, Usurpations, and Corruptions of the *Romish* See: nothing more agreeable to the Peace, good Order, and Government of the Kingdom. In the Head of this Church, to *Cesar*, what is *Cesar's*; a grateful loyal Resentment of the great Blessings, we enjoy under his Gracious Government: no Half-Subjection, nor Popish Conformity to his Laws; an Obedience, clear of *Roman* Shifts, and *Jesuitical* Evasions: not setting up a private Antipapal Authority, to absolve ourselves, in some cases, from our Allegiance; and deny his Majesty's Supremacy, in favour of our own.

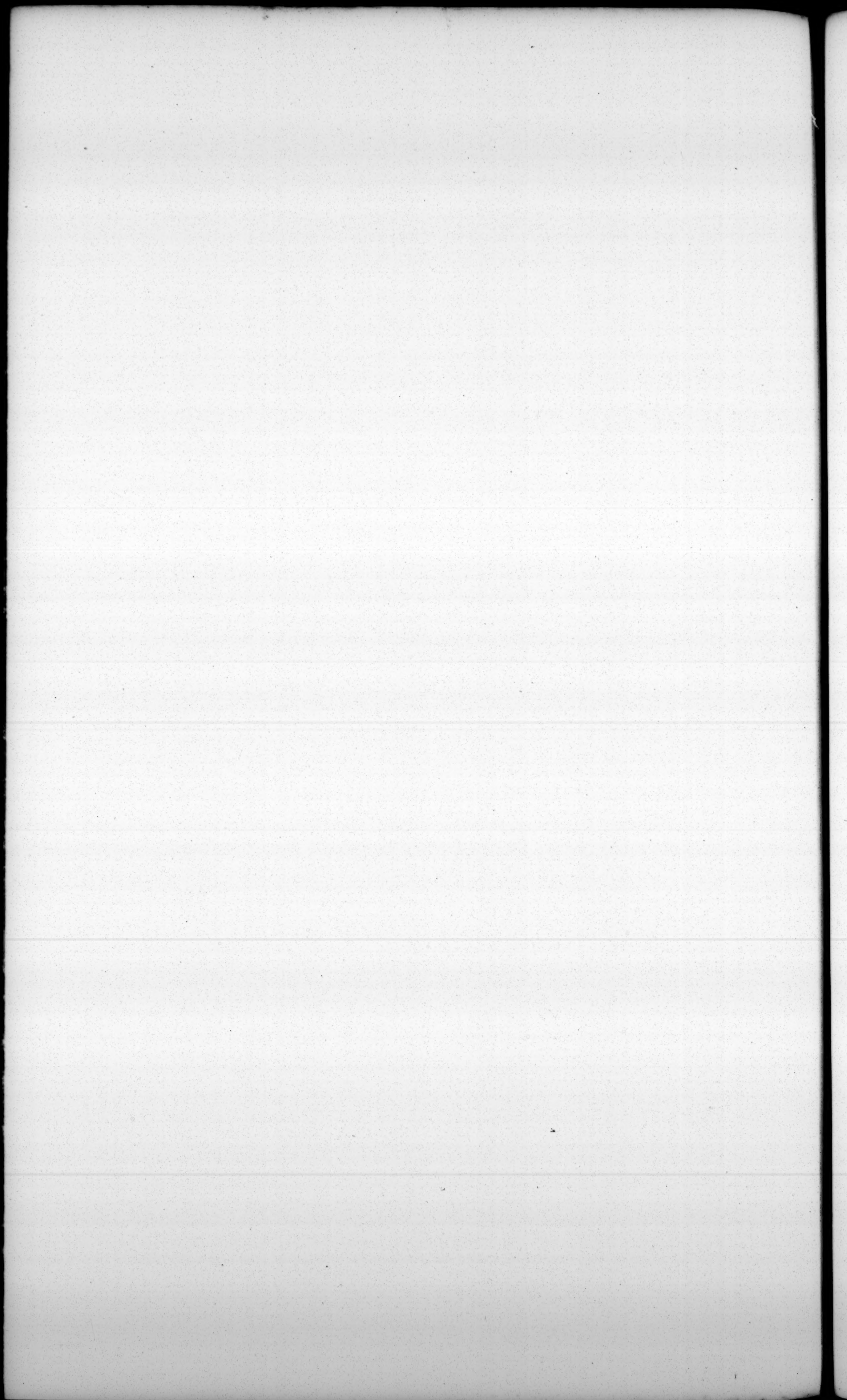
To God, particularly on this Occasion, all Honour, Thanks, and Acknowledgment: That he was first pleased to shine early upon this Nation, in the returning Light of the Gospel, the Doctrine of the *Reformation*: discovering to us, as it were by a new Revelation, his true Religion, freed from the Corruptions, and Impositions of Men; from a Burden of Ceremonies, almost *Jewish*; and an Idolatry, almost *Pagan*. That he was pleased, during the Reign of the succeeding Princess, to continue this his Blessed Gift to us; to the Confusion of all the Enemies of our Faith, and Country, both at home and abroad. And particularly, under her Successor King, that the Divine Majesty was pleased, by a singular extraordinary Providence, to disappoint a Treason, unexampled in its Malice, and of an unheard of Design: the Prince of Darkness himself contriving and labouring the horrid Plot beneath; God watching from above, and confounding the accursed Work, by a Miracle almost as great, as if the Train had took, and he had stopt the Blow. That he has been pleased since still to defeat, by a constant jealous Care, the restless Enemies of our Peace and Religion; preserving from their Malice and Treachery that Sacred Head, next and immediate under God, our Governour and Defender: preserving us all to his true Worship, from Confusion and War: whose Grace it is, that we assemble, as at this time, in Peace and Safety; worship him, as here, in Purity.

Neither is this all, on this Occasion, we owe our God: We are to continue our Thanks beyond the Day; and express ourselves sensible of the Divine Favour, by improving it to the most Advantage. We stand still obliged to a farther Justice, to give our Protestant Religion its Due, and let it have its proper blessed Effects.

That the Purity and *Reformation* of our Religion be not only read in our Articles, and Liturgy; and those framed by the Piety of our Ancestors: but seen on our own Persons, exemplified in our Lives. That our Worship of God discover, by the Intenseness of the Devotion, that it is not distracted by any other Object, nor diverted on Saints and Angels. That it appear not, by our Slackness at the Holy Communion,

Communion, that we could have been without the Use of Both Kinds. That it be visible, by our zealous Attention to our Prayers, that we Understand them: and, by our Obedience to God's Word, that we have Read it: not from impious Allusions, and such Profanations, as may almost justify the Papal Prohibition. Let us shew, by the Frequency of our own Charities, and Devotions now, that we think those of Others for us, after our Death, of no avail: by our Abhorrence of all Sin, that we account none Venial: and, by the religious Carefulness of our Lives, that we trust not to Indulgences, or easy Absolutions. They, that doubt of a Possibility of Salvation for those of the Other Communion, in This, let them secure their own: and, while we profess, by good Works we cannot Merit Heaven, let us not, by bad, Deserve a greater Damnation.

These are the proper Tests of a true Protestant; and Signs of a holy Zeal. Other noisy Clamours, and angry Heats against *Rome*, have no more of Religion in them, than is in the loud Sounds on that Occasion, we hear from the Tops of our Churches; or in the Fire, that burns in the Streets. If we would entirely banish Popery, let none of its Corruption be retained in our Manners; let our Lives, and our Conversations Protest. So shall we best thank God for the Mercy of this Day; and engage his Protection for the future.



A
S E R M O N

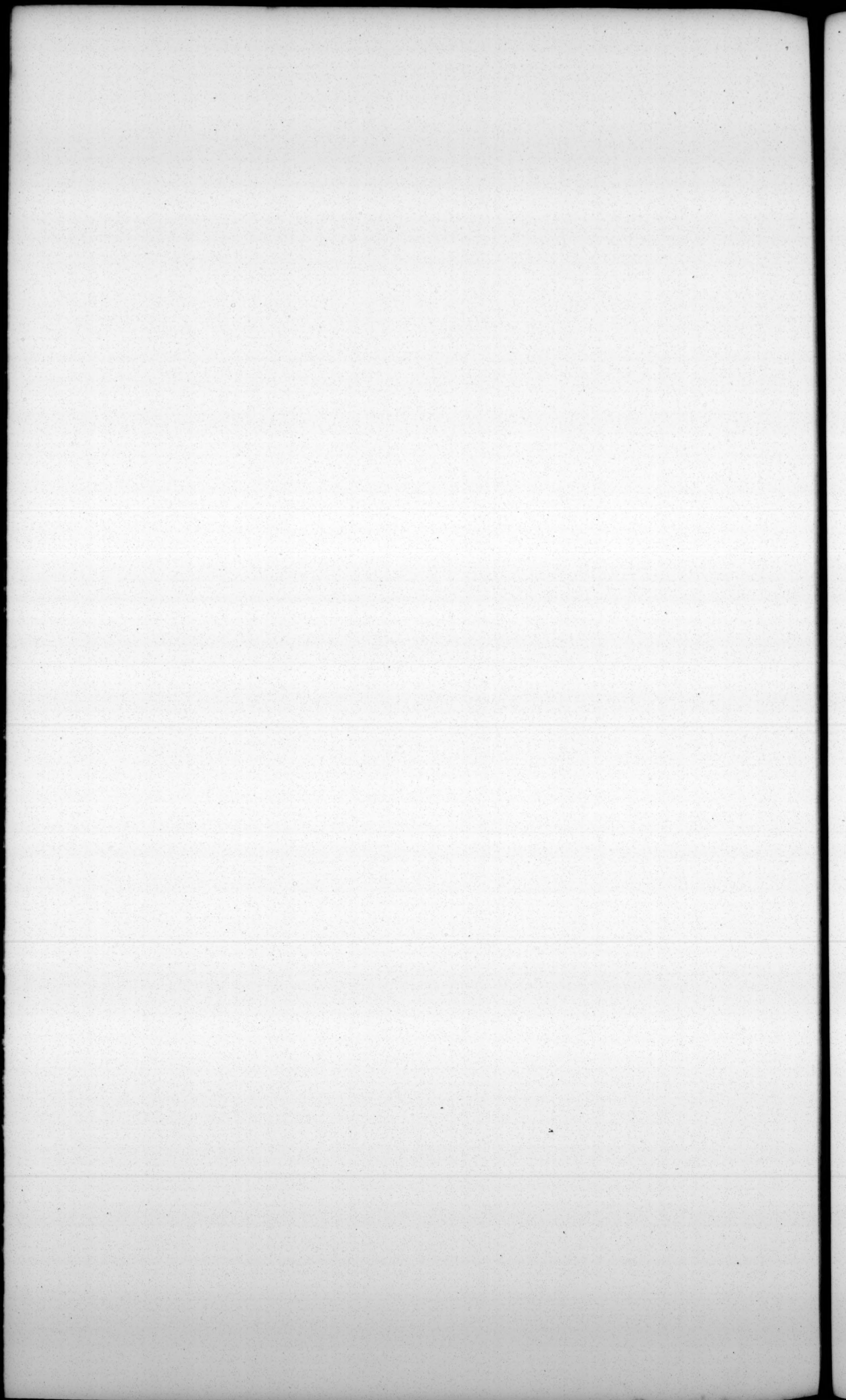
PREACHED BEFORE

The Q U E E N,

A T

W H I T E - H A L L,

On *Sunday, Jan. 25. 1690-1.*



S E R M O N III.

PREACHED BEFORE

T H E Q U E E N, &c.

LUKE XVI. the last Verse.

And he said unto him, If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the Dead.

THE tormented Person in the Parable, after he had in vain requested the least degree of Refreshment for himself, and had understood from *Abraham*, that the *Gulph* was *fixed*, and the Condition of those beyond it without Remedy; begins then, in the next place, to intercede for his nearest, and yet surviving Relations, his *Brethren* on the Earth; the Successors to his large Possessions, and Inheritors, as he feared, of his Vices; those who filled his room in the other World, and might too follow his steps hither, and come into the same Place; but whose Case was not yet desperate, and for whom a Petition might be granted. He desires, that *Lazarus* might at least be sent to them, those to whom he might *pass*, and they warned not to *come into this Place of Torment*.

This Request, capable of several Interpretations, appears to some to be made out of the remains of that Kindness and Tenderness, which he might have had for his House and Family, though wanting to Strangers and this *Lazarus*. Others suppose him to consider Himself and his own Torments; that those, already intolerable, might not be yet increased by the growing Guilt, his ill Example might be still contracting on the Earth. But it may rather be imagined, that under this Warning for the future, he couches an Excuse for the past; and would insinuate, that what he desires for his Brethren, he once wanted himself: That he fell into that horrible Misery for lack of Information; and that his lamentable Condition deserved therefore much more Compassion, than he had besought.

So *Abraham* seems to understand this Petition of the Rich Man, and to such an Intention the Reply of the Patriarch is appositely suited. He tells him first, that his Brethren *had* those already, whom they may and ought to *bear*, however they may have been neglected;

ed; great, and known, and constant Monitors, *Moses and the Prophets*. And then, when the same Demand is still urged, and an extraordinary Admonition insisted on, to be brought *from the Dead*, as that which in all probability must succeed; he again answers, that such a Method may be as vain and fruitless, as it is unnecessary; and peremptorily puts an end to all further Discourse and Expectation with the words of the Text, *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither will they be persuaded, though one rose from the Dead*.

There is another more positive Meaning, which the words may seem to bear at the first sight; That all possible Conviction had been already given by *Moses and the Prophets*, and that one Rising from the Dead, and particularly addressed, would have no more to say, nor make any greater Impression. But this cannot be well admitted: for who can doubt, but that such a personal Message would have been a great addition of Evidence and Information; would have described the Torments and Joys, the Punishments and Rewards of the other World, not only more lively, but much more plainly, than they had been delivered by *Moses and the Prophets*? The other Sense therefore, I now intimated, is rather to take place; being of itself forcible enough to silence the Petition, or the Complaint, of the Person in the Parable: and which you may please to consider as it consists of these *Three* Particulars; (The First Absolute, and that heightened by the Two following Reflections).

First, That the Notice already given was sufficient to keep his Brethren from those Torments; and that new and greater were unnecessary, and not to be demanded.

Secondly, That it was not impossible, that the desired Warning, if granted, might be neglected, as the other had been.

And *Thirdly*, Not only possibly, but very probably, especially as his Brethren might be disposed, it would be actually successful.

These *Three* Particulars, I shall suppose to make up the entire Meaning of the Text.

The *First*, That the Notice already given was sufficient, is the implied Sense of that part of *Abraham's* Answer, which sends them to *Moses and the Prophets*; and is, as we suppose, the Foundation of this.

For as the Rich Man, from the State and Course of his former Life, might be apt to think, that his Family deserved the honour to be certified by an Express, and was not to be concluded by common Notice: so, used to Superfluities, he might demand a larger proportion of Instruction for his Brethren, than that which was to serve others, the vulgar sort: an abundance of Warning and Evidence, without which they could no more be informed, than they knew how to live without that Excess of Wealth, in which they had been bred. But here the Extravagance of this his Request is restrained, and reduced

duced to its true Bounds: He is told, That there is a Competence of Knowledge, as well as of Fortune; That God's Providence had already afforded them a liberal share of Instruction, enough for their Occasions, and with which they ought to be contented, employing it to its true Use; That such idle Demands were infinite and impertinent; That this sort of Covetousness was not to be satisfied neither; and that none more usually called for more, than those who had before too much.

It is indeed true, and the Instance is before us: The unequal Distribution of Worldly Goods, that sets some in redundant Plenty, may reduce others, and those not the least deserving, to want Necessaries in this Life. And this Disproportion, we know, can no way better be reconciled to Divine Justice, than by a future Discrimination, the Judgment of the World to come: which Judgment, therefore, this Person and his Brethren might have collected, if only from a View of themselves and that *Lazarus*. But that just Discrimination, we likewise presume, will be so ordered, that none shall suffer in that Day, by the unequal Distribution of Knowledge now; nor be accountable for more, than had been before committed. It shall appear, in the scantiest Dispensation of those Talents, that our Master is not *hard, expecting to reap where he has not sown, or to gather where he has not sowed*; that he, that had received least, enjoyed however enough to have kept him from that dreadful Place.

That Man therefore lay now tormented, not for lack of Adversity, but Attention: nor for any failure of God, but for his own. Neither does he here beg, as *Lazarus* did heretofore, for the supply of any real Want; he cannot pretend that his Brethren are under Necessity, or so much as that they had been narrowly and sparingly dealt with; to whom Providence had been so bountiful, even in that kind, in those signal and multiplied Notices, wherewith his Family and whole Nation were enriched above the rest of Men.

Had he and his Brethren been strangers to this *Abraham*, and never heard of *Moses and the Prophets*; yet they had not remained uninformed of the great Duties of Life, and those for the Transgression of which he now suffers. The Being, to be acknowledged and worshipped, had not *left himself without a Witness*, if these had never testified: *the invisible things of him, his Power and Godhead, being to be understood, not from the words of a Message, but from the things that were made*. The Obligations too of Temperance, Justice, and Charity had been sufficiently discovered, from the Light of Reason, and Dictates of Human Nature. The Dictates, I say, of Nature, or the innate Notions of the Mind; taking leave to use these words in the common way of Speech, and as they serve to express that moral Sense, that distinctive Faculty of Good and Ill, to which, Actions of Justice, and Beneficence, and Gratitude, are natural and delightful, and the contrary distasteful and disagreeable, by the frame and make of our Spiritual Part: As Tastes, or Colours, or Sounds are to the

Palate, the Eye, or the Ear, by the Providence of God, in the fabric of the Body: So is it that the *Work of the Law is written in Men's Hearts*, as the Apostle phrases it. Hence the *Consciences* of the Heathen are instructed to *accuse, or excuse*: And so would these Men have been without Excuse, had they been without those Notices from their Law-giver. The Commandment, of whose Violation they stand guilty, needs no new Declaration now; it was not necessary, it should have been proclaimed from Mount *Sinai*. Before *that Day*, it was not bidden from Man, nor afar off: It was not in Heaven, that he should say, *Who shall go up for him to Heaven, and bring it unto him, that he may hear it, and do it?* Neither was it beyond the Sea; (to use *Moses's* words, even concerning the unwritten Law:) It was not to be sent from beyond this Gulph; nor was it one of the Secrets of Hell, or Heaven. *The Word was very nigh unto him, in his Mouth, and in his Heart, that he should do it*: It was what his own Heart conceived to be right and just; and what his Mouth was ready to pronounce, at least in the case of others.

But, beyond this, these were the Sons of *Abraham*: He is called upon as their Father in this Distress, and was heretofore their Boast. His Faith, and his Hospitality were their Glory, and should have been their Example: From him they made themselves a Title to the Blessings and Friendship of Heaven; and if they followed not his Steps, what could they expect but its Enmity and Indignation? that Injustice, Uncharitableness, and Luxury should be attended by the Fate of *Sodom*, and punished by such Fire? should no more be relieved now, than they were spared of old, at *Abraham's* importunate Intercession?

And yet further, to pass over the several Revelations made to the Patriarchs, and which were to descend to their Offspring, as their best Inheritance; at last, from the Mount, a general and wonderful Declaration was made, to which the Miracles of *Egypt* had prepared, as those of the Wilderness did attest. Then the Natural Law of Men's Breasts was transcribed, and exemplified by the Hand of God, to be read in the Tables of Stone, and Books of *Moses*; no longer whispered from within, in silent, gentle Commands, but loudly and terribly proclaimed, in a Voice of Thunder, too audible not to be heard; and at which they could not but tremble, had the Earth stood unmoved; the Delivery of their Duty accompanied with Horrour, and speaking the dismal Consequences of its Neglect.

So did God himself continue to testify to that Generation by his Servant *Moses*; nor did he cease to admonish their Posterity by his Prophets: all whose Writings were transmitted down, received by the *Jews*, and read every Day in their Synagogues; still denouncing Divine Wrath against Excess, Rapine, Oppression and Unmercifulness, as the Rich Man may now too late remember.

This *Moses* and those Prophets he had heard in the Synagogue; his Quality, no doubt, had preferred him to read them there. Well
skilled

skilled in the Law, it may be, he was, and the Oracle of his Country; a Zealot possibly for his Religion, against the *Samaritan*, or the Heathen: But still he was to learn to *bear*; he had not heard them to the Purpose they spoke, and with that Attention which the Importance and Weight of the Message required: he had lent them the Ear, in manners, or for show; but he had hearkened to the Temptation of Pleasure, or Propositions of Honour and Gain.

It may be, he had *heard* them wantonly or maliciously; to make mirth and deride, or to cavil and object: happy for ever, in his Jest; and secure, if he could but doubt. The Report of so many Miracles might have only taught him to demand one; that he should be as much considered as his Forefathers, and have a Wonder bestowed upon him; resolved not to believe without Evidence of the first hand, as great as he should fancy, or God could give.

And it was true, that greater Evidence might have been given. If God had so pleased, Faith, no doubt, might have lost its name, and become Science: The Godhead might have shined out like the Sun, and his Pleasure as clear as the Noon-day. And so the Body of Man might have been winged, been cloathed, and armed by Nature; endowed with other Senses, as much surpassing our Sight, as that does the dullest of the five; and made obnoxious neither to Pain nor Death: and, as our Mind, might have been created incapable of Error, or of Sin.

But God is *he that made us, and not we ourselves*. He is to prescribe to us, not we to him: he not being accountable, for what he withholds; but we, for what we have received. We are thankfully to be content with the Day he has dispensed, with so much Light as he holds out, and at the Distance he has placed it: enjoying the Direction, and not quarrelling at the Spots of his Sun. The Provisions for this Life, and for the other, are left to our Care, and recommended to our Industry: and Reason is given us to work out of that Stock which is afforded us, whether Material or Intellectual, not only our Preservation in this World, but our Salvation in the next. That Reason we are to make use of, as we do of our Sight, though it be limited and obscure, and subject to Deception: not therefore becoming Brutes, because we are not made Intelligent as Angels. And the Knowledge that God imparts of Himself and his Will, though not the brightest, nor most perfect, we are to lay hold on, and to cultivate, as proportioned to our Capacity, and sufficient for the End; not standing upon Terms, and refusing to perceive, because he is not pleased Mathematically to demonstrate. God is not obliged to act for us to the Extent of his Omnipotence; but it is we who are bound in Duty to Him, to the utmost of our Endeavours.

To complain of our bountiful Maker, is unjust, and highly ungrateful: but to recriminate upon him, and to charge him with our Faults, will be a very bold, and a fatal Defence; a Plea more guilty, than all our former Presumptions; and which will not prevent,

but finish our Condemnation. Such an Imputation as this, though covertly offered, *Abraham* in the Parable cut short: a Reflection not to be borne by the Servants of God, by *Moses and the Prophets*. They had not failed to testify, and had discharged their Office: but these Brethren, (may they say,) these, for whom more Revelation is asked, what of their known Duty have they done? Do they act in proportion to what they have already from us? Or do they live as Men, and such as were indued with Reason? Do they indeed desire a clearer Evidence? Or, for the sake of their beloved Vices, do they not rather dread a convincing Discovery? Those, who have neglected so much Warning, how little do they deserve more? or to what purpose should it be given? That Rich Man must confess, that all the insupportable Torment, he labours under, he endures not for any Transgression involuntary, and of which he was not abundantly premonished: He had too much Warning given him, and therefore those Coals of Fire are so heaped. He does therefore, in truth, make a very dangerous Request for his Brethren, and out of favour to them, it may be, denied by *Abraham*: More Knowledge perhaps may only help to condemn them more; and put them into a worse Place, than that in which he himself lies. If *Lazarus*, added to *Moses and the Prophets*, cannot *Persuade* them, he will be joined then only to *Testify* against them. And this is the Possibility the Text imports in the *Second* Place, and which we are now going to consider.

II. *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets, neither [Possibly] will they be persuaded, though one rose, &c.*

Should God be pleased to change his decreed Methods, the sacred Order of his Allwise Providence, for the sake of this Family; to expose more of his Mercy and Goodness to such unworthy Affronts; should *Lazarus* be content to leave the *Bosom of Abraham*, and the Happiness of Heaven, to go once more upon the miserable Earth, and to those inhospitable Doors: What Assurance has this Person to give, that the Messenger shall be heard, or that the Divine Endeavours shall not be again frustrated, and meet with another Repulse? Will he tie caution for the Success, and answer for the Expence of the Miracle? Be contented that this Trial should be made, and God tempted and wearied, at his further Peril?

No doubt, but those of the Gentiles too that are in Hell, those from *Tyre* or *Sidon*, who are guilty of the same Crimes, are condemned, in proportion to their Knowledge, to the like Torment; no doubt, I say, but those, full of the Sense of their present Misery, and forgetting the powerful Influence of past Pleasures, may likewise lament their own unhappy Lot, and vainly wish, that they had been blessed with the Opportunity of some more express Information; that some single Prophet had been addressed to their Fathers, with the least verbal Intimation from their Maker; had such Revelations descended to them, their Duty so clearly explained, and so movingly enforced,

inforced, how attentive and obedient should they have been, never certainly have come into *this Place*. Amazed they may be at the Negligence or Infidelity of this *Jew*; and subscribe to the Divine Sentence, *that His Damnation is just*.

But this Son of *Abraham* sensibly knows, how much mistaken such Conceits are, and how little Extraordinary Advertisements and plain Declarations may be able to effect. He can tell them, that not only the Light of Reason may be esteemed an *Ignis Fatuus*, and its Dictates nothing but Education and Prepossession, at least, be easily obscured and overruled: but that other Supernatural and clearer Informations may be entertained with the same Prejudices, stirred up at the Sollicitation of Men's Lusts or Interests; may be alike neglected and thrown by, or cavilled at, slighted and condemned: that the past Revelations may be turned into Fables, and the present into Dreams. This Person therefore may easily reflect, from the Practice of his Nation, and his own Life, that new Obedience is not always inferred from new Notice; and may himself best conceive, what sort of Reception *Lazarus* may find. Whatever Wonder on the Earth his Appearance may be; it will be none there, should the Message he brings miscarry: much Discourse and Dispute may be raised upon it; but no Reformation follow.

And so might this Apparition be looked on by the Friends of his House, as a Phantom only and Illusion, the Sickness of some melancholick and distempered Imagination. How can a Man return again from the Grave? And how came that Beggar to be sent? Had *Abraham* no other to take into his Bosom, and to employ to his chiefest Sons? Let them not disgrace their Family by such an ignominious Report concerning their Brother, and brought by such a Messenger. For if Angels and Spirits, in the Philosophy of those Times, had the favour to be allowed a Being; yet what should this be, but some wandering one of the Air, falsely pretending to a higher Sphere: the old Vagabond, that has no certain place of Residence now; and comes, out of Envy or Malice, to haunt and disturb the Happy. Some Banquet therefore, or other divertive Entertainment was to be provided, to chear up this Melancholy; some more real and better Company, than a Ghost; and part of the ill-got Riches to be spent in the Defence of the rest. So very *possibly* might this returning *Lazarus* be no more harkened to now, when *Testifying*, than before, when *Begging*.

But little might this Vision be minded afterwards, however regarded at first; the Thoughts and Apprehensions of it, vanishing in some time, and following the Shadow: so that if it was not reputed a Dream, yet it might pass away like one; and the Image of it by degrees grow faint, and disappear, effaced by the constant force of other sensible Impressions, from more agreeable and still present Objects. Scared his Brethren might be at first, and disordered; but at length recover, return to themselves, and their old Course; brought

first to neglect, then to forget, and, it may be, at last to disbelieve, even what had appeared unto themselves.

Such Effects as these, though strange in Speculation, yet are frequent in Practice; commonly wrought, by our stupid Addiction to the Present, by the Charms of Pleasure, the Carelessness of the Mind, and the Wilfulness of our Passions. And so we know, that repeated Admonitions from Friends or Magistrates, and miserable or terrible Examples, are not of force to dissuade some Men from falling under the same Calamities, and incurring the like Condemnation. Notwithstanding all that can be advised, or proclaimed, there are those who will continue the same ruinous Prodigality and Excess, and venture upon the same rash and criminal Attempts; going on gaily and unconcernedly to lose their Health, their Estate, or Life; till they become at last Examples and Warnings themselves, as little to be regarded by others, and as certainly neglected in their turns.

The gaily Sight of a dying Friend may chill our Blood, and strike us with serious Reflections; make some Change upon our Countenance, and on our Minds; but when we go back among the living World, we are soon engaged in the Fashion of it; quickly forget the Deceased, and our own Mortality; again contrive and design, as if we were left behind to continue here for ever. All Monuments and *Memento's* are ineffectual to the purpose they speak: and so many, going to the dead, cannot well *persuade* us that we shall follow.

Nay, some there are, that have been themselves among the *Dead*; that in some dangerous Sickness have been so near this Place, as to have had a lively View of it; and, in the Bitterness of their Soul, almost to have felt its Torments: And what firm Resolutions do they then make? What solemn Promises to God, and to themselves? which yet give place, when Health and Vigour returns; the forgetful Creature relapsing, in a little time, into his old Sins, and not having been persuaded, no not by his own Convictions.

Insomuch, that if we should suppose *Abraham* to procure a greater Favour for this Person, than he knew how to desire; to take him out of that Flame, and set him again on the Earth; not for some temporary Care, while he is upon a short Errand; but for another Trial of his Obedience, and a new Opportunity of delivering himself out of that intolerable State: Upon this Supposition, impracticable indeed, as he is told by *Abraham*, it would not however be impracticable to imagine, that this very Person might by degrees fall into his former Errors, and slide into the Way that will bring him back into the same Place; like some pardoned Criminals, that are still under Bonds to their old Vice, and soon deserve a second Sentence. So little therefore can this Man be confident of the Success of a Report upon his Brethren, that perchance his own Experience might not prove Warning enough unto Himself.

Were not the Instances of these difficult and unperfuasible Tempers so frequent in human Life, innumerable might be brought from
Sacred

Sacred Story: *Pharaoh* not persuaded by ten Miracles, and to be drowned by another: The Children of *Israel*, whose Hardness of Heart as much exceeded his, as the Power of *Moses* did that of his Magicians; those the peculiar People of God, informed from his Mouth, led and fed by daily Miracles, and yet giving no Credence to his Word: *a froward Generation, Children in whom there was no Faith*; as their Lawgiver describes them. To conclude, the Holy Books are full of Admonition from God, and of the Disobedience of Men: warning us from our Sins, and from any great Hopes of growing better by new Warnings; for this too is a Lesson that may be learnt from *Moses and the Prophets*.

And thus we have seen the Assertion of the Text to be so *possible*, that there is great reason to proceed higher, and to understand it more positively; as that which would generally happen in the World, and may very *Probably* be verified on those Brethren: the last and the full Sense of the words.

III. *If they hear not Moses and the Prophets*, neither will they be persuaded, &c.

This Intractableness in many, and Infidelity to *Moses and the Prophets*, is not opposed particularly to their Persons, nor only able to over-balance their Testimony: it is generally ready to encounter the same grievous Commands, whoever brings them; and strong enough to repulse another Messenger. It has learnt, from overruling greater and more illustrious Evidence, easily to defeat this: and *Lazarus* must yield, where *Moses and the Prophets* could not prevail.

The Miracles indeed of those Days are long past, and *Moses and the Prophets* were Men of old; (and let us suppose them to be antiquated, and to need this Reinforcement;) but the Unbelief of that Time was human, and natural, and has been propagated to the present Age: The *Israelite*, the crooked and perverse Generation, still continues; the Wantonness and Frowardness of such, as will not have God for their King. The Rich Man, *if he enquires wisely, will not say, that the former Days were worse than these*. There are the same Dispositions now, of whom the like may be presumed, and where Miracles would be bestowed in vain: Men whose understandings are darkened, and Consciences seared; who have already done that Violence to their inward better part, that they are grown insensible of any thing that comes against their present Interest, and from another World: The Advice to the Sceptick would be false and visionary; dull and nauseous, to the Man of Pleasure; and to the Man of Business, trifling and impertinent; the Ghostly Friend, an Enemy to them and to their Designs, as unwelcome as *Satan*, and to be exorcized. For still it is, that those, who have devoted themselves to the Idols of this World, Pleasures, Riches, or Honour, look upon all Discourse offered against their Deities as Blasphemy: accordingly, they throw *Dust in the Air*, to blind their Eyes; they stop their Ears, and

cry, *away with it, running on with one accord.* These are properly said to be dead in sin, not to be restored by any Remedy, however powerful and extraordinary, that works by moral force; whom God indeed may make sensible, and raise by his Omnipotence, as he may now return *Lazarus*: but upon whom this *Lazarus*, so remanded by Miracle, will not operate, except he brings with him the Power of Miracles, and can confer Grace, such as shall not be resisted.

And thus there might be Sons of *Abraham*, of whom this Sentence might be true in its severest Meaning: and of those, this Rich Man might be one; and he by it given to understand, that he himself would not have been persuaded by the Wonder he desires; and neither will his Brethren be, those of the same Family and Mind.

And so might the miserable *Jew* be well silenced by this reasonable and righteous Answer; and he and his Brethren left without Excuse: such as they should alledge in earnest, and at the Day of Account; not indeed without such Excuses as better deserve that name, frivolous and false Pretences, raised by the lazy or the obstinate; childish Pleas of affected Ignorance, and counterfeit Disability, such as God in his Government of the World will not consider, nor does any human Magistracy admit. Justified will our Creator be in his Saying and Sentence; and clear when he is judged, and when he judges.

This Answer of *Abraham*, grounded upon Observation of common Life, and the Practice of the *Jews*, has been since eminently confirmed by the Experiment of Christianity. Our Saviour, *the Brightness of God's Glory, and the express Image of his Person*, has himself brought down Information to us, infinitely surpassing what was *spoke to the Fathers by Moses and the Prophets*: has laid open to us the World to come, and given the free Prospect of Heaven and Hell; declared more of the Future State in this single Parable, than was to be read in all those Writings to which *Abraham* refers. What too is said here to be denied, he did effect; and raised one *Lazarus* from the Grave. And when by that Rescue of another from Death, he had only hastened his own; (his very Disciples not so well *persuaded* by that, and so many other Miracles, as not to forsake, nay, to deny him;) he was pleased himself to rise from the Dead, finally to instruct and to warn Men. This Gospel he commissioned chosen Men to publish; and impowered them to confirm it with Signs and Wonders: Multitudes of his Servants continually declaring, by the Zeal of their Lives and the Constancy of their Death, the Truth of their Master's Resurrection, and their Assurance of their Own. By such evident Testimonies, the World found itself obliged to admit and to confess his Doctrine: but neither is it so *persuaded*. It *bears*, and pretends to believe; but goes on still in its old Course, and lives after the Unchristian Manner: sometimes it wants a Sign, or an infallible Proponent, or a scientifick Demonstration; glad to know how to except and object; and resolved not to obey: not to be fully persuaded, it seems, should all the Dead arise, or the whole Host of Heaven come down.

So

So true has this Affirmation of *Abraham's* since proved; and so little Faith has our Saviour found: At his Death he left not much, and he makes it a question after, whether at his Return he shall find any; any proportionable to the Clearness of the Message, and to the Greatness and Dignity of the Reporter. The Event he has not only intimated in the Parable, but foretold expressly: neither is the Revelation, he has made, disparaged, but verified by it. We are not surprised to find, that there are such who neglect, or contradict. These are those, of whom we have been warned, those, that *will not be persuaded*; neither should any give themselves the vain Pleasure, to think that they can disgrace the Gospel, or disappoint its Author: His Word will certainly serve to the Purpose to which it was ordained; and his Honour is as secure, as his Happiness: It is the Unbeliever only, who will suffer.

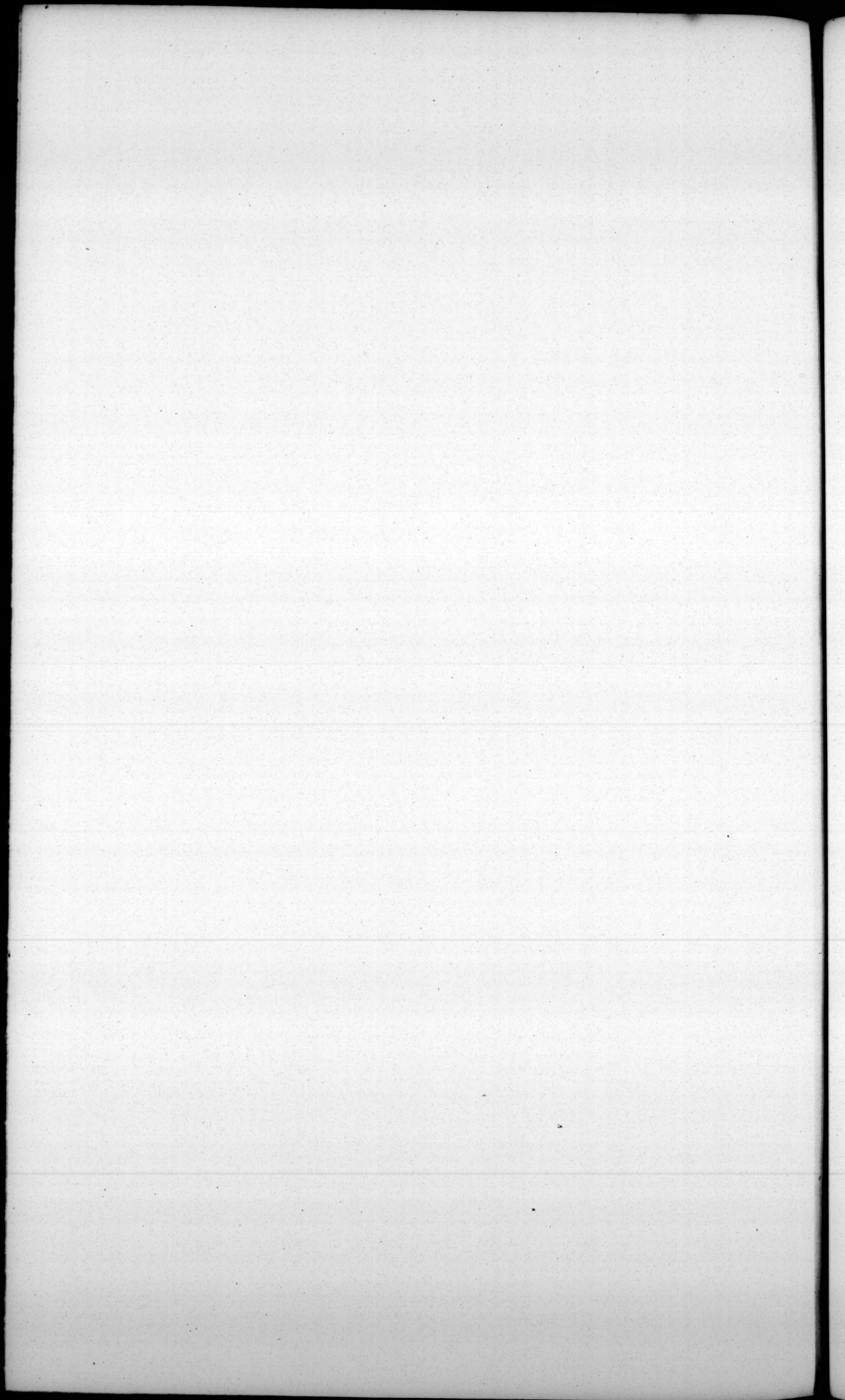
The Notice we have is so plain and evident, that reasonably and in Duty we cannot demand more: however, more will not be granted. If the *Sign of Jonas* has not had any Effect, *no other shall be given*: nor any more rise from the Dead, till we ourselves do to Judgment. The Book is sealed, as the Gulph below is fixed: and those that will not be prevailed with by this Method, *they will not*, they shall not, by any other. If they will not hear *Moses and the Prophets*, the Son of God, and his Apostles; there will be no further Endeavour to persuade them: If the Gospel be hid, it is hid to those that are lost.

Make we use therefore of the last and only Help; a greater than which we cannot, we must not, hope for. Take we heed how we despise the Admonition of him that is Risen from the Dead, and now *speaks from Heaven*; who will once more shake not the Earth only; our Maker, our Redeemer, and our Judge.

This Life is the time to *bear* the Directions of God, and to comply with his Design for our Salvation: hereafter we shall be only called to *bear* his Sentence, and to confess its Justice. And then a knowing Age will be the most improper to plead Ignorance: nor will a Christian of this Country dare to say, that he wanted Notice.

The Assertion of the Parable concerning the Unbelief of Men, we see how true and exact it is: As really fulfilled will the Narrative part be concerning its Consequence and Issue. The *persuaded*, and the *unpersuaded*, will then have their different Portions, and be set at a wide Distance: And we shall all hereafter be, in the Condition of this Unhappy Person, or of that *Lazarus*; either *Comforted*, or *Tormented*.

God grant that, according to that other Parable, our Improvement may be, in proportion to the Number of our multiplied Talents: and that we may so hear all our other Warnings, and this present Admonition, that we may be found with Faithful *Abraham* in the Joys of our Master: To whom, with the Holy Ghost, be all Honour and Glory, now and for ever.



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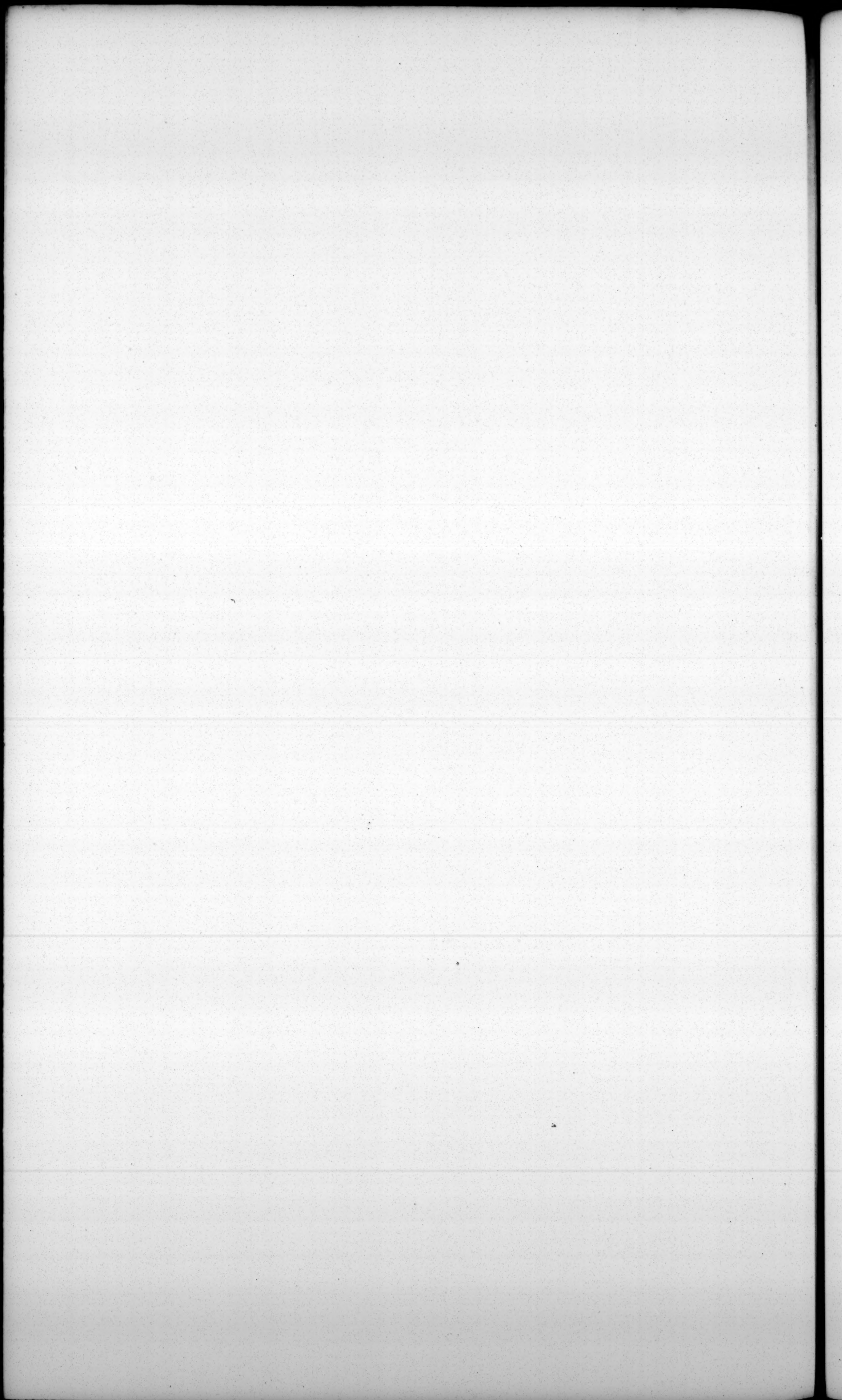
PREACHED BEFORE

The KING and QUEEN,

A T

W H I T E - H A L L,

Jan. 14. 1693-4.



S E R M O N IV.

PREACHED BEFORE

THE KING AND QUEEN, &c.

JOHN VII. 17.

If any Man will do his Will, he shall know of the Doctrine, whether it be of God.

UPON our Blessed Saviour's Appearance among Men, there must have been much Enquiry and Dispute concerning him. His Miracles and his Doctrines were both of them singular and extraordinary; they amazed and confounded the World: his mighty *Works* making a change in the course of Nature; and his surprising *Discourses* tending to as great an alteration in the *Doctrines* they had received from their *Fathers* and *Rabbies*. Neither of them could be opposed; his *Actions* not to be denied, and his *Words* not to be contradicted: and yet the People knew not well what to think; were not come to a resolution, whether he was to be believed; whether he spake from God, or Himself; or, it may be, from an evil Spirit.

The People were *astonished at his Doctrine*, he spake it with that supernatural *Authority*. *Never man spake like this Man*, was the Return the Officers, sent to apprehend him, make, in this Chapter, to their Masters the High-Priest and Pharisees. Neither did any Man ever do like him: For, *when Christ shall come, will he do more Miracles than this Man?* was the Challenge of those that did believe. And, that the rest *believed not on him, who had done among them such Works as no Man had done*, was judged by our Lord, in this Gospel, to be the great *Aggravation* of their Sin. For his Works were evident unexceptionable Testimonies of his Mission; and to them he frequently remits the *Unbelievers* for their full Conviction.

And yet, for all this, there were not many who believed on him; those not the Rulers or the Learned: neither continued they long in that just and well-grounded Persuasion. Those, who had seen his late great Miracle of the Loaves; had fed of it, had satisfied their *Hunger* and their *Doubts*; almost all left him, in a very little while, for one *hard Saying*. *Many of his Disciples went back, and walked*

not with him; infomuch that the *Twelve* were asked, Whether they would depart from him also? And when afterwards he came up to *Jerusalem*, there was great *Murmuring* concerning him. Some say, *He is a good Man*; others say, *Nay*; but he deceiveth the People. They knew not how he should know Letters, who had never learned; and therefore, in the best construction they would make, Was not his Doctrine from himself, and of his own devising? Now from the Reflection of these Surmises he here justifies himself, in such a manner, as retorts all the Blame of those *Doubts* upon the *Unbelievers* themselves: giving them a plain account of this their Ignorance, which thus perplexes them. *My Doctrine*, says he, *is not mine own, but from him that sent me*: and so much you could not but have known, had you been rightly qualified for it. But that, after which you seem to be so curious and inquisitive, you are not very likely to understand, in the Method you take, and the Disposition you are of: If ye would discern the Will of God, ye must be willing to do it. *He that will*, is desirous and ready to, *do God's Will*, *he shall know it*. This is the *Truth* directly and primarily intended by the *Text*; relating to the Doctrine as propounded to be known. There is too another consequent to this, and to which the Words may extend; regarding the same Doctrine as known already: *If any one will*, or shall, *do the Will of God*, which he now knows in part, *he shall know it better and further*; be more confirmed and advanced in that his Knowledge, by the Practice.

The *First* Proposition is this: *If any one is willing to do the Will of God, as soon as he may have the favour to be acquainted with it; he, when it shall be told him, shall not fail to know, and discern it*. And this *Willingness to do*, we are to understand to be such, as may answer in some measure to the Dignity, Reasonableness, and Necessity of the Work; the *Doing the Will of the great God*: a *Will* the most wise, the most holy, the most just, most worthy to take place; to which it is our *Honour*, our *Perfection*, and our *Happiness* to conform, and no less our *Duty* and our *Interest*: we, that have been created by the *Power* of his *Almighty Will*, ever since sustained by its gracious *Providence*, still dependent, and eternally obnoxious to the *Favour* or *Displeasure* of his *final Will* to be hereafter declared, when he shall come to call us to account for that part of his Will he has already enjoined.

The *Will* of this our great *LORD*, he that is thus willing to do, will first be as earnest and zealous to know; diligent and heedful in his Attention; punctual and exact in his Enquiries; lest he should be defective or mistaken, when he comes to act, in an Affair of so high a Nature, and of such weighty Consequence.

And such a Desire to know, it must be confessed, would certainly follow: But this may not seem, at first sight, to have been meant here by our Saviour; and though he reflects upon his Auditors Unwillingness to do, yet their Eagerness to know must we not suppose him

him to admit? For very great Multitudes followed into Deserts to hear him: and much Discourse, and great Debates there were, concerning him and his Doctrine.

But, notwithstanding all this Appearance of Willingness to hear and to be informed, there might have been no such great Desire to *know*.

For Curiosity and Inquisitiveness is satisfied often with something short of *Knowledge*. It is enough sometimes, to have gone to the Place, whither others throng; to have made up one of the Assembly, and to have seen the famed Preacher. Men too, when they hear, do not always attend; their Eyes gaze, and their Thoughts wander: Or if they do, it may be to the graceful Mien, the sweet Voice, the elegant Style, the pathetick, or the rational Way of the Discourse; and not to the Merit of the Argument, and Purpose of the Doctrine.

Though *they went not out into the Wilderness to see a Reed shaken with the Wind*, yet they might go to see a Man that cured such a Neighbour; to be present at some strange Sight themselves; to be able to report a Miracle, of their own knowledge; or to be Guests at one of those wonderful Entertainments. Or else they might have gone to hear one, who spared not the Greatest, who rebuked the High-Priests, and corrected the Scribes and Pharisees.

They might too have heard so much, as not to be ignorant, and yet not so much as to *know*; as much, as would let them understand something of the Dispute in fashion, and enable them to maintain one side of the Argument; to hold up Conversation, and to talk of *Jesus*: but not to make a Judgment in good earnest; a *practical* one, by which they would determine their Actions, and which they would stand by with their Lives: such a real effectual one, as they would have made, had they been willing to *do*.

But though, in the general, they might be willing to *know*, and not only *bear him gladly*, but *do many things for his sake*; yet many things still there might be, which they might be either unfit or unwilling to understand: either their former Prejudices might obstruct, or their Interests and Passions disturb and oppose; if their *Will to do God's Will* were not firm and resolute, strong enough to set aside those Hinderances, and overrule all Contradictions.

The Power of single Prepossession, and speculative Prejudice, is well known. An Opinion, once possessed of us, claims a kind of Right, a legal Favour to be shewn it; and if the Possession be ancient, and time out of mind, the Title is not easy to be evicted: But, as a Prejudice, it is a Point already judged and settled, hardly to be brought into question before the same Judge, much less to be reversed by him. And for such Reasons only, it might have been hard for an innocent Pharisee, to find the *Ceremonies and Observations* of his *Sect* disparaged and discharged; those, which the *great Rabbies* had encouraged, and the Tradition of their Forefathers had recommended: but much less could he ever admit, that the *Ceremo-*

nial Law of *Moses* was to give way, and that a Greater than *Moses* himself was now speaking unto them. He might be willing to do the *Divine Will*, as he now apprehended it to be, conformable to his *Education* and *Practice*: willing to do the *Will of God*, but as willing, at the same time, to do the *Will of Moses* and the *Elders*.

But if now we suppose this Pharisee to be some governing Master, whose Authority is founded in his Knowledge of those Traditions; and whose high Satisfaction it is to sit in *Moses* his Seat, and to be called *Rabbi*: he is then so much addicted to them, not only by Prepossession of Mind, but by the Preengagement of his Affections, that should *Moses* himself have come, he might not have been willing to leave the Chair; much less to hear any of his old oracular Learning upon the Law, which made him Great, but that of no effect, censured and condemned by this *Lawgiver*. For he is not so willing to do *God's Will*, as to preserve his own Place and Reputation; that we may not imagine he would be controlled by our Saviour, and descend to learn from the *Galilean*, and one that never knew Letters.

But still, if we go further, and understand some one of the avaricious, malicious, lewd and hypocritical Pharisees; as unwilling then as he would be to forego his Vices, so unwilling will he be to understand the Law against them; much more, to receive a New one, which shall oppose him with a more express, and more peremptory Declaration. And on this account it was, that all our Saviour's *Miracles* were not of force enough to convince them of his Authority: His single *Sermon on the Mount*, and the *Holiness* there prescribed, would never suffer them to be persuaded by him. The Pharisees, that were covetous, derided him for his charitable Directions: and those, who brought the Adulterers before him, and were not guiltless enough from the same Crime to prosecute it far, as they left the Accusation, so they fled from his Reproof. They all therefore sought, instead of being instructed by his Words, to have something thence to inform against him. As many Vices as there were, so many Adversaries there generally were to his Doctrine; practical Prejudices, with which they were prepossessed, as with so many *Demons*; and which would not be persuaded, nor argued out: for what had they to do with the Son of *David*? This is that diabolical Race, which paid him less Respect, than the Devils themselves: They would not come out at his Command; but rather treated Him, as those impure Spirits did the Sons of *Sceva*; fell upon him, and drove him out; not removed him out of a Country by Intreaty, as the *Gadarenes*, but out of the World, with all Despight and Cruelty; as the greatest Malefactor of the *Three*; as guilty of *Treason* against *Cesar*, and of *Blasphemy* against *God*, because guilty of *Opposition* to their *Corruptions*.

For he that has no mind to be denied any sinful Pleasure he indulges, or any ungodly Advantage he values, will be very averse from hearing, that such an Abstinence is the *Will of God*; will either ca-
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vil at the Message, and dispute its Authority, or wrest and interpret it to his own Will. Nay, so far, we know, Men, otherwise of *good Understandings*, may be brought by *Adherence* to their *Lusts*, as to deny the natural Notions of common Justice, and to question the Being of their Maker: they will not comply with the Directions he has given; and therefore they will neither know his Pleasure, nor his Person: *who is the Lord?*

This is the *great Impediment of Knowledge* our Saviour here means; a *Dullness of Understanding*, not for want of *Ability*, but *Will* to apprehend, in those *who hear, and will not understand; and seeing see, but will not perceive; because their Heart is waxed gross, and their Ears are dull of hearing, and their Eyes have they closed; lest they should see with their Eyes, and hear with their Ears, and understand with their Hearts, and be converted.*

Whereas, on the other side, if there were a *Willingness to do God's Will*, there would be no need of any great *Intellectual Abilities* to perceive it. The Duties of Justice and Mercy are easily discerned by the meanest Capacity; Judgment to come Man naturally forebodes; and the Being of a God it is a difficulty to the Understanding not to allow: The Doubts and Obscurities arise not from the Nature of the things to be considered, nor from the Weakness of the Faculty that should consider, but from the Prevarication of our sensual Desires; we are swayed by some indirect Means, that appear not to have any Influence upon us; some little favourite Consideration, which we are loth to own; but by which we are governed effectually.

Had the Auditors therefore of Christ come ready disposed to have obeyed God's *Will*, without any Reserve for their own; with no Inclination nor Passion but for his Service; they would have perceived the Almighty Power in the Miracles our Saviour did, and discerned the Divine Law in the Instructions he gave them: had they first stripped themselves of their Prejudices, and their Lusts; they would quickly have forsaken all the rest of the World, and followed him. If the Revelation of *Moses* had prevailed upon them *to do God's Will* with their whole Heart, and whole Soul, the Nation of the *Jews* would have owned their *Messiah*: and, had they been true Disciples of the Law, and followed that their *School-master*; it would have led them to Christ.

This is the Assertion primarily intended by the Text, regarding those who were then to receive the Gospel: There remains the other, respecting us who have already received it; *If any Man will do the Will of God, which he does know, he shall know it better.*

Now what was but intimated before, is here more expressly to be observed; that *Knowledge* is of two kinds, the one *simple* and *speculative*; where the *Understanding* conceives and assents by itself, our Will and Affections standing by, and taking no part: the other *mixt*, and *compounded* by the Intervention of the *Will*, where that is inter-

rested in what is to be asserted, or practised, and must concur in the Allowance of it.

And the *First* of these, even the *speculative*, whether it consists in apprehending what the *Doctrine* means, or in conceiving its Truth and Reasonableness, is by *Practice* both ways very much facilitated and confirmed. In *Mathematical Sciences*, the way of performing a *Problem*, however demonstratively assigned, remains further to be verified by the *Operation*; and in Considerations of Nature, the Will of God wrought by his own Hands, the best Method of *Knowledge* is that which is *Experimental*, and Works too; which puts the *Divine Materials* into our Hands, and looks not only upon their Surface in some single View, but turns them, and surveys them on all sides; weighs and examines, opens and searches their inmost Recesses. For this sort of Truth, as Gold, is to be laboured after, and dug for; and not to be judged only by the Sight, but by the Touch and the Scale, or by the Hammer and the Fire. And if this be true in the *Speculation* of what God himself has been pleased to make, much more will it be in the Knowledge of that, which we, by his Command, are to Do. For it can be no otherwise with the practical Doctrine of God, than it is acknowledged to be in the Arts and practical Professions of Men; where the true Insight is not so much from the Apprehensions we may have by Discourse and Meditation, as by Dealing in them, and being actually exercised and conversant about them: the Knowledge of such things as are to be done, which arises from our mental Conceptions, being but as the *rough Draught* or *first Lines* of a *Picture*; and that, when it is consummated by Experience, as a finished Piece, raised with all its Lineaments and Colours. Or rather, the Notional Knowledge is as the Picture, and the Active as the Thing itself: the one being but in Imagination, and as a Dream; and the other real, and solid, and sensible. For whoever is our Instructor, and how plainly soever he may express himself; we are yet to learn, in things practical, from *Exercise* and *Use*, the last Master and the best Interpreter.

This obtains in the Arts of Government, or War, or Merchandise, in any of the Affairs of this World: and holds as true in Ethical Knowledge, and the Business of Religion. For, as the Natural Philosopher forbid the uninstructed in *Geometry* to enter his School, so the Moralist has, it is known, discouraged his too youthful Auditors as unfit for his Lectures: not only because they might not yet patiently hear of Moderation of their Passions and Pleasure; but because, till they had begun to practise it, they could not rightly understand it, *not* being yet, *by reason of Use, exercised to discern such Good and Evil*. Temperance, for example, is, in this, like to the Pleasures, from which it orders us to abstain, that it cannot be conceived only from Words, must be tasted too, if we would know its Nature and its Relish. Justice likewise and Charity are best understood by their Practitioners: those, in any case of Difficulty, would
prove

prove better Directors than the more studied Casuist; would solve and remove the Doubts, which these would serve only to intricate and to multiply. They would too, by the Exercise of those Virtues, see more reason for them; more of their Suitableness to the well-disposed Nature of Man, than Books could speak, or Theory discover. In like manner, he, that constantly and devoutly prays to his *Maker*, best apprehends the Nature of the Duty, and best perceives the Use and Comfort of it: better than those who have heard, or made long Discourses about it. The Meaning of the *Lord's Prayer* is more sensibly understood by one that prays it over to God, earnestly and concernedly, with Dependence on the *Divine Greatness* and *Goodness*, in reference to the *daily Occurrences* of his Life; than it can be by the critical Consideration of the best Commentator alone. And he that thus daily addresses to his *Father which is in Heaven*, with a *dutiful Resignation*, and *filial Trust*, has more of satisfactory Assurance and inward Peace, than the *Children of this World* can imagine, or he himself express.

And thus, taking the *Understanding* by itself, and unaffected with our *Will*, the *Will of God* is better *known* by being *done*. If done by others, it is more conspicuous to us on their Lives, and better explained and illustrated by the Example; but if by ourselves, and made one of our own Actions, it is then taken into us, habituated and incorporated in us, intimately and entirely perceived. Whereas too, all Human Designs are generally fairer in the Idea, than the Practice; on the contrary, the *Divine Pleasure* must be more liked and approved, when it is reduced into Act, and really exhibited, whoever shall put it in Execution: but much more will it delight us, if performed by ourselves; it will then become our Pleasure too; and we look back with the Satisfaction of our Creator, and *see that All is good*, which *we have done*, according to his Will.

But, *Secondly*, If we consider this Knowledge, not formed by the *Understanding* only, but with the Agreement of the *Will*; as it is in all the Affairs of this and the other World: then *Doing* and *Practice* will be found still more necessary for the advancing and completing it. For though in Matters of Knowledge the Will has no direct proper Concurrence, nor is the Consent of it strictly necessary to the Assent of the Understanding; yet it has such a tacit but effectual Influence, such a domestick conjugal Authority, that the Understanding is seldom firmly, or long on that side, to which the other Faculty is not inclined: and therefore, as far as Doing contributes to reconcile, keep up, and fortify the Will; so much it prepares and disposes for the preserving, as well as the receiving, of Knowledge.

Now the Doing of *God's Will* does operate on *Ours* with this threefold Advantage.

1. The *Practice* of the *Duty* takes off from the Strangeness of it, and removes all the imaginary Difficulty we fancied to be in the Work, before we set upon it. The Task was before represented to

us, as some good Man may be to those who have not practised him; a rigid, morose, austere thing: whereas, after Conversation, and some Familiarity, there is nothing whose Company less offends, or which we better affect. While we keep off at a distance from the Exercises of Religion; its Enemies, and ours, have a fair Opportunity to misrepresent, and to raise up such Imaginations in us, as shall agree with their Interest: but if we would but approach, and make trial, we should discover the Calumny; it would then appear, that there was *no Lion in the way*, or at the end; and that the false Spies, we had sent forth to discover the *Holy Land*, had made to us a most unfaithful Description. And may I not say, that it is with *Religion* itself, as with those few *edifying Orders* in use with us about it? It is a burdensome Yoke, an intolerable Imposition, unnecessary, foolish, any thing that Detraction shall think fit to say, to those who are ignorant of it, and not well acquainted with it: whereas, if we came a little nearer, and experienced it ourselves, we should then begin to wonder at the unjust Surmises we were brought to entertain before; and take nothing to be more unreasonable, and more vain, than such Representations as those.

For, to give the Case of all Christian Duties in the Instance of one, the *Holy Communion*; how many are they, who are well enough informed, that it is a necessary part of *Divine Worship*; a *Sacrament*, to which we are as much obliged, as we were to the other? And yet how are Men generally kept off from it by strange Conceits, such as can have no place, but in idle Minds? It is a Mystery, from which the *profane* and *ungodly* should absent: but to many, who are to be encouraged to come, it is the more a Mystery, because they come not at all. There is something in it, they know not what, they are afraid of: and the Action, instead of being reverend, is frightful to them. Upon the thought of it, there is a Damp and Melancholy on their Minds; though the Subject of it be Thanks and Praise, and the Invitation be to a Feast. Though there be no more serious Confession of their Sins, than what they should make every day; no other Renunciation of them, than what their *Baptism* presumes already; yet they imagine some new terrible Work is to be undertaken, and that they shall come under danger of Condemnation, if they go thither; from which too they shall escape, if they stay away.

Upon the *first Apprehensions* of a *God*, no wonder if some natural Fearfulness seizes us; and when the Spiritual World is mentioned, Spectres may arise in weaker Minds, and seem to stand in their way: but if they will but go on, these empty Shadows will immediately disappear; and if we draw near to the *Divine Majesty*, we shall not be amazed and disheartened, but assured and encouraged by that gracious Presence.

Many vain Fears there are in the Christian Warfare, before which often the raw and unexperienced shamefully fly without a stroke struck;

struck; to be cured, as we see, by Use and Action: and some groundless Aversion there may be to our Duty, which the Practice of it will reconcile: but there is besides much real Danger, and direct actual Opposition, to be considered in the *second* place.

2. For, to confess the *Truth*, we are not only as *Strangers to the Will of God*, but there is something within us, which is an *Enemy to it, and wars against it*: rebellious Lusts, that would be willing to make a Resistance; and watch all Opportunities to withdraw the Obedience of the Will, and to corrupt the Integrity of the Judgment.

The Evidence of the *Truth* may have brought us to some Knowledge, and our *Carnal Affections* were forced at present to suffer the *Conviction* of the *Mind*: And had the well-informed Soul been *active and diligent*, setting the *Will* on work, and employing it upon its *acknowledged Duty*, subduing and suppressing the *contrary Inclinations*, it might then have gained an *entire Consent*, and established for ever its *just Dominion*. But if, on the other side, it be idle, and sees not to the Execution of its *own* and the *Divine Pleasure*; this is both a sure Indication, that our Sensual Part remains too powerful; and a sad Prognostick, that it will quickly recover its ground, and finally prevail. When the *Convictions* begin to *cool*, and the *Impressions* on our *Mind* grow *fainter*, then it will regain its force; undermine, and at last ruin, the *Knowledge* that had been raised: It will again captivate the *Understanding*, and, like a barbarous Conquerour, put out its Eyes.

The very *Omission* of our *Duty* impairs its *Knowledge*. It is as a *Sleep* of the *Soul*, and, under its Truce, our *Carnal Desires* refresh, and gather strength: There is too a Cessation of Sense, as well as of Motion; a present Forgetfulness of God, and temporary Ignorance of his Will. But if we are thence engaged into Actual Transgression, we then avowedly contradict his Precepts, and make open War against his *Sacred Truths*; destroying, as far as we can, all the Records of them, and breaking not only the *Commandments*, but the *Tables* themselves. The Knowledge of them is troublesome and opposing, and must be suppressed.

By *Doing* of any *Wickedness* a Blot is contracted; which not only blemishes the Soul, but blackens and darkens it: And a contrary Course of Repentance afterwards is not more necessary to atone* for the Guilt, than it is to change the Depravation of the Mind, and to recover and reestablish its former Sentiments. For as there are some Vices, which naturally affect the Head, rendering it unfit to think and recollect, and disabling it for any Science: so have All of them something of that stupifying nature, particularly indisposing for *Divine Knowledge*; sending up such Fumes, as by a peculiar Malignancy assault and poison all Notions of *Goodness* and *Virtue*, and mortify the *Spiritual Understanding*.

The *Knowledge* of our *Duty* is as a *Light* set up within us, to be maintained by constant Supplies, and in perpetual Motion. It may be obscured by the shining in of the World, through our Senses and Imagination: it may be suffocated, if only by the Damp, arising from an earthy and yet not well purged Breast; grow pale and dim, and then go out: but by the active Contrariety of wicked and ungodly Practices, it is certainly extinguished, drowned as by many Waters.

So necessary is the *Exercise* of our *Knowledge* to its *Preservation*. But then further,

3. By *Doing of the Will of God*, at length we attain to the Habit of *Doing it willingly*; and begin to have new Pleasure in the Discharge of our Duty. According as our *Carnal Affections* are suppressed, our *Spiritual Desires* arise; and upon the *Mortification* of the *Old Man*, the *New Man* grows up, and improves: the Consent of the *Sanctified Will* being at last utterly and absolutely given to the Assent of the *Understanding*; and we not only allowing the *Doctrine* of God to be true and reasonable in the Speculation, but embracing it with our whole Heart, and entirely affectionate to it: proceeding so to the *Knowledge* of one *farther Truth*, delivered us by our Saviour, and experimentally discovering, that *his Yoke is easy, and Burthen light*; that *his Paths are Paths of Pleasure and Peace*. This is the *Seraphick State* of *Holy Men*, who now believe not only what they have heard, but perceive and know what their *Eyes have seen*, and their *Hands have handled*, and their Souls have enjoyed, of the *Word of Life*. Then from the Heart, continuing its first Motion, and actuated with *Devotion* and *Zeal*, fresh Supplies of Spirits are sent back again to the Head; the Warmth of the Breast is inkindled into a Flame; and *new Light* springing up from that *holy Heat*, the upper Sphere of Man, like Heaven, is full of *Brightness* and *Joy*.

In this manner the *Knowledge of God's Will* is to be improved by us; *It comes by Hearing*, and may be imagined by *Meditation*; but it really increases, strengthens, and is fixed by *Actions* of *Obedience*, and reducing it into *Practice*.

It is not therefore to be wondered, that such, as do not *those things which are convenient*, become of *reprobate Minds*: and that they lose the *Knowledge of God*, who like not to retain it. Neither shall we admire, if there are those who are in appearance *always learning*, but *never come to the Knowledge of Christ*. Their Ears itch, and they heap up to themselves *Teachers*; but their Hands are idle, their Feet are straying, and their Souls have no Inclination to try, and to obey. They have heard much; and some Fancy of their Duty they may have, or may speak its Language; they have wrote, it may be, and can repeat: but the Repetition of all *moral Discourses* should be by *Practice*, and they transcribed into our *Conversation*. They edify not, they say, by this Man's Sermon: and by the *Knowledge*, from which they think they are edified, they may not be built, but *puffed up*.

But

But how should they edify, who sit still only and hear? Faith being no more to be built up and finished by Preaching, than a House would be erected by the Discourse of the best Architect. Much less should we expect a Superstructure, if, as in the Confusion of a *Babel*, their *Actions* agreed not with the *Speech*; and, what was endeavoured to be raised at the *Ear*, they, with the *foolish Woman*, were still *pulling down with their Hands*.

But this is to be the *Consolation* of the *illiterate*, if honest-hearted *Christian*; that, although there be those that appear more knowing, are skilled in the *Notions* and *History* of *God's Will*, can give an account of all the *Disputes* of *Christianity*, and can determine them; yet that all this is but *Smattering* and learned *Ignorance*, without any true *Sense*, and sound *Judgment*; that those only are in the right *Method* of *Divine Knowledge*, who are *obeying God*, and *observing his Will*; they are the *profound* and the *illuminate*; and *know the Doctrine* as it ought to be known: their *Light* now *shines before men*; and they shall *shine as Stars* for ever and ever.

And may I further observe, that the *Reflection* of our *Saviour*, which gives an account of that *Contradiction* which opposes his *Doctrine*, gives too a reason of all the *Differences* and *Debates* that have been raised in it? For these would infallibly be much less, if not quite cease, were those, who *eagerly dispute his Will*, as *zealous* and *earnest* to *perform it*: were not Men more warmly concerned for the *Honour* and *Interest* of their *Party*, or *themselves*; than they are *really desirous* to understand the *Mind* of *Christ*. For if any one truly gives himself up to *do his Will*, he will not be apt to enter into needless *Contests*, about what is not *practical*; nor strive most to *know*, what is not to be *done*: And then when he comes to the *Question*, so much of his *Lord's Will* he will at first observe, as to be *modest*, and *meek*, and *tractable*; not suffer his *Passions* and *Animosities* to join in the *Enquiry*: he will not bring so much as a *Wish* on one part; much less shall any *human Preengagements* decide the *Controversy*. And if so, one cannot but think, (and sure we are not in this *partial* ourselves,) that the *Papal Infallibility*, for example, and their *Transubstantiation* would be no longer defended, nor their *gross Falshoods* be set up for *Catholick Truths*. Neither, on the other side, would antient *laudable Practices* be any longer *idolatrous* and *anti-christian*, were we not *carnal*, and *walked* we not as *Men*, favouring ourselves, and doing our own *Will*: There might be neither *Heresy* nor *Schism*, did we resign ourselves up to the *Truth*, on which side soever it should appear. And certainly the *Sacredness* and *Moment* of the Cause, where *God's Will* is in question, would require such a Caution, as, in lesser Matters, is enforced by an *Oath*; that we should judge without *Favour* and *Affection*, *Hatred* and *Malice*; that those at least, who take upon themselves to judge of his *Law*, should *judge righteous Judgment*. For what is fit to be said, after any Accident that befalls us by the *Providence* of *God*, is as proper to be

premised before a *Dispute* concerning his *Revelation*: *Thy will be done, O Father, which art in Heaven.* And were our part of it *done on Earth, as it is in Heaven*, it might almost be known in the same manner.

Happy it would be for the *Arts*, said an *Antient*, if none but the *skilful* and the *Artists* judged of them: and no less happy would it be for *Religion*, if only the *truly Religious*, and the *sincere Christian*, were to determine the *Points in Difference*. This Advantage would undoubtedly result, that the *Disputers* would not be very *many*; as well as that the *Disputes* would be no *more* than necessary; fairly debated, and soon composed. Whereas now all *Religious Controversies* are managed like *Wars for Religion*; raised, and fought not always by the most *Religious Men*. The Question is concerning some *Point of Faith*, or *Manners*; and should be argued by *Godly Spirits*: But the *World* and the *Flesh*, they come in and intermeddle; and they are as *Auxiliaries* on either side, whose Interest it is the *Cause* should never be *decided*. For were not *Christianity* divided, what *Enemy* would it have but those its sworn *Enemies*, against whom it had declared in *Baptism*? And against these it would then join its *united Force* in a *holy League*, and never cease until they were entirely subdued.

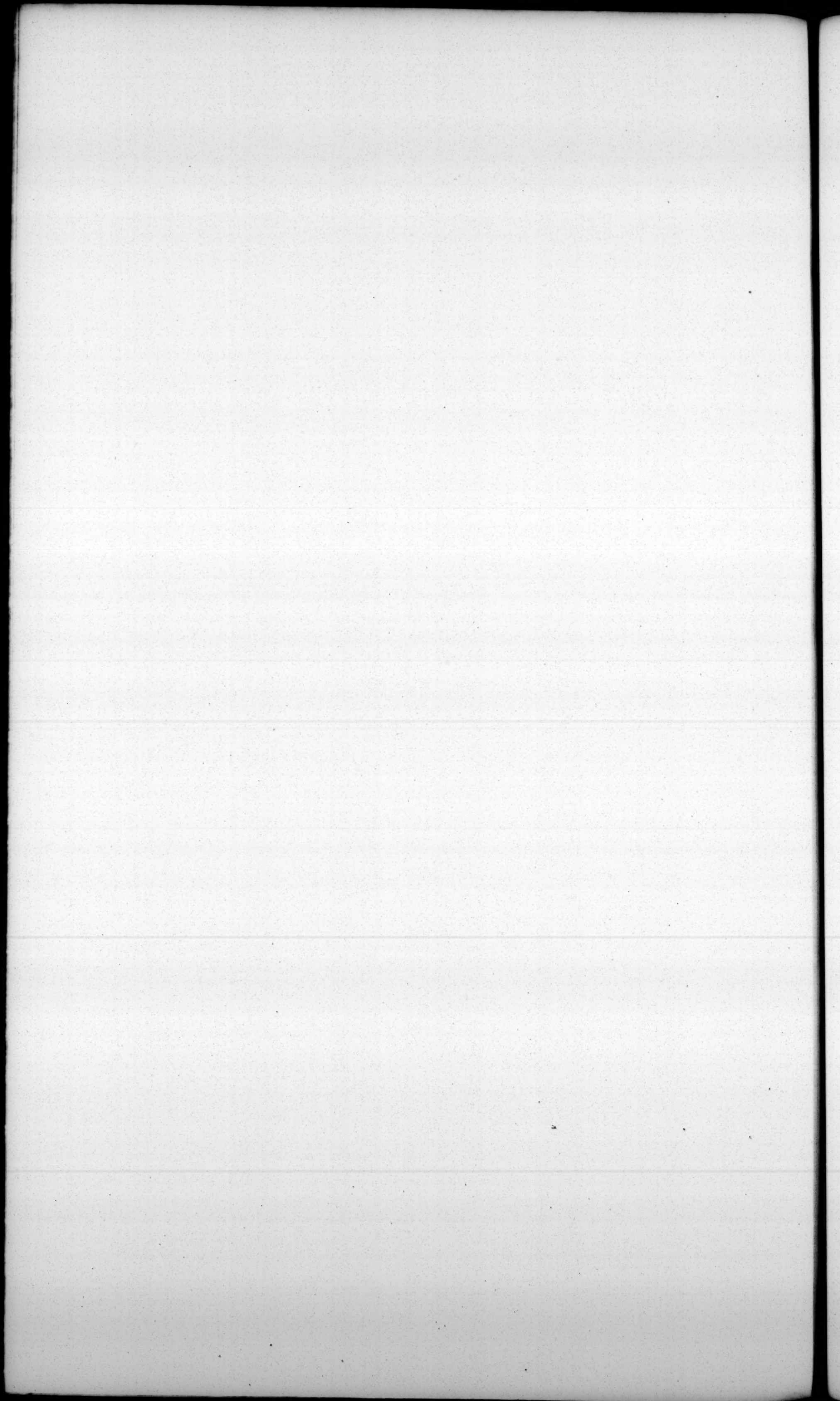
In these many *Differences* of Thinking, concerning our *Saviour's* Person, and Pleasure, we piously hope, that he will mercifully consider the *Infirmities* and *Errors* of Men, and accept the *Services* of the well-meaning; pardoning their *Ignorance* and want of *Discernment*, if not too careless and too wilful. But, lest we betray ourselves and others into a further Mistake, we shall do well to take along with us this his *Observation*; and remember, that generally all our *Ignorance* is wilful, for want of Will to *do God's Will*. And when *Ignorance* shall come to be pleaded, *in the Day when he shall judge the Secrets of Men's Hearts*, it may then amount to no better an *Excuse*, than if, instead of saying, we did not Know his Will; we should alledge in our *Justification*, that we were not willing to Do it. Through our *human Infirmity* we did mistake in the *Duties* of our *Religion*; but our *Infirmity* was this, That we were unwilling to Obey. A much more absurd Return, than the *careless Servant* made in the *Parable* of the *Talents*: Lord, I knew that thou wert a hard Master, and didst expect Obedience at my hands; and therefore I would not understand thee.

But it is not our Duty only, to enquire the *Will of God*; it is our Privilege and Honour, to be able to understand it. Its Study is the noblest Exercise, and its Attainment the highest Ambition of a Rational Mind: the Knowledge so great a Favour, that we should have endeavoured after it at any Price; should have bought that Learning with the Expence of our Liberty; and, to be permitted to Understand, should have offered to Obey. That way the generous Appetite of Science should have moved in an Intelligent Creature; nor
has

has God, in his ordinary Method, vouchsafed to reveal himself to Man, on any other Condition. His Disciples are to be his vowed Servants: to such only will he appear, and certainly with no other will he dwell. Ever since the first ungrateful Attempt to Know his Will, by Transgressing it; a Readiness to obey has been made the Preparative to that Knowledge; and Obedience, the Preservative: the very *Nature* of his *Doctrine* requiring in us some Predisposition, a probationary Obsequiousness, without which it will not be imparted; and God having done it that Honour, as that the *unworthy* should of themselves be rendered *unqualified* and *uncapable*, justly precondemned to this Darknes now, *to whom is reserved the blackness of Darknes for ever.* For to the ungodly, says God, *What hast thou to do with my Law, seeing thou hatest to be reformed, and hast cast my Words behind thee?* Be thou ignorant, as thou art, as thou pretendest, or deservest to be; and await the Issue. For a Desire to Know, while we care not to Do, is such an impertinent, saucy Curiosity, as can never be gratified by our Lord: and not to Do, what we already Know, is so highly affronting, that there remains no bolder a Presumption, but to pretend to further Information; nor can a lesser Punishment, for the Abuse of this Knowledge, be expected, than its Forfeiture.

The Doctrine of God, however it may be esteemed by Men, is valued by the Author; a *Talent*, committed to the hopeful only, and the promising; nor to any, but upon account. If we put it to no use, it will, of its own nature, rust and diminish; may be lost through Negligence, or stolen by our Enemy, or taken away by the Great Owner. But, if we exercise and employ it, it will increase and multiply of itself, and by the natural Effect of our Industry; and will besides be wonderfully blessed and augmented by the special Favour of our Lord: who is gone indeed into a *far Country*, but so, as still to oversee, assist, and direct the honest Care and dutiful Labour of his Servants below.

For, to our assured Encouragement, the miraculous Power, that first openly introduced the Christian Doctrine, still invisibly attends it; to cherish, as heretofore, the willing Beginning of its Disciples, and to help on their obedient Endeavours. And this *Will* whoever *will Do*, not only *will Know* it in orderly Consequence; but he *shall Know* it, supernaturally enabled by *Divine Grace*: our Performance as certainly rewarded here, with a progressive Knowledge; as it shall be hereafter, with the Joys of our Master, and his immediate Beatifick Vision.



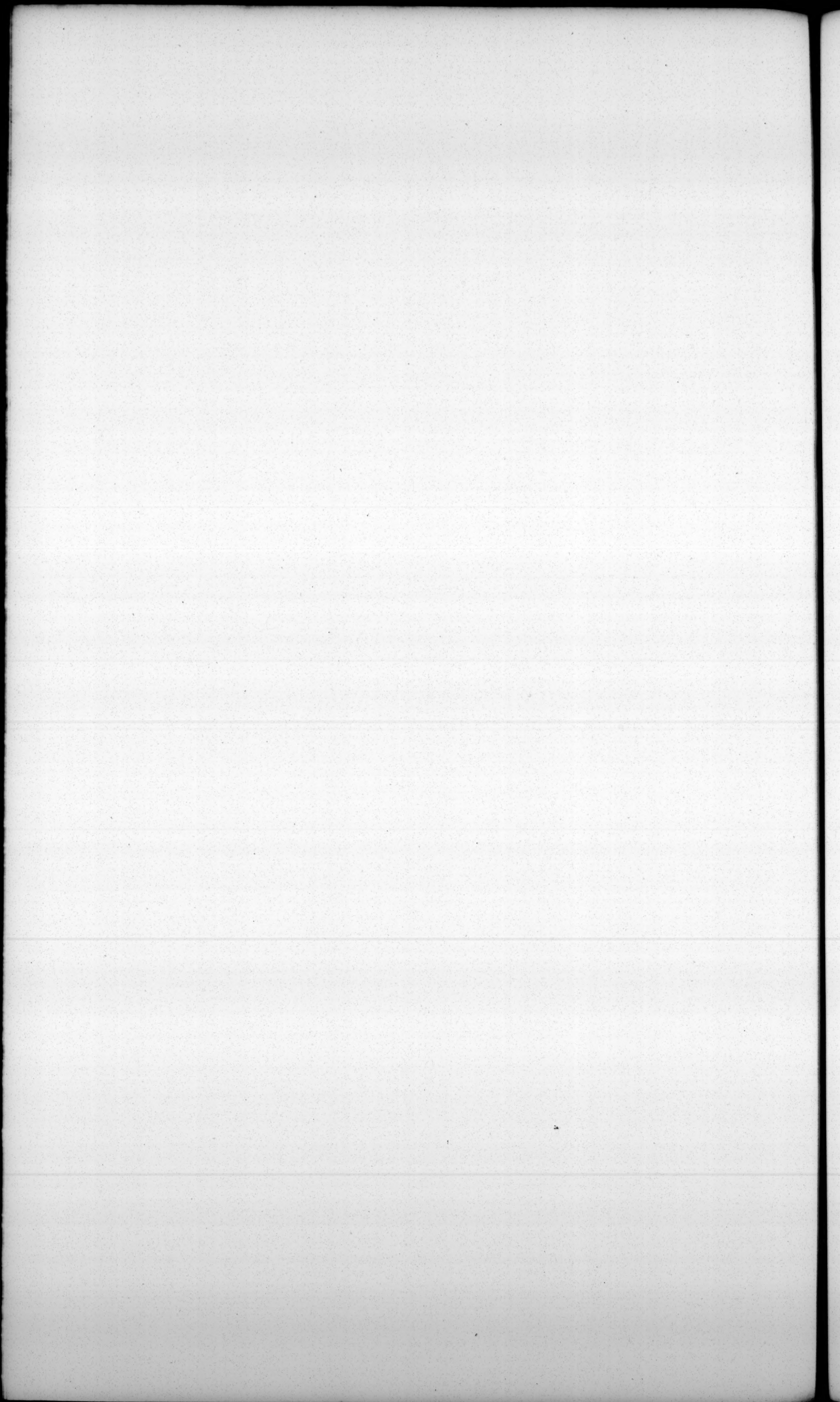
A
S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE

The K I N G,

A T
K E N S I N G T O N,

Sunday, Jan. 20. 1695.



S E R M O N V.

PREACHED BEFORE

T H E K I N G, &c.

I JOHN III. 20.

If our Heart condemn us, God is greater than our Heart —

THE words of the Text are introduced upon the Subject of Charity and Love to our Brethren, the Argument so much recommended, through the whole Epistle, by the loving and most beloved Apostle. What Occasion the Disciples had given for the Discourse, or wherein they had offended, St. *John*, in the same Spirit of Charity, conceals: not exposing the Particulars to common Notice; but referring the Enquiry to their private Thoughts, and leaving the Prosecution to their own Hearts: adding only this necessary Intimation, That if upon the Examination they found themselves innocent, they might then appear before God with Confidence, assured of his Favour; but if they were conscious to themselves of any Sins they cherished, they were then to think that the same Observations were made by the Almighty; and had nothing to expect but his Displeasure. For *if our Heart condemn us, God is greater than our Heart, and knoweth all things.*

Where the Apostle, we see, proceeds from a double Supposition: for in the same Insinuation, where these Christians are accused, it is presumed too, that they are not of reprobate profligate Minds; that they have retained Sense enough to discern their Faults, Ingenuity to acknowledge, and Justice to condemn them. But why then, infers the Apostle, do they not forsake them? and what have they to pretend before their Maker? They stand already convict, and pre-condemned by themselves; and what have they to say in Arrest of Judgment? How shall they escape the Condemnation of God? *If our Heart condemn us, God is greater than our Heart —*

According to the tenor of these words, the Discourse, which now begs your Patience, is designed,

- I. *First*, To consider the *Supposition* of St. *John*; And then,
 II. *Secondly*, To reinforce his *Conclusion*.

I. *First*, The *Supposition* consists of *Two* Parts;
First, The *Knowledge* these Christians had of their *Duties*: And,
Secondly, Their *Offence* against it.

What the *Measure* of their *Knowledge* was, and what the *Particulars* of their *Offence*, they themselves were to consider by the Direction of the Apostle: we are neither informed about it, nor concerned. It may be enough for us to take that for granted, which we cannot deny; That, in general, *Mankind is so knowing*, as to be *sensible of a Duty*; and *so unhappy*, as not to perform it: this may be enough to confess with shame before Men and Angels, with fear and trembling before our GOD.

And *First*, That *Man is born obnoxious to some Duties*, and is *conscious to himself of several Obligations bound upon him by Nature*; This is a Principle so well known, and universally owned, that no other of any the most certain Science can pretend to a clearer Light: the Notions of Equal and Unequal, Straight and Crooked not being more easy and natural, than those of Just and Unjust, Merit and Demerit: a Truth therefore not to be called in question by the attempt of a Proof, nor now to be insisted on for greater Evidence; but only for the Weight that hangs upon it, and the great Consequences that attend it.

For what we here suppose, amounts to no more than this: That, as all Animals have peculiar to them a Sense and Perception of what comes within their Sphere, and is necessary for the Uses of their Life; as they distinguish by Taste, Smell, and Sight, find some things grateful, others ungrateful, receiving their Impressions with Pleasure and Pain; as they have such a Consciousness, which attends not the Growth of Plants: so in Man, the Being of the next higher Rank, there is a new Sense, if I may so speak, added, a farther Perception given, of what is Just and Unjust, Decent and Indecent; A Sense not only of the Congruity, or Incongruity of Bodies to Bodies, of an Object to the Organ; but of our Will to our Reason, of our Actions to our Rule, of our particular Designs to the Design of Human Nature: and that such a Sense as this, like the other outward, to be felt and not expressed, is not neither without its Satisfaction or Dissatisfaction, its Pleasure or its Pain. That is; As the Eye, besides the serviceable Notice it gives us of the Figure and Countenance of Things, their Magnitude and Parvitude, Distance and Approach; has in it too a pleasing Perception of the Beauty of Colours, and Symmetry of Proportion: and as the Ear is made to give us an account of the Motions and Meetings of Bodies, in the Effect or Signification of which we may be concerned; and has besides a distinctive Notion of the Agreeableness or Disagreeableness of Sounds: in like manner,

manner, the Reasonable Part of Man is not only endued with the Faculty of being able to reflect and look back, to view and compare, to foresee and provide, so to conduct our Actions in particular; but has in it too some Sense of their Suitableness or Unsuitableness to the common Intentions of its Being; comprehends the Difference of Good and Ill, Beneficence and Inhumanity, Generosity and Ingratitude, Justice and Injustice; and is itself thence as differently affected. For as a considering Man, after all Philosophical Attempts to the contrary, cannot but acknowledge an Intention and Contrivance in the Fabrick of Plants and Animals, in the Nourishment and Growth of both, in the Actions and Motions of the last, especially those towards the Production and Preservation of their Young; those brute Creatures constantly pursuing the original Intention by an orderly Course, and well-managed Conduct; seeming to have a Design of their own, but executing that of their Creator: so in us Men, when our Reason gives us a new Life above that of common Animals, we suppose it brings along with it new Dispositions and higher Intentions; such as are those, to live sociably, to deal justly, to relieve charitably: to these things we Men are orderly prompted, and gently inclined, by the Frame of our Constitution, by I know not what Spring, by something our Maker has put within us, which we find to be there, but know not how to describe.

Such a Direction there is implanted within us by our Creator: neither matters it much by what physical Method it is wrought, whether it proceeds from innate Notions already formed, or from an original Aptitude in us to form these Notions ourselves. As a Fowl of the Air no less Naturally builds its Nest, whether it sets on the work from an Idea or Model before traced in the Imagination, or is stirred up to it regularly by a mechanical Impulse. Whatever Phrase we will chuse to use, whether Nature has wrote these Laws herself, or dictates them to be writ by us; the Law and Course of Human Nature is still the same: by that we are conscious to ourselves we should guide our Actions, and by that we judge them; our *Thoughts accusing, or excusing us*. From that ground there arises a Complacency and Satisfaction in what we do well: in ourselves it is remembered with Delight, applauded and approved in others: thence too is our Dislike of what is ill; it is unseemly, improper, absurd, and odious, always in other Men, and not without difficulty connived at, and dissembled at home.

For, take from Man any Concern of his own, set him out of the Commerce, and disengage him from the Interest of the World; let him stand by but as an indifferent Spectator; and, as he cannot forbear to commend what is beautiful to the Eye, or harmonious to the Ear, so neither what is apt, and fit, and suitable to the Mind. He, that shall be found regular and temperate, just and impartial, charitable and beneficent, contributing to the Good of the Universe, grateful to all, but with a peculiar Duty to his Almighty Benefactor, must

- I. *First*, To consider the *Supposition* of St. *John*; And then,
 II. *Secondly*, To reinforce his *Conclusion*.

I. *First*, The *Supposition* consists of *Two* Parts;
First, The *Knowledge* these Christians had of their *Duties*: And,
Secondly, Their *Offence* against it.

What the *Measure* of their *Knowledge* was, and what the *Particulars* of their *Offence*, they themselves were to consider by the Direction of the Apostle: we are neither informed about it, nor concerned. It may be enough for us to take that for granted, which we cannot deny; That, in general, *Mankind is so knowing*, as to be *sensible of a Duty*; and *so unhappy*, as not to perform it: this may be enough to confess with shame before Men and Angels, with fear and trembling before our GOD.

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be supposed to act rightly and commendably, according to the Law of his Creation; the Delight and the Admiration of his kind. And he, on the contrary, that should offend by Intemperance against the Excellency of his own Nature, or by Injustice, Unmercifulness or Cruelty against the Lives or Fortunes of other Men, must be allowed to have acted wrong, and disorderly, unsuitably to the Intent of his Nature, and Design of his Maker; a disagreeable Sight; unworthy of the Favour of his God, and obnoxious to his Displeasure.

With such a Notion of Good and Ill are the Characters of Men in Story transmitted and received; and the Bad censured often by those that are not Better. So true generally and free is our Judgment concerning the Actions of others, though perverted or restrained at our own. But this Natural Sense of Good and Ill never shows itself more certainly, than when we come to suffer the Cruelty or Injustice ourselves: then we quickly find a Law of Nature, and understand the Difference of Right and Wrong; then we speak it out loudly and sensibly; appeal to the World for the Unworthiness and Unreasonableness of the Action; and expect it should be condemned by the rest of Men.

This is our Apprehension concerning the Actions of others; and for the most part too we fail not to have the same Sense of our own. Our Thoughts cannot be brought always to favour us; and Nature will speak its Mind: in its Checks and Dissents before the Fact, in its Regrets and Remorses after. Or if our youthful Passions prevail, give no time to consider, and hurry on; yet, when the Fury and Heat is over, and we can think; or Adversity put us to a stand, and we begin to look back; our Sense of Good and Ill returns to us, and we see behind us the crooked Errors of our Ways. Then, when at a Distance, and in our temperate Thoughts, we review our Actions; as an Artist examines his Work, or a Writer revises his Composition; we easily espy our Faults, come upon them as strangers, and censure them with an impartial Eye. But if any one has not yet given himself this Leisure, always in haste, or in a perpetual heat; yet a fatal Stop will come, and a cooler Time: then the Fumes will be evaporated; and the forced Thoughts, we have lived with, give place to those of Nature. Man, when he comes to own his Mortality in earnest, will acknowledge too the other Conditions of his Being; and when he is brought to pay his last Debt, confess the rest of his Obligations: going to obey the Will of his God now, and O that he had complied before! Think then, says *Epicurus*, of the Pleasures you formerly enjoyed: let him think of them then, if he can, without Regret: but it would be happier much to have Good Actions to think of; then he might look back with Joy, and go on with Assurance.

Such, certainly, is the Sense of Mankind, generally speaking, upon the first Opportunities naturally arising in us, in our maturest Age, in our freest, soberest and least suspected Hours: Follow Man
into

into his Retirement and see, whether these are not the Notions of his undisturbed recollected Thoughts: Go to his Death-bed, and ask him; see what he thinks there; hearken how he counsels his Friends, and directs his Relations.

There is therefore, for such a moral Sense of Human Nature, all the moral Evidence that can be expected: it admitting not of more Proof, because it needs it not; as we urge not Arguments to evince that Men see or hear, and believe it to be true, notwithstanding what may be pretended by the wittiest of the blind or the deaf. For in such Subjects as these, the Wonder is not, that Proof cannot be given, but that it should be demanded: it being enough that we have, for its Truth, the general Attestation of Mankind, in all Ages and Places, added to our own private Experience.

Neither is this common Opinion and universal Consent to be imputed to the Policy of Law-givers, the Contrivance of Princes, or Priests. For some Writers of Politicks have favoured the Truth but little; neither has Atheism always been made the Secret it is sometimes called. The Doctrine of private Profit and Pleasure is not so difficult to comprehend, but that the Commonalty might learn it well; nor has it wanted its Apostles so, but that it has been very faithfully spread, and diligently recommended: It might have been quickly received too, had it been found as true, as it is easy and tempting. Could the private Judgment and natural Apprehension of Man have been brought to consent, it would long ago have been the Catholick Doctrine; not continued a Paradox, not given its Abettors the Pleasure of Singularity. Those too, that publish these Notions of Virtue and Vice, Punishment and Reward hereafter, give them not Authority, but receive it from them: from the Credit of such Truths it is, that we are recommended to the People; who, when they hear of these Dictates of Nature, believe only what they feel, and assent to nothing but what they know.

However, we are not to expect, that this Supposition should pass without Contradiction; for what is that Truth which has not been disputed? This therefore too, we may confess, without any derogation to it, has been denied by *two* sorts of Men:

The *one*, who find this Notion of *Good* and *Ill* working within them, but own it not; esteem it a piece of Weakness to confess their Fears, and out of false Bravery despise and tremble: these argue against themselves, and their Words are condemned by their Hearts.

The *other* may seem more ingenuous, who have made themselves as insensible, as they pretend; and are in some measure to be believed for the Ignorance they profess: but they ought not then to set up for Patterns; to oppose their single Instance against the conspiring Testimony of all the rest, and by an Irregularity to shape the Course of Nature.

For when we suppose a Natural Conscience in Man, we suppose too that it may be much oppressed, and in some few it may be well

nigh extinguished. What was begun in *Adam*, may be perfected by his Sons; and the original Bent of our Constitution, weakened at first by Him, at last wholly destroyed by Us. For these Inclinations of our Rational Part to Good move not in us necessarily, nor act irresistibly, as those of other Animals: they are accompanied with a Freedom of the Will, which should direct, but may overrule. For that Freedom of Choice, given to Man, may check and divest our very Natural Desires, may refuse to eat or drink; so easily may we imagine the same Power over the other Spiritual Propensions: however, neither of them, though disturbed by Man's Will, are therefore imaginary; to be crossed and disordered, but not to be denied. A Mother that shall be able, by the unhappy exercise of her Freedom, to restrain her Natural Affection to her Infant, is not therefore a good Argument against that kind Design of Nature: nor shall a Man, that has prevailed upon himself to be unmerciful, ungrateful, insensible of a God, and unapprehensive of the Future, persuade us therefore, that this is Human, or the genuine Result of his First Constitution.

As Man is Lord of himself, and enjoys his Liberty, so he may use it against himself; and destroy what he was intrusted to preserve: by Debauch he may weaken and enervate the Tone of his Body, and he may soften the Firmness of his Mind; he may deform God's outward Image, and may efface the Characters within: he may put out his Eyes, and cut off his Hands or his Feet, either wilfully, or, as some have done, upon design to escape the Service of their Country; but the design can never be this, to make Men believe that the maimed Trunk was the original Shape; and that the Eyes and Limbs of other Men are artificial things, and Additions to Nature.

It is not therefore to be wondered, that some Men have effected, what they laboured so much; and that all the Industry and Contrivance against themselves, of those that are the supposed Masters of Wit, should in some measure succeed. The Pleasures of one outward Sense may be so violent, as to supersede the Perceptions of the other; and the Soul, strongly diverted at the Eye, may forget it has an Ear: so easily, when it is called outward at all the Senses, may it disregard the Notices of the Inner; and suffer the gentle Directions within to be overpowered by a Violence from abroad. Then the higher Rational part of Man is brought to submit to the lower, and our Reason is put on the task to prove us Beasts. There are then other Suppositions made, than those we mention, of Chance and Hazard in the Universe, and of Ill Nature in Men: the one to be the Cause of the Beauty and Regularity of the World, and the other the Original of Human Society. Such Suppositions are then made, not as would arise naturally from our first Thoughts, but such as are necessary for absurd Consequences; such as were attempted by one of the same Authors in other Learning, but did not succeed as well; when a Point was to be Big, and a Line to be Broad: and those might, it may be, have been granted too, had the Deductions been,
not

not concerning the Impertinence of a Squared Circle, or a Doubled Cube; could those rich Consequences have followed thence, that Profit and Pleasure were the chief End of Man; that there was no Controll now, nor Judgment hereafter.

For there is a great Advantage designed to be gained by the Denial of what we suppose: they that have overcome their Conscience, triumph as over a slain Enemy, and seem the only happy, the only free Men: they are in perfect Peace, and full Security; by rejecting this single Principle, they are rid of all their Disquiets, Regrets, and Fears; they have chased away the *Spectrum* that haunted them, the peevish *Monitor* that disturbed them.

And so there may be a deeper Quiet about a *Prince*, when his Guards are asleep; but it is but a dream of Security: and a Man is at more ease without the Admonitions of his Friend, but in greater danger. All this Gaiety is but as of those, who have lost their Senses; who seem at ease, and better than ever, in the flattering *Delirium*, under the height of their Distemper.

For so the outward Sense of *Feeling* may be dulled and deadened by Art, may be made a Boast, and exposed for a Show; such are capable of no Pain, and have not the afflicting Impressions that others suffer: but this Pain was designed for their Use; and they are made sensible of Hurt, that they may avoid it; who otherwise might heedlessly suffer their Limbs to be lopped off, or their Life to be taken away.

In the same manner, may Men boast they are without Pain within; but it is but an ill Condition: they are without the Sense that should grieve them, when they do ill, and feel not the Satisfaction of those that do well; without it they cannot live to the Advantages of the present Life, nor ever arrive at that to come.

But prudent Men will act according to the Intention of their Creator; and think it most fit for a Rational Being to pursue the Design of the All-wise: they will, as much as they can, quicken this inward Sense, improve this discerning Power of the Mind, and encourage its Reflections; careful to maintain and keep up the Conscience, tender of its Sight, as of the Apple of their Eye.

To this necessary Purpose are all Holy Times; so many Pauses interposed, and Stops made in our Lives, that we may stand still, consider, and look back; a Quiet from abroad, to hearken within; to hear what God speaks, not only in his loud, but in his still Voice. To this Purpose we come, as now, to the Word of God; to have the Law on our Hearts refreshed by that of the Holy Book; to have the fleshly Tables, injured in *Adam*, and in us, (as those first of Stone were broke in *Moses* his Hand,) supplied again, if possible, and corrected by this authentick Copy; to have our domestick Monitor, checked, it may be, at home, encouraged and assisted by the Publick; to hear the same Reflections made, Directions and Reproofs seconded, by those that speak in our Maker's Name.

This far for the *First Supposition*, That *there is in Mankind a Sense of Good and Ill, Natural Notices of our Duty*, which may be suppressed; but ought to be cherished and promoted.

The *Other Supposition* of the Text is harder to be imagined, though it will be granted more easily: That *Men may act contrary to what they know*, and persist in that which they condemn. For it may not be difficult to conceive, how a Rational Creature should understand its Duty, and be sensible of the Design of its Frame: but hardly to be thought, he should oppose his Judgments by his Actions, and consent to what he disallows.

And yet this real Contradiction between our *Will* and our *Reason*, a seeming Contradiction in Nature, is too well attested by *Practice*, and understood by each of us: it needs no *Demonstration*; is the *Hypothesis* of our *Nature*, and to be confessed by all the Sons of *Adam*. For it is the Case of all Mankind, that *St. Paul* expresses; *That which I do, I allow not; but what I hate, that do I*. Upon the Sight of which desperate profligate Condition, he well cries out, *O wretched Man that I am, who shall deliver me from this Body of Sin?* Who shall deliver me from this inconceivable Mystery of Iniquity, this fatal perplexed Absurdity? How shall I be reconciled to myself? But who will reconcile me to my Maker? *For if my Heart condemn me, God is greater than my Heart*.

For as there was certainly an Intention and Design in the Parts of my Body, and their Functions; so in these Perceptions and Inclinations of my Mind: and if we *Act* not according to this our Creator's *first Intention*, what other he may have for us we may justly fear; we transgressing by the arbitrary Pleasure of our Own Will, and obnoxious therefore to the Justice of His. Those Notions were imprinted in us by some superior Cause; and will not an Account be taken of them by the same Hand? So does the Sense of this Law prescribed suppose a Law-giver; and the Conscience of our Transgressions infer a Judge. But, because infinite other Considerations would direct us to the Being of God, I shall therefore only follow these, as they lead us Prisoners to his Judgment-seat, and as the Apostle has made the Chain; *If our Hearts condemn us, God is greater than our Hearts*.

II. For *if our Hearts have condemned us*, the Sentence is not a groundless trifling Thought; it is the Voice of our Constitution, and was suggested by our Maker; it carries his Authority along with it, and proceeds from an Oracle in the Breast of each Man, as sacred as that on the Breast-plate of *Aaron*. *If our Hearts have condemned us*, this hath been only a preparatory Hearing, nor can it be pleaded in bar to another Trial. We may slight the Sentence, think to revoke, or endeavour to erase it: but the Record will be removed, and the Cause taken out of our Hands; brought finally before a Judge Omniscient, most Holy, and Omnipotent, from whose Sight we cannot be

be hid, in whose Eye we cannot be innocent, and to whose Power we must submit. *For God is greater than our Hearts.*

God is greater than our Hearts, and knoweth all things, adds the Apostle: as if that Attribute alone were great enough to confound the Sinner's Presumption.

From Men we may conceal the Sentence, and pass for innocent; the Judgment not to be read on the Forehead, and more Gaiety, it may be, on the Face of the self-condemned: but the great God was not a stranger to the whole Procedure, he saw the Fact committed, knew the particular Circumstances of the Crime, and Articles of the Law, and was present at the whole Conviction; the guilty Person is still in his Eye, and his Justice knows how to find him.

He is therefore represented to laugh, from above, at the Folly of those that would abscond from him; that think they are hid, when Man does not see. He sees the vain Disingenuity of those that argue against their Sense, and deny what they know: their solitary private Thoughts are before him; what they own to themselves, and forebode when they are alone. He sees too the Arts that have been used to stifle the Evidence, and corrupt the Judge; the Practices to alter the natural Direction, and to defeat the original Intention; how much we have endeavoured to change our Constitution, and to new-make ourselves, because we would disown our Creator. He was conscious to the Remonstrances, we would not hear, and to the good Thoughts, we were able to suppress; he took Notice, when we would take none. The Sense of Good and Ill might be taken away, but the Nature of it was not: that immoveable Boundary stood fast, as the great Depth, as the everlasting Mountains. Our Minds might be deprived of their Natural Light; but *God was greater than our Hearts*, and his Knowledge could not be impaired: as Man may shut his Eyes, but that puts not out the Sun.

Knew our God, knew Man of us, but as much as we do ourselves; we should call for the *Rocks to cover us*, and for the *Mountains* to shelter us. But what we have observed, is but a part of that which lies open to the All-seeing Eye: in the Light of his Countenance are our secret Sins; such as our Understanding never marked, or our Memory has let go. He is *greater than our Hearts*, the *Searcher of them*; he knows how negligently they have watched over our Actions, and how little they have improved their first Notices: our very Conscience, though esteemed by us too scrupulous, will be accused of its Defaults; our Judge will be condemned; and where then shall we appear?

Especially when we consider not only the Knowledge, but,

Secondly, The Justice and Holiness of our Maker. For though we may have complained of the Rigor of our Conscience, as if the Judge in our Breast were inexorable, and we had better appeal to a Stranger; yet we must have been favoured still, and we have all the while been Judges in our Cause: if we are condemned, it is with Reluc-

tancy; and the Sentence cannot but be indulgent. But that, we expect from God, cannot but be just: shall he accept our Person, or the Judge of all the Earth fail to do right, for our sakes? As if, when he saw a Thief, then he consented with him; and would be Partaker with the Adulterers.

If our own Hearts have not been able to bear with our Iniquities; have been offended, and grieved, and complained under their intolerable Burthen; if our eclipsed darkened Reason could not but discern the Guilt, and Dust and Ashes abhor the Impurity; if sometimes we have been provoked even to hate ourselves: how must we appear in the sight of Him, to whom the Heavens are not pure, nor the Angels without spot; the blessed Holy Being, the most opposite to what is irregular, and impatient of what is unclean? With what Displeasure and Aversion must he have viewed us? and what Doom are we to expect? No Pain certainly can be more contrary hereafter to Human Nature, than our Wickedness has been to the Divine?

If it is irksome to the Disposition of our Nature, to be ill directed; and painful to our Make, to be distorted, and put out of its first order; how will the Author and Creator endure the perverse Change, this Defacing his Workmanship, and Opposing his Pleasure? Will he not, think we, stand by his Laws, and justify his Intention? And how then (in the *last place*) shall we escape his Power, or abide his Indignation?

Little have some been able to endure the Regrets of their own Thoughts; and what would they have given to have been delivered from themselves? Under the Judgment of their Hearts they have appeared indeed as condemned Men; and their own evil Spirit has sufficiently tormented them: so sensible were they of what they had deserved, that none but their God could afflict them more; but his Terrors were *Greater* still, and they felt not yet his Almighty Arm.

Some indeed escape better here; they have the Address to overrule the Sentence of their Hearts, or divert the Execution; find other Entertainment for their Thoughts, and by new Guilt deliver themselves from the past; call in Company for their Help against themselves, to rescue, or to intercede; will not be at leisure to hear, nor suffer the Soul to speak; drown the Voice of Nature with a Noise of Musick, and its Fears in Wine.

But these are but Methods to practise upon themselves; Arts that can succeed only on our own weak Minds; *God is Greater*: that Judge is not in our power, nor to be diverted by such Amusements. The Sentence therefore, aggravated by these unprofitable criminal Delays, will at last be pronounced, and as certainly executed: whispered before, but then spoke out, by the glorious God that maketh the Thunder; by the God, that speaks to the Dead, and they hearken, to the old Criminals of Ages past, and they rise up and appear. Then our Maker must be owned, when he has twice formed us; must be confessed, at least by Torture. Then the Difference of Good
and

and Ill will be sensibly felt; the wide Difference plainly discerned; wide, as the great Gulph betwixt Heaven and Hell.

Let us therefore now begin to consider, and timely enter upon the necessary Review: let us examine ourselves for the Reflections we have neglected, and for those we have been able to prevent: let us recover the Notices we have stifled, and restore the Judicature to GOD within us. Let us judge ourselves, that we be not judged; and prevent the Condemnation to come. Let our Apprehensions of GOD be as *Great* as his Majesty; and let us think of reconciling ourselves to a Power we must obey.

For if *our Hearts condemn us*, and we persist to offend; where is our Hope? Or who is it that shall give the Pardon? Will *GOD* be less holy than ourselves, and our Sins less disagreeable to him? Or will his Judgment want of the Righteousness of ours? And is Iniquity like to find Favour there? To practise, what we cannot but condemn, is the highest Disingenuity: but to expect that what we cannot but condemn, should not be condemned by GOD, is a *blasphemous Presumption*.

And if, in the Course of a vicious Life, *our Hearts condemn us not*; (a Supposition St. *John* would not make;) we have then more yet to dread, lest we should have been already condemned by the Almighty, and given up to this reprobate Mind; lest our Consciences, seared so as with a hot Iron, should have been branded by a Judicial Sentence from above. Our Case is desperate indeed, abandoned by ourselves, and given over by our Maker. We hear no more of the inferiour Judge, deputed to sit in our Hearts, to enquire and to determine: but we shall not so escape, he is assaulted and slain by our Treason; a Treason added to our other Crimes, committed against the Sovereign, the proper Consequence of the Great and Terrible Day.

But if, when *our Hearts have condemned us*, we repent and amend; are grieved for what we cannot recall; and resolved hereafter to obey the Directions of our Reason: our future good Deeds cannot indeed blot out the committed Ill; nor our Hearts pardon us, and reverse the Sentence it has justly passed: but, to our Comfort, *God is greater*; he can pardon our Faults, and will do away our Offences; by him we are restored, as at the Beginning; and it is the Part then of *Satan*, not of our *Hearts*, to accuse us. *Who shall lay any thing to the Charge of God's Elect*, is the Challenge then of St. *Paul*? *It is God that justifieth, who is he that condemneth?*

And then, when a *New Life* shall have proceeded from this Beginning; a *Life* clear of *Injustice*, *Intemperance*, *Profaneness*; Actions always unnatural to Man, but at last his surest Aversion, and most dreaded Horror: when *Temperance* in ourselves, *Charity* to Men, *Services* and *Duty* to our GOD, shall have traced out a fair and happy Way to Heaven; a Course, upon the Reflection, the most delightful and agreeable Sight to a Human Mind: when, at the Even

of our Days, we shall come to review our Actions, and see, with a Satisfaction like to that of our Creator, *that all is Good*: with him we shall enter into a *Sabbath* too; and on our Death-beds be in a State of Rest and unspeakable Joy, greater than Voluptuousness, Honour and Riches ever afforded the ungodly Offender; the same Instinct, that prompted us before to our Duty, assuring us now of a Reward; and adding, to the pleasing View of the past time, the glorious Prospect of an infinitely happy Eternity to come. With those then, who have so lived like the Creatures of GOD, and according to the Truth of their Human Nature, he will likewise deal according to the infinite Goodness and Kindness of his own; acknowledging them for His, whom he finds after his Image, and advancing them to a greater Likeness, and nearer Approach: *Well done, thou good, thou faithful and obedient Creature: enter thou into the Joy of thy Maker!*

Thither may He please to bring us all by the Merits of his Son, and the Assistance of his Spirit: And to Them in their Trinity, &c.

A
S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE

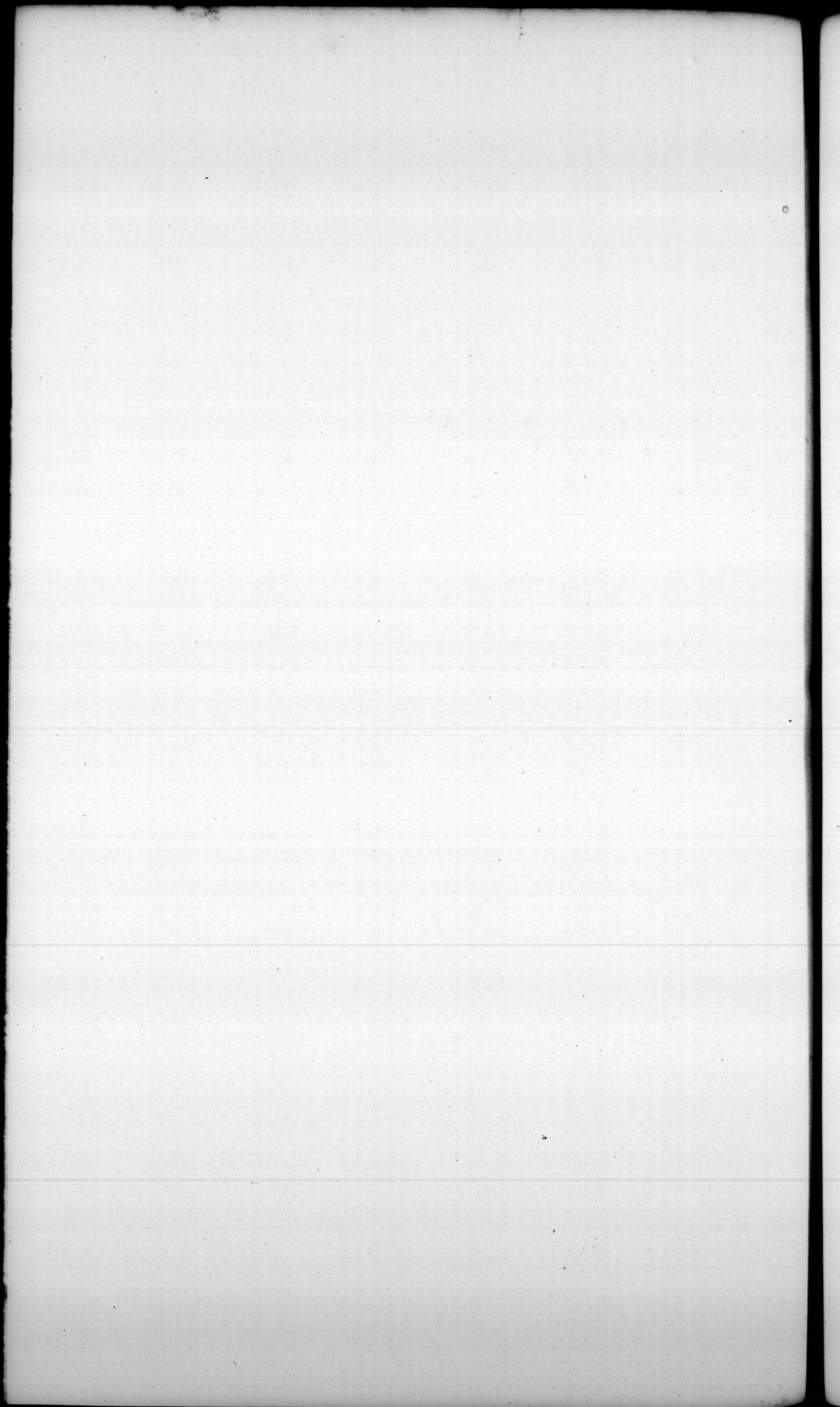
The H O N O U R A B L E
HOUSE of COMMONS,

A T

St. MARGARET's WESTMINSTER,

On *Friday, Apr. 4. 1701.*

Being the Day of Publick FAST and Humiliation.



S E R M O N VI.

PREACHED BEFORE

THE *HOUSE* OF COMMONS, &c.

PHIL. III. 20.

For our Conversation is in Heaven; from whence also we look for the Saviour —

THE original word for that of *Conversation* in the Text is known to signify, not only our Moral Behaviour, or Conduct of Life, (in which Sense it is apparently taken in the first Chapter of this Epistle; *Let your Conversation be as becometh the Gospel of Christ,*) but also a State and Condition of Life, with certain Privileges and Obligations, as we are incorporated into some City or Nation, a Citizenship, a Political Relation, wherein we stand. And this last Sense has always been judged, by the best Interpreters, principally to belong to this Place. Our Citizenship, that is, the great Subject of our Conversation, the Social Relation and Political Concern, whereby it is governed, is *in Heaven*, the City or Country above; this Meaning not excluding, but rather inferring and implying that other usual one, of a suitable Demeanour, and correspondent *Conversation*, in the common Signification of the *English* word.

And thus the Apostle may be understood by these words, as telling us in general, and suitably to the Scope of the Chapter, that our *Citizenship is in Heaven*: That where ever we are dispersed, and at present reside, we still belong to another Place, and have the Honour and Happiness to be intitled to the Rights and Privileges of a better Country: That we Christians are now the immediate Subjects of the Heavenly King, and that hereafter we shall be translated to the Capital Seat of his Empire, rescued from all our present Distresses, and possessed of that glorious happy Estate, to which we are bid to aspire: That he therefore *accounted all things here but as Loss and Dung, if by any means he might attain unto the Resurrection of the Dead; pressing on towards that Mark, and looking for the Lord, who should change our now vile Body, and remove it from this vile Abode, that it may be like unto his glorious Body, and fitted for the Glories of its Eternal Residence.*

This Sense the Place bears well, if we understand this Citizenship to be paralleled only with such a one as that of *Rome* was, and by the Pleading of which *St. Paul* was rescued from the Scourging, he otherwise had suffered at *Jerusalem*. The Freedom of it was highly valued, and the Chief Captain had *obtained it with a great Sum*^a. It was some Safeguard in Foreign Empires, but a sure Protection in the *Roman World*; as the *Magistrates* and *Sergeants* of this City *Philippi* were put, we know, in a great Fright, for having violated that Privilege in the Person of our Apostle^b. And to that Claim of his, so universally allowed, and there so remarkably made, now in an Epistle to those *Philippians* he may be well thought to allude.

But it may be added, that the Apostle probably refers not here to that City, though Mistress of so large Part of the then known World, however honourable and advantageous the Freedom of it might be; but to the Commonwealth of *Israel*, and to the Great City of *Jerusalem*. For however great *Rome* might be in the Esteem of the rest of the World, this Citizenship was much more prized by the *Jews*, and their Profelytes. *Jerusalem* was the *City of the Great King*, the Lord of Heaven and Earth: All that were free of that, were subject to the Lord of Lords, and under his peculiar Protection. The Authority of that King was justly founded, and of natural Right, truly august and unaccountable: his Empire really extended to the whole World; and his Power, when he pleased to exert it, was absolutely irresistible, as it would in some short time actually prevail. Accordingly, the *Jews* now looked out for a *Saviour*; their Prince, the *Messiah*, they expected in a little while should appear, *restore the Kingdom to Israel*, and subdue all those Nations under them, whether *Romans*, or *Parthians*, who had lorded over them, but were now to be their Tributaries and Slaves. He was to come from the Holy City; to gather up from all Quarters of the Earth the dispersed Holy People, both those that remained alive, and those that were dead; and to return with them triumphantly back into *Judea*, to reign together, with great Glory and Felicity, in the promised Land of *Israel*.

This the *Jews*, the Citizens of the Earthly *Jerusalem*, expected to be accomplished in a little time; and for this they waited impatiently, ready to rise up, and go meet their *Messiah*, upon the least Rumour of his Appearance. But the *Messiah* was already come, and they the *Jews* had, with their own Hands destroyed those their carnal Hopes. However he had, even by that his own Death, wrought already a more glorious Deliverance, than they had imagined. The *Man Christ Jesus* was now ascended up to the *Jerusalem which is above, the Mother*, the Metropolis, of us all^c: hereafter to appear in greater Pomp, with a more mighty Power; to rescue them from their more deadly Enemies, Sin and Death; as he would instate them in a yet unconceivable Happiness, and which should continue long, even beyond their Thousand Years, for ever and ever.

^a *Acts* XXII. 28.^b *Acts* XVI.^c *Gal.* IV. 26.

In this View therefore, and with Reference to this *Hope of Israel*, I suppose St. Paul to have spoke the Sentence of the Text. He had been before obliged, by the boasting Pretences of some of his Nation, to express, in the Beginning of this Chapter, the little Value he set upon his *Jewish* Lineage and Circumcision, Learning or Privileges, in respect of the *Knowledge of Christ*, or the *Messiah*, *Jesus* his Lord; and in regard of the *Resurrection of the Dead*, which he so ardently hoped, by that *Knowledge*, to attain. Those *earthly things* he minded not: and therefore concludes, remembering himself and the *Philippians* of their higher Country, and excelling Expectations. *Our Citizenship*, says he, *is in Heaven*, not in a Part of *Palestine*; and from that City of ours above we also, no less than the *Jews*, look for the Saviour, the *Messiah*, the Lord *Jesus Christ*, who shall change our vile Bodies, &c. according to the working, whereby he is able even to subdue all things unto himself: not the Powers of this World, but Spiritual and more mighty: not by putting to Death, but destroying Death; when shall be brought to pass the Saying that is written, *Death is swallowed up in Victory: O Death, where is thy Sting? O Grave, where is thy Victory?*

This seems to be the natural Intention of St. Paul in these words, and to make up their full Sense. And, *First*, therefore we shall a little consider this *Citizenship* of ours; where it is, what its Privileges, and what its Duties: thus far understanding the Word *Conversation*, as it means our Political Relation. And then, *Secondly*, we may reflect upon the *Behaviour* to which we are obliged by this new Relation; what manner of Men we ought to be, and what our Life and *Conversation*, the Sense in which the Word is ordinarily taken. All which you will then please to give me leave to apply to the present Occasion.

I. And, *First*, That there was such a Heavenly Country, to which the Faithful of this did appertain, is what the Writer to the *Hebrews* tells us the Saints of old did well understand: *They all died in Faith, not having received the Promises, but having seen them afar off; and were persuaded of them, and embraced them, and confessed that they were Strangers and Pilgrims on the Earth^a*. For, continues the Apostle, *they that say such things, declare plainly that they seek a Country; but now they desire a better, that is, a Heavenly. And truly, if they had been mindful of that Country, from whence they came out, they might have had opportunity to have returned^b*. For, as the Apostle had before said, *Abraham, the Father of the Faithful, sojourned in the Land of Promise, as in a strange Country; dwelling in Tabernacles with the Children of the Promise; looking for a City which hath Foundations, whose Builder and Maker is God^c*.

^a Hebr. XI. 13.

^b Ver. 14, 15.

^c Hebr. XI. 8, 9, 10.

This Heavenly City, which those of old saw at that distance obscurely, and into which they could not then enter, but by some very particular and extraordinary Favour, is now discovered and laid open by our *Messiah*, its Great Lord. He has, by the Gospel, given our Faith a clear Prospect; and by a great Sum, an inestimable, Price, purchased for all, that lift themselves under his Banner, the Freedom, and Citizenship of it. We claim its Privileges now, and shall have Entrance into it hereafter, by Virtue of our Birthright, as we are become Sons of God, and Coheirs of the Promises with our Redeemer.

Such a City there is above, to which we belong; as certainly as there was a *Rome* to the *Romans*, or the *Jews* a *Jerusalem*: not indeed yet seen by us; no more than either of those Places might have been by thousands of their Citizens; but which is now certainly subsisting, and to which we are continually tending: A City, not as theirs, exposed to the Force of its Enemies; and which may be destroyed, to the Disappointment of our Arrival there; *not made by Hands*, nor to be ruined by them; but which will assuredly stand fast, and await our Coming.

By *Baptism*, as by a certain Out-gate of this City, we are now admitted into the Precincts and Jurisdiction of it. And a high Privilege it is to Christians, that, what Part of the Earth soever they now inhabit, and under whatever Temporal Government they are placed, they are yet the beloved Subjects of a Superior Power, and under the Resort and Protection of the King of Kings. Others indeed might exercise Authority over them in His name, who yet belonged not to the same City: but what they did, could never deprive the Christian of the Favour of the Great Emperor, nor hinder him from his Great Inheritance. We want not the Licence, nor Mediation of those Powers, to make our Distresses known to our proper Sovereign, or to beg his Graces: We have the liberty all to resort directly unto him, and to make our Personal Addresses to his Divine Majesty.

It was a great Wish our Apostle made for *Agrippa*; that he, though a King, should be such a one as *St. Paul* was^a. And had he been *persuaded to be a Christian*, and admitted into that Fellowship; he had been advanced to a far higher Degree, and more advantageous Privilege, than the Imperial Favour could confer. But had he been *altogether such a one*, and not *excepting the Bonds*; had he stood a Prisoner for the same Cause; he had been then certainly in a much more honourable and better distinguished Station, than he was in all that Pomp that attended him: he had then, instead of being an humble Friend of *Cesar's*, and an Associate of *Festus* his Slave, been an Ambassador and Representative of the Almighty; and his Voice, speaking on such an Occasion, had been indeed, what was blasphemously said of his Father, *the Voice of a God, and not the Voice of a Man*^b.

^a Acts XXVI.

^b Acts XII. 22.

So great is the Satisfaction the Christian may justly take to himself from the Honour of this his Relation: but a greater arises yet from his assured Expectation. Whatever Inconveniences he may at present suffer, in this his strange Country; within a little while he shall arrive at his Native one: In the mean time, from all intervening Hardships and unjust Usage, he *appeals* unto his Saviour, and unto his Saviour he *must go*. In *this World* Satan may bear Rule, for he is the *Prince* of it; God values not himself upon this his earthly Kingdom; it is disturbed often, and shared by Rebels to his Authority: But when his own *Kingdom comes*, then shall ours begin; and we attain infinitely greater Joy and Happiness, than ever yet earthly Crown was supposed to bring. We shall not die, we are those who are to rise again to the New Earth. Let the Wicked be laid in perpetual Sleep, their only Hope; we shall awake again: not, as the *Jews*, to a Millenary Tenancy of the Land of *Canaan*, and the Enjoyment of *Milk and Honey*; but to an *Inheritance reserved in Heaven*, and to a Society of that Bliss, in which God is happy, and which endures to the same Eternity.

Such are the Advantages of these Citizens; but they have too their Duty. For this City has its peculiar Ordinances and Laws, and obliges all those, who are enrolled of its Number, to the Observance of them; all of them expressly engaging themselves in a solemn Contract, and adjured to it by the Blood of our Saviour. Laws to be observed, under the Sanction of a terrible Penalty, as well as of an exceeding great Reward; the prevaricating Citizens, not only to be disfranchised and treated as Strangers, but as the falsest Rebels, and most execrable Traitors, corresponding with the Enemies of their Blessed Master, and loving and serving them, more than the *Lord who bought them*.

By the Ordinance also of our Heavenly King, even the Governments of this Earth subsist; and all these Statutes of theirs are supposed to be authorized by his Royal Assent and Pleasure; the several National Corporations, if I may so speak, of Mankind existing by Grants and Charters from him; and with Allowance to make such By-Laws, as shall not be inconsistent with his Eternal Sanctions. Indeed, all these lesser Governments are but as so many *Eastern Companies*, travelling cross their Deserts, and bound homewards under their temporary Leaders, and provisional ambulatory Laws; but subject, all the while, to the catholick Laws of the Country, to which they are returning, and all of them finally responsible for the whole Conduct to their common natural Sovereign: Heathen, or Christian of all Sects, bound to stand by what Knowledge of their Duty they have received, and to answer for what they have neglected; each of them, whatever they have been pleased to speak or act, in the progress of their Journey, concerning the Will and Person of their Lord, going towards his Presence to give an Account, and attending his righteous Pleasure.

But, further, in the midst of the Temporary Kingdoms, which are by the Sufferance, and under the Controul of our Lord, he has too begun his Heavenly City here; and on Earth erected a Society of his own, with particular Regulation, and under distinct Officers: a Government not to be taken up at our Pleasure, nor modelled by the Fancies of Men; no more to be formed in Subserviency to the Interests of this World, than it was first designed for them. Other Governments may have been left to be regulated, according to the Circumstances and Disposition of the People: but this Political Body has Christ our Lord for its Founder and Legislator; and no Appointments are to be followed differing from those, which he by his Apostles has instituted, and they by their Writings and Practice have transmitted. To continue these Primitive Orders, is the Duty of the Officers of the Heavenly City; and to observe them, is the Duty of all its Citizens.

II. So our *Conversation*, that is, our Commonwealth to which we belong, *is in Heaven*: And agreeable to that our Citizenship should our *Conversation*, that is, our Behaviour be.

And in some degree our Conversation and Demeanour should be, as if we were in Heaven; according to the measure of our Abilities, as careful and circumspect, as holy, reverential and obedient: in as much as we, who are in the Church on Earth, are in an outer Court of Heaven; within its Verge, and under the immediate and particular Inspection of its Great Lord.

So should the Earth now become a Part of Heaven, and grow Holy Ground; having nothing in it, as far as lies in us Christians, that is opposite and contrariant to it. For the *earthly things*, in the Context, disallowed by the Apostle, are not so censured, because they are of this Place, and transacted here; but because they are done in Forgetfulness, Neglect, or Defiance of that other Place, to which we more peculiarly relate: the Earth not being guilty, as distinct in Situation from Heaven; but as far as it shall be found to be in Contradiction to it, and to *lie in Evil*.

But our Conversation is not the more in Heaven, the more it is abstracted and removed from the Societies on Earth: no more than a Pilgrimage from our own Land can carry us ever the nearer to the Heavenly City: though some have understood such Retirements into Privacies or Deserts to be the safest and shortest Way thither. In order to have our *Conversation in Heaven*, it is not generally requisite to fly the Conversation of Men; it is frequently not only inexpedient, but unlawful: and a good and useful Man may often be no more allowed to subtract his Company from the World upon that Pretence; than he is to dismiss his Soul from his Body, that it may be the sooner in the better Place.

Our Conversation is to be yet on Earth, the Station God has assigned us; and Here it is to be in Heaven; we living in this mixt
World,

World, as those who know that hereafter they shall be of a separate unpolluted Society. Here therefore we are to endeavour, what we are bid to pray, that the *Will* of God may be *done on Earth, as it is in Heaven*. We not indeed employed in the same Offices, nor doing it altogether in the same Manner; but betaking ourselves to our Part here as chearfully and as obediently, as the Angels themselves discharge their Duty: We being even now Servants and Subjects, as well as they; but of the meaner Station, and remoter Attendance. The Angels, as Priests, wait in the Temple upon God's immediate Service: And we, as many of the other *Jews*, not yet so much as arrived to our own Country, are yet looking and tending thither: paying our Duties at a distance, and as we now may; going *from Strength to Strength, until at last we appear before our God in Sion*^a.

Now here on Earth, we are known to have a different Duty of Conversation, in the *Threefold* Relation we bear, to *God*, to *our Neighbours*, and to *Ourselves*. And even in these Regards belonging to this World, we are to be influenced by that our Relation to our City above.

For, *First*, Our Demeanour to our Neighbours, as they are to live only on the Earth, be they Fellow-Citizens of Heaven or no, is to be regulated by the Laws of Heaven, and is likewise inforced and cultivated by them.

And, *First*, As as it has been premised, that whenever the Municipal Law of the Earth interferes with the Law of Heaven; or the Manners and Fashions below with the Directions from above; we are then to remember ourselves of the Government to which we belong: so, on the other hand, the Welfare, and Peace of this World, is best promoted and secured by our Respect to the other; and Justice and Duty will be paid to Men with the greatest Exactness in this Worldly Commonwealth, by those that are of the Heavenly.

For, to begin with Inferiours: The Christian Slaves were better Servants even to the Heathens, as knowing they *served the Lord*^b in them: better Children, as honouring in their Earthly Parents their *Father in Heaven*: better Subjects, as owning their Kings for the *Ministers*^c of their God. And on the other side, the Lord knew himself to have *a Master in Heaven*^d; the Father, that he was a Child of God; and the Emperor, that he was but a Fellow-Subject. And so were all Offices of Justice, Kindness, and Compassion performed, even to Strangers and Aliens from the Heavenly Commonwealth, not so much for the Reputation and Advantage these Actions might procure here; as for the Thanks, and Reward, and Honour, they would certainly meet with above: As, on the contrary, by any Breach of these Rules of Justice, there was not only a Wrong done to the Party, but an Offence committed against the Great King; his Peace was disturbed, and his Authority would interpose, and the Outrage was to be answered at a Higher Court.

^a *Psal.* LXXXIV. 7.

^b *Eph.* VI. 7.

^c *Rom.* XIII. 4.

^d *Eph.* VI. 9.

A malicious and false Accusation it was, the *Jews* put up against our Saviour, as if he had been an Enemy to *Cesar*: And a no less unjust Prejudice afterwards it was, in the Mouth of the Heathens, that Christianity subverted Governments, and was ruinous to the Empire. This therefore the Apologists encountered with great Truth and Force: and were well able to shew, that a true Christian was the best Commonwealth's Man; and that they were the more profitable Citizens of *Rome*, by being Citizens of their Heavenly Country. For although the greatest Care is still to be taken of securing to ourselves our Station in Heaven; and all the Concerns and Affairs of the Earth must seem, in that respect, very slight, and absolutely inconsiderable: yet, even of these a sufficient, and no less effectual Care will be still taken by those, who most regard the Interests of the other World. Such a one will as affectionately and concernedly desire the Good of his Country here, as they who know no other. If admitted to the Administration, he comes clear and uncorrupted from any By-Respects, and wholly minds the Publick Welfare: not indeed setting it up in Competition with the Kingdom of Heaven, and advancing it by the Neglect of those Superior Interests; the false, and deservedly unsuccessful Method of Human Policy; but suffering no Private Regards to himself to withdraw his Zeal from the Common Good. For so has God, by his Providence, ordered even the Earth, that its Governments are generally disturbed and ruined by the same Ways, as betray a Neglect, and forfeit all Hopes of the Abiding City; by Injustice, Breach of Trust, by Oppression, Self-Love, and Private Interests, by Sacrificing their Country to their own Revenge, Ambition, or Gain; by the narrow Spirit of such as consider nothing beyond themselves, and do not behave themselves like Citizens, no, not of any Commonwealth. So little do those, who care not for the City above, care indeed for any: as they will be readiest, no doubt, to venture for the Publick their Worldly Estates, and Temporary Lives, who prize them least.

There are noble Examples of the Old Heathens Love for their Country, left in the *Greek* and *Roman* Histories; never read but with Admiration, and highly deserving to be imitated. Nor is it to be denied, but that this generous Spirit was cultivated in them by peculiar Maxims and Discipline; and engaged by the Institutions of their Religion; which supposed their Deities to be Inhabitants among them, and Fellow-Citizens; and that they fought for their Gods, as well as for their Wives and Children: As the *Jews* too, we know, were animated singularly, by their Zeal for the Temple, for the Defence of their City.

But the Christian Religion, though not regardant to the Earth, nor fixed to its Glebe, is far from being wanting in Motives to this Love of a Community, but rather more forcibly obliges to it; that great and chief Precept of Charity, by which the *Disciples* of Christ
are

are to be *known*^a, amply comprehending, and nobly undertaking and advancing the whole Duty. By this we are engaged, as to love our God, so to love our Neighbour; to *love our Neighbours as ourselves*^b; to *bear one anothers Burdens*^c; to *deny ourselves*; not to *seek our own*; for the sake of our Brethren, to *bear all things*, and to *endure all things*^d. And this communicative Grace, which freely exerts itself upon any single Object, most chearfully assists a Multitude; and bestows itself still, with the greater Zeal, upon the more general Good. By this the meaner Men are bound to lend their Hands to the Publick, the rich their Substance, and the wise their Counsel and Conduct. That Counsel, I say, and Direction, which the Plowman and Mechanick may not be so able to contribute; and which the petty and the great Chapman may make a Market of; those, whose Leisure, and Plenty, Education, and Experience, have set in a due Height for Prospect, and above Temptation, are obliged by their Christianity to provide and supply; and it is their greatest Charity. If I should not rather say; That those, who are maintained and furnished by the Labour and Diligence of others, are bound to this Duty by the equitable Reason of their easy Tenure: and are in common Justice to be upon the watch; and to take care, that the Countryman and the Artisan be secure; and that, while they are intent upon their Work, they be not surpris'd by Foreign Craft or Force: as he, that is fed and cloathed by a Flock, is supposed to guard it from the Encroachments of a Trespasser, and the Assaults of the Wolf.

But as our Citizenship of Heaven qualifies and engages us to maintain this Worldly Conversation on Earth; so much more does it oblige us to keep up the Spiritual Society of the Church; that by which we are joined, not as Men, but as Christians; not incorporated for the small Comforts and Assurances of this short Life, but to contribute to our mutual Edification in the Faith, and to promote our Eternal Welfare, that we may *converse* together for ever. The Heavenly City commences here, by the present Communion of the Faithful: And by the Fundamental Charter of this our Incorporation, we are supposed to have a Right to their Company now, who design to be of that Catholick Society hereafter.

Secondly, Such should our Conversation be towards our Neighbour, in virtue of our Heavenly Relation: The same should it be towards Ourselves, in the Regulation both of our Spirit, and of our Body.

Our Mind not too much affected with the things of this World: neither too much exalted, nor depressed by our Conversation here: *set*, and fixed, *on things above*: especially free from such Passions, as are unlawful and forbidden, Wrath, Envy, or Malice: such Passions, as cannot be thought to be countenanced by Heaven, no more than they can be admitted there; infernal Emotions, and belonging to the Spirits of another Place.

^a Job. XIII. 35.

^b Matt. XXII. 39.

^c Gal. VI. 2.

^d 1 Cor. XIII. 5, 7.

Our Body likewise to be preserved from all Contagion of this World, through which it is to pass; that no Impurity defile it, nor Excess abuse it; to be kept within the Bounds of Sobriety, Temperance, and Chastity. For knew the Soul no other Place, than the Earth; it should however make some Distinction between the Inhabitants of it, and use its Reason to be discerned from Brutes. But as it is conscious to itself, that it is of a Spiritual Nature; and not at Home, till it comes to the Mansion of Spirits; it must then likewise understand itself bound to preserve the Body, its present Charge, according to the Direction it has received from the Holy Spirit. For were the Body, after this Life, eternally to be left; and were it to perish with the Earth, from whence it was taken; the Soul however ought to look to herself, to preserve her own Dignity, and not to suffer the Piece of Earth, she informs, to transgress in her Presence, and under her Administration. But now, when the Soul moreover understands, that this Body, however *vile* and frail it may appear, is at present designed for a Habitation of the Divine Spirit; and at last for an Inhabitant of Heaven; to be her Eternal, and alike Immortal Companion; she is then to take care to keep it something like a Temple of God now, and fit to be made a Glorious Body hereafter; that our Dust, though *vile*, may be clean and unspotted, such as God may not loath and abhor, refuse to take into his Hands, and to refashion; and condemn to an infinitely viler Condition.

Our Souls and our Bodies are of God: not of his Workmanship only, or subject to his Power; but reserved under his Appointments, and dedicated to his Service. We belong not to the Earth; nor are our own: responsible for the dishonouring, misusing, and defacing of ourselves; as much as if we had attempted on another.

So are the Laws of that Part of our Conversation, which is more private, and terminates in Ourselves, fully and indispensably obliging, by virtue of our Heavenly Polity. And, whereas the other Moral Considerations, inducing to Temperance and Chastity, which are drawn from the Inconvenience and Damage of the contrary Vices, may be easily either eluded, by a pretended Care of otherwise sufficiently securing our Vigour of Mind and Body, our Estates and Families; or rejected, with a Claim of what Men may call their inherent Right of disposing of themselves as they shall please; and the Laws of this Place may not think fit to interpose, if the present Interest of the Publick appears not eminently concerned: in these Cases, the Constitutions of the Heavenly City openly pronounce the Excess to be in its own nature criminal, demand peremptorily to be observed, and will indulge neither Toleration nor Connivence; excommunicating for ever the unrepenting Transgressor from the Church above.

Thirdly, From this Consideration of our Citizenship in Heaven, there results a higher Duty of Conversation, in respect of God's Holy Person.

As

As Inhabitants only of this Earth, we owe a Duty certainly to the Supreme Lord of it: And what now its several Princes demand, in Right of our Citizenship here; that is more justly to be paid to the King of Kings, whose Lieutenants they are, and in whose Name they act. But, as we belong yet to another World, in which we are eternally to live, and under his immediate Government; capable there of the nearest Admission, and highest Honours; we are still under a greater, and indeed infinitely obliged Duty to this our so Gracious peculiar Lord, and Everlasting Master.

And if we cannot, without a most criminal Disobedience, neglect any of those Commands of his, which we have mentioned, concerning either Ourselves, or Other Men; much less should we those, that tend immediately to Himself, and are directed to the Service of his Blessed Person. If our Commonwealth be in Heaven, thither are our Eyes and Hearts to be lifted up; our Face turned toward that City of ours; as the *Jews* are still looking toward their *Jerusalem*. And if God be our King, to him is our Duty instantly to be paid, and our Worship directly addressed. We, with the Angels, our Fellow-Citizens, ascribing to him Blessing, and Honour and Glory now, as we may be admitted to do it, in their Company, hereafter: joining ourselves now in Congregations before him, as belonging to that *general Assembly*^a; worshipping also in some solemn Portions of Time, devoted to his Service, as dedicated to the Holy Eternity we expect; and in Places separated from the rest of the Earth, as in *the House of God*, as in *the Gate of Heaven*^b. Worthy is our God, to whom we should give all Glory and Honour: to his Blessed Nature it belongs; and to his peculiar Subjects the ascribing of it appertains. But more especially that Honour and Glory ought to be ascribed by us, which has shined out upon us, in his Mercy and Goodness; and most wonderfully, in that inexpressibly Gracious Favour, on which the Church is now meditating; and by which we have been redeemed from Death, and admitted to this Expectation of our Inheritance in Heaven.

These Praises and Thanks are the principal Tribute God exacts from us his Subjects, to be sent up to the *New Jerusalem*: a Tribute to him, to whom Tribute is certainly due; and, to be allowed to pay it, is to be admitted to a Heavenly Office here.

For we need not to be told that other Duty to him, which our Wants, and Infirmities, our Fears of all kinds, and our Distresses here on Earth, of themselves suggest; that we should apply ourselves to him for Remedy and Relief; to him, our Gracious Master, and Mighty Protector. Though neither do our Necessities more naturally address themselves to him, for Succour; than our Allegiance requires, that we should own his Government, by those our Petitions and Appeals. To make our Necessities known to him, is a Mark of

^a Heb. XII. 23.

^b Gen. XXVIII. 17.

our Dependence, and an Acknowledgment of his Power: and then, to leave the Relief and Redress to his Good Pleasure, is an Act of Submission to his Providence, and of Resignation and Obedience to his Gracious Will: we still remembering, that our chiefest Interest is in Heaven; and that, if our present Want of Earthly Comforts is to be recompensed hereafter, our Prayers have been much better answered, than they might be by us conceived.

Between Us, the now travelling Citizens, and between the City to which we tend, God has established a Commerce at present; and a Correspondence he requires. There is to be kept up a kind of Familiar *Conversation* with Heaven: we to represent our Wants, and offer up our Desires; and God answering our Petitions, in Grants often for the Goods of this Life, but always for those appertaining to the Better; those his choicest Gifts, his Graces, whereby he makes us acceptable to himself, and qualifies us for our other Estate; making not our *Body* yet, but our Soul still, to be less *vile* in his sight. And then those Grants and Answers of God we are again gratefully to acknowledge, in a Return of Thanks and Praise. Such a Reciprocal Intercourse God has constituted between Him and Us; and not to maintain it, is to be insensible both of the highest Honour, and greatest Advantage, that can be vouchsafed us.

This our Conversation with God he is pleased also to own, and content it should be Publick; and acknowledged then it must be, on our side, with all possible Demonstration of Respect. Nor is it more Sociable towards our Brethren, than it is Dutiful to our Lord, to make our United and more Solemn Appearance before Him; joining in our Prayers, not only for our mutual Assistance, but also in our Praises and Thanks, for his greater Honour: that he, who is so gracious, as to come himself, and be in the midst of us, when met together, may find still a Company of his Subjects and Servants, a Heavenly Host below, as ready to receive and attend him.

III. And now, by the Pious Motion of this Honourable Assembly, is the whole Nation with that Solemnity addressing itself to this Heavenly King: not as to some great Foreign Prince, whose Assistance and Favour they would crave, against the Violence and Oppression of a Stranger; but as to their Natural Lord, and Liege Sovereign, to whose Dominion their Enemy too is a Subject, and whose Protection therefore we implore; that He would be pleased to interpose his Authority, and check the encroaching Insolence; own his Dependents, and peculiar Servants, the Depositories of his holy Truth, and Professors of his purer Worship; would appear in their righteous Quarrel, assert his own sacred Cause, and vindicate the Honour of his Name.

Upon the first Appearance of such a threatening Danger, it was the Duty of a Christian People to resort to their Metropolis, and to apply themselves to their Sovereign Lord. Neither was it less their
Wisdom,

Wisdom, and the Result of their truest Policy, to be early in this Preparation; a Preparation the most necessary, and which will prove our securest Defence: if we can gain the Favour of the Almighty on our part; and he will be entreated to preside in the Direction of our Counsels, and in the Conduct of our Forces.

And on this Succour from above we might with Confidence presume, if our *Conversation* with Heaven had been faithfully kept up by us; if it hath not been broken off by our Neglect; nay, Heaven itself rendered first our Enemy by our frequent Revolts, and continual Contempt of its just Authority.

This then must be our greatest Danger, and chiefly to be apprehended by us: and the earlier therefore still was this Recourse to be made, that we might timely reconcile ourselves to our offended Lord; with due Submissions and Satisfactions regain our Correspondence in Heaven; and prevent the Enemy on Earth from that great Advantage, not of being joined by the Accession of some new Territories, but of acting upon us by Leave, or, it may be, by Commission, from above; and we not only unassisted thence, and in our turn justly neglected, but abandoned to him, and given for a Prey.

For confess we must, that the greater and nearer our Challenge has been to the City above, the greater and more inexcusable has been the Crime of an unsuitable contradicting *Conversation*. If the Being or Authority of the Great King has been denied by any; if his Servants and Messengers, the Apostles, have been rejected; if the present Earthly Desires and Momentary Interests have generally had the Preference; in vain shall we claim the Benefit of that Government in our Distress, which in our Prosperity we have disowned: rather should we expect, that the Lord should take from us the Profession of the Gospel, that Boast of Our Kingdom, by which His has been disgraced: should sadly teach us better to consider our Heavenly Country, by bereaving us of This; by reducing us to that Condition, which others, not more unworthy than ourselves, have suffered, of becoming such Strangers and Pilgrims, as to go and seek another Country on the Earth.

They, who duly understand the Value of this Heavenly City, must confess the Lord to be very Gracious, if he shall even so secure it to us: could a People be so stupidly perverse, as to make that the necessary Method. Such a Penalty would then be but a slight Ransom, and truly an Amercement, to those who had deserved more dismal Effects of his just Indignation, and had forfeited Life Eternal.

To reflect on these Forfeitures, we may have made of our Heavenly Inheritance; and to pray the Remission of them; is the known Design of this Season: that by the Merits of our Saviour's *Death*, and by our *Conformity* through Repentance *to it*, for whose Memorial we are therefore preparing; we may attain the *Resurrection from the Dead*, which too, in the Memorial of our Lord's Resurrection, we are after joyfully to recognize. By your Religious Appointment, the

Consideration also of the Earthly Punishments, which the same Righteous Judge may inflict, very aptly joins in with this Spiritual Intention; and is most effectually assisted and promoted by it. For in both respects, our Sins and Follies are to be lamented, God's Justice to be acknowledged, and his Judgments deprecated; and by the means of the same Repentance only, are we to hope for a Release of his Displeasure, and a Restitution to his Favour, whether in this World, or in the World to come.

Our real Humiliation, and true Repentance will infallibly restore us to the Rights and Privileges of our Heavenly City; such is the Goodness of God, as to give us a certain Assurance of that Salvation, for which we should be most solicitous: and it is likewise the most probable Method, that can be devised, of obtaining our Preservation below. God indeed is not pleased, and for our Interest it is, to give us any perfect Assurance of this kind; nor is the sincerest Penitent to promise himself Stability in worldly Affairs. But as the Almighty is pleased, in the Conservation and Destruction of Empires, to work generally by natural Means: so are we to remember, that, on one hand, there is no other better way of making a City on Earth *Abiding*, something like that of Heaven, than by keeping the Rules of its Conversation, and by the observance of Religion and Virtue; on the other, there is not neither any more natural way to the Ruin of any Government, than by transgressing the Laws of Heaven, and when Profaneness, Injustice, and Intemperance shall once prevail, and become National Crimes.

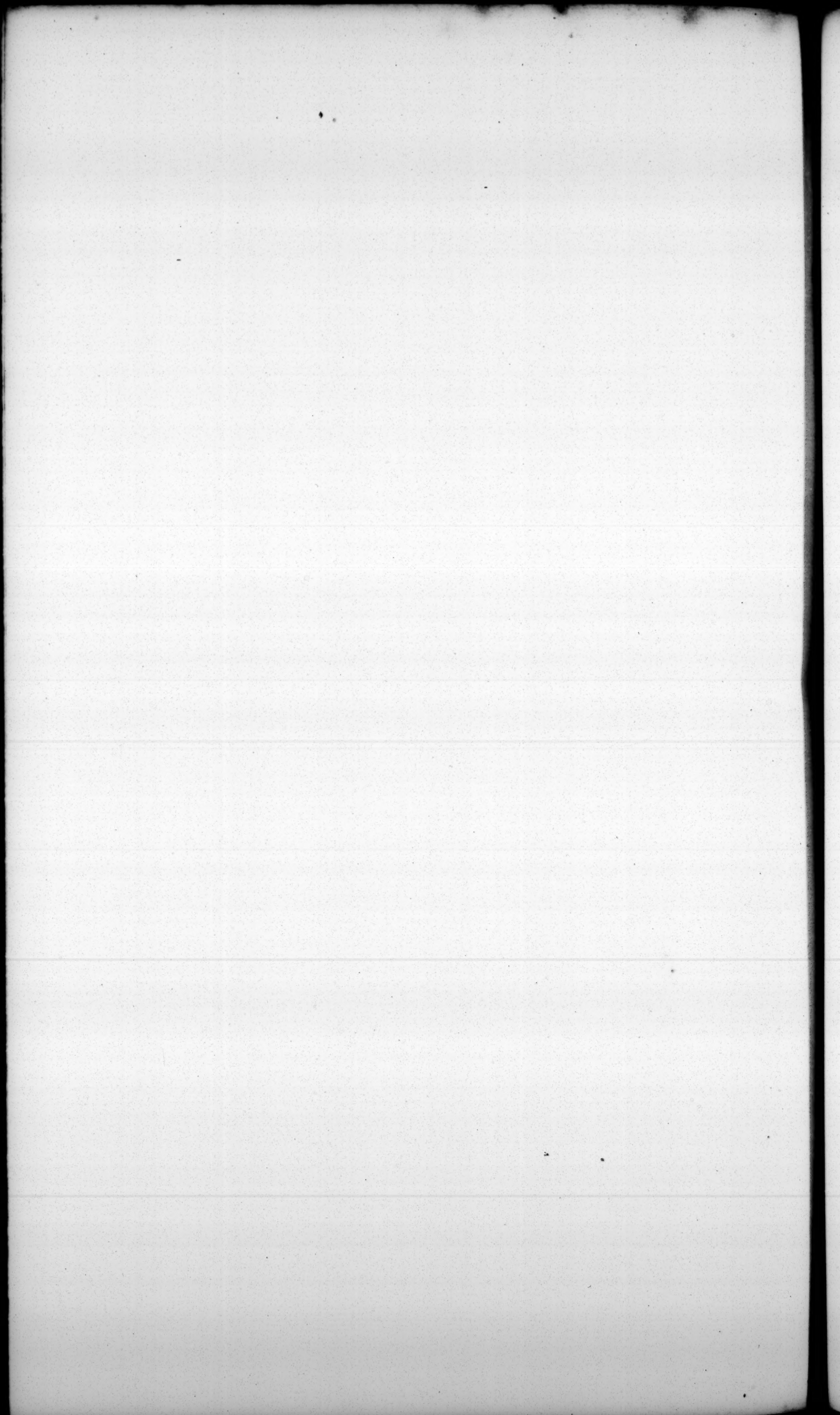
For so are Luxury and Lasciviousness known well to enervate and emasculate Men's Minds, and to indispose and disable them for any solid Counsel or vigorous Action. Neglect of the Publick plainly gives it up: and undue pursuit of private Advantages exposes it to Sale. Divisions and Animosities make a Breach for the Enemy to enter: and if they encrease not his Numbers, disconcert and diminish our own. Forgetfulness or Denial of God, his Providence, and Judgments to come, undermines all steady Foundations of Probity and Fidelity, by which any Nation must stand; rendering without Force and absolutely null all the Laws, that can be made by Your's, or any other Human Authority: as Indifference for the Truths and Articles, and for the Communion and Fellowship of Christianity, should it continue, must at last subvert the Protestant Religion; and in the Judgment of God and Man, make it a Reformation for such a People, to turn *Papists* again.

These are the Ways to the Destruction of any Church or Nation; certain Causes of God's just Displeasure, and as effectual Instruments of his Revenge. For it cannot be expected that he should be obliged, by such a Course, favourably to exert his extraordinary Power, and to restrain the natural Tendency; but rather provoked to hasten the approaching Event, and to precipitate the impending Ruin.

For

For the preventing such fatal Consequences, we are now met before God; and, by the humble Confession of our Iniquities, and Acknowledgment of our Deserts, and by Vows of Amendment, have, I hope, made way for the Almighty, with Honour to undertake our Cause, and with Safety to his Eternal Rules to become our Protector. May he give us Grace to perform these Vows now made in our Distress; and to stand to the Contract of Obedience, we have solemnly renewed. This if he grants, will be the most signal and the most indubitable Mark of the Divine Favour; the most hopeful Pledge of his Defence here, and an unquestionable Assurance of our Happiness hereafter.

Let us therefore all take care, for our Present and our Future Safety, that our Conversation be in all respects, as shall be agreeable to our Heavenly City: that by our Behaviour our Religion may be discerned; and our Hopes and Expectations appear by our Actions: We living in this World, as if we really believed another; and not placing our highest Satisfaction here in Gratifications of the Body, or in such Power or Honour as the Earth can confer. Our Conversation to be as in the Way, the Way to our Native, our Better Country: and, for our sure Direction, Heaven to be still in our Eye; and we never to lose the Sight of it, however the Earth with all its Mountains may offer to interpose. This Prospect, in time of worldly Prosperity, to be our Restraint; and in Adversity and Tribulation, our great Support: till thorough this short Vale, if not of Misery, yet of Vanity, we arrive at last to that Everlasting State of True Happiness and Joy. For which may God, of his Mercy, prepare us now, and to it hereafter bring us, by the Merits of our Lord, and the Assistance of the Holy Spirit.



A
S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE

The LORDS Spiritual and Temporal,

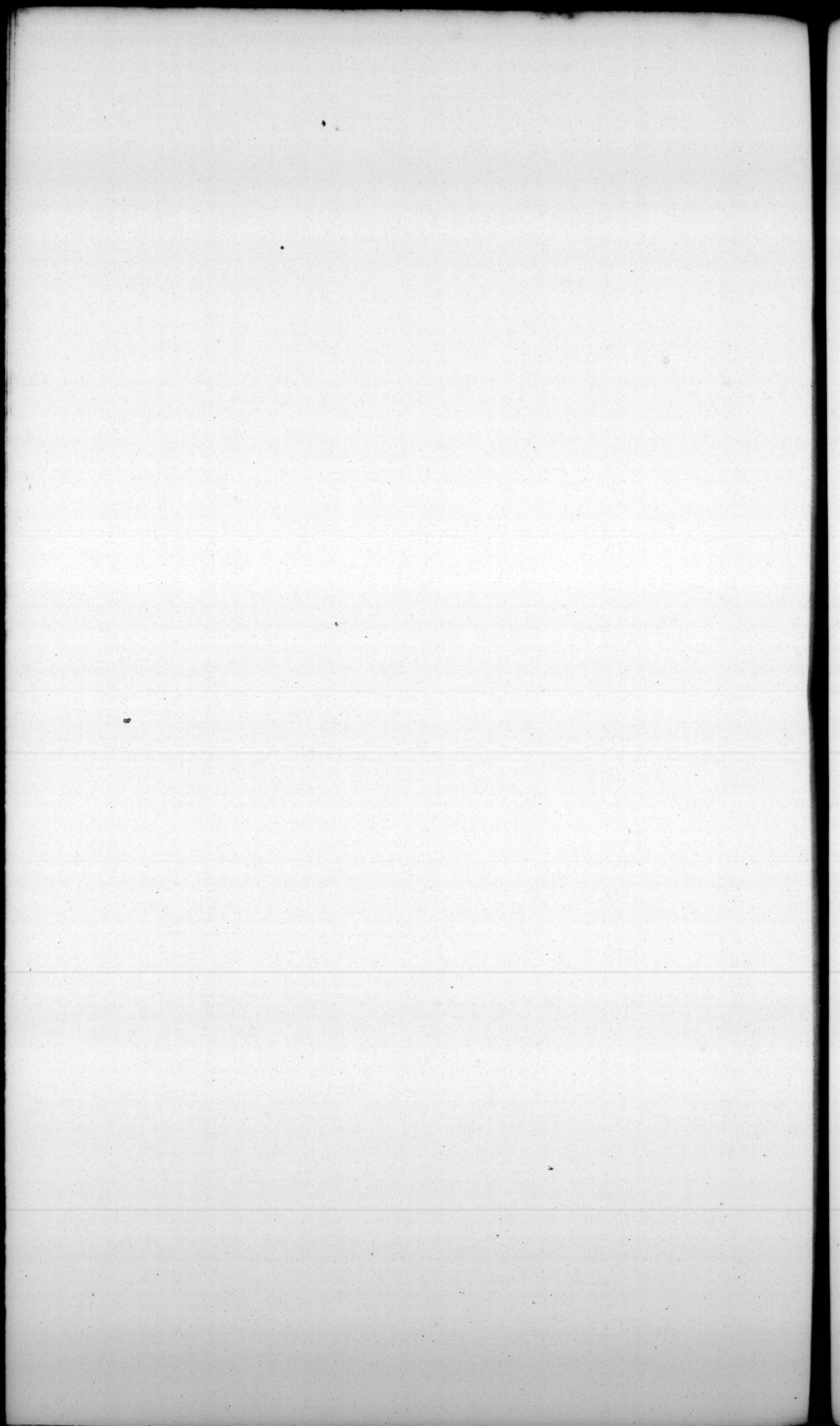
In PARLIAMENT Asssembled,

I N T H E

ABBEY-CHURCH of WESTMINSTER,

On *Monday, Jan. 31. 1703-4.*

The FAST-DAY for the MARTYRDOM of KING *CHARLES* the I.



S E R M O N VII.

PREACHED BEFORE

THE *LORDS* SPIRITUAL AND TEMPORAL, &c.

2 COR. X. 3, 4.

*Though we walk in the Flesh, we do not war after the Flesh:
For the Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty—*

THE Unity, Order, Discipline, and Force of a Company of Men imbodyed in an Army, have given frequent Occasion to the Holy Spirit for Allusions that way: And so, not to mention the Old Testament, a History of commanded Wars under God, *the Lord of Hosts*; in the New, the Christian Life is called a *Warfare*; we are *Soldiers*, and said to *fight*; in the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, we are *armed* at all Points; we have our Leader whom we are to follow, *Jesus Christ*, the *Captain of our Salvation*; under whose Banner we were, as it were, listed at our Admission into the Catholick Church.

So does the Christian Religion enter the World under a Phrase that is very Military in the Sound; as if some new Conqueror was to overrun the Earth, and a Fifth Temporal Monarchy to be advanced.

But we know all this to be but *Figure* of Speech, and that there is no other Use or Mention in the New Testament of the one *Warfare*, but only to help to express the other: For, as the Tenour of the Gospel, and this Text informs us, they are of perfectly different Natures, and almost opposite one to the other.

Though we walk in the Flesh, we do not war after the Flesh: For the Weapons of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty—

That is; The *War* that is waged is of another Kind; and the *Weapons* of another Make. They are too of greater Power, and more certain Success. And these are the *Two* General Considerations, which I desire *first* to present to you; intending *afterwards* to apply them to the Particular Occasion for which we are now assembled.

To begin with the *Difference of the Warfare*, the *First* Consideration. This *Warfare*, in the first place, declares none for its Enemies, whom God permits to dwell upon his Earth: not for being wicked, or infidel; much less for being too rich, or too near; for being possessed of a fairer Territory, and which lies better for our Convenience.

Its Enemies are not Men, but Vices and Passions; such *Lusts* as, according to St. *James*, are the common Causes of other *Wars*: and those too chiefly, as they are lodged in our Breasts, in the same Body wherewith we are encompassed. With these, dwelling in the midst of us, (for others we are to overcome by Persuasion only,) we ought to live in perpetual Hostility, subduing them to Reason, and bringing them into Captivity to the Law of Christ.

And as the Enemies are *different*, so is the Design of the War: not a Foot of Earth is to be the Purchase of the Victory: the Aim is not to gain a Name, by being a Pest and Terror to the Neighbourhood; by Ruin and Slaughter; to be talked of by one part of the World, for having destroyed another.

The Intention of our Leader was, not to conquer this World, but to conduct us through it to another; not to destroy, but to save; not to take away Lives, but to *give his own a Ransom for many*.

According to the Enemies, and to the Design of the *Warfare*; so are its Orders: not to *resist Evil with Evil*, but to *overcome Evil with Good*, to *turn the other Cheek*, to *give up the Coat*, to *go the other Mile*; rather than be engaged in Revenge, or any uncharitable Retaliation; or but imitate the same Violence or Injustice: On the contrary, to *forgive our Enemies*; to *bless them that curse us*; to *do good to them that hate us*; and *pray for them that despitefully use us, and persecute us*.

This is the known Method and Duty of our *Warfare*. Those that observe not these Rules, walk *disorderly*, transgress against the Discipline of their General, are not reputed the Soldiers, but the Enemies of him and his *Cross*; and, though under his Name, they fight against him.

To the Manner of the War the *Weapons* are suited; they are not *carnal*: none of those of Offence or Defence, which the Flesh uses. The Covering is neither by Shield or Helmet, nor by false Pretences, and hypocritical Disguises; the Attack neither by Sword, or Spear; nor by malicious false Tongues, poisoned Calumnies, and murdering Accusations: all the Ambushments of false Promises, and ensnaring Allurements, are against the Law of these Arms.

The Courage too is not from Blood fermented with Anger or Revenge; not from any impetuous, unruly Passions; all these it restrains and suppresses. Its Constancy and Resolution is founded upon Faith in God, animated by the Hope of Heaven, and displays itself in Charity towards Men. Whatever Terrors or Temptations are offered,

offered, they are repelled by the *Shield of Faith*, the *Helmet of Hope*, and the *Breast-plate of Righteousness*. Whatever Objections and Arguments are urged, they are cut asunder by the *Sword of the Spirit*, the *Word of God*. This is the Armour of Proof with which we may be able to stand, even against *Principalities, and Powers*, and the *Rulers of the Darknes of this World*.

This *Warfare* is not the *carnal*: so far different, that it has been reputed not consistent; but that *Swords* were to be beat into *Ploughshares*, and *Spears* into *Pruning-hooks*, and the *Noise of the Battle* was to be heard no more. It has been presumed, that these two sorts of Armours could never fit the same Person; and that the Soldier, engaged in the one Service, must desert the other.

This has been the pious Error, even of some well-meaning harmless Christians; expressing their good Wishes, and peaceful Dispositions; not their Knowledge of Mankind, or of the Precept of our Saviour: an Error, which may expose the mistaken to Rapine and Murder; but is dangerous only to the Followers of it: Itself making no Widows, or Orphans; and laying no Cities waste.

However, so much is certain, that all Wars, undertaken by Christians, are to be under the Direction of the Spiritual *Warfare*, and subject to its Orders. Whatever other Arms we put on, these of the Spirit are never to be put off: they are still to be next us. He, that shall be found fighting without them, engages his Person rashly to infinite Danger, and exposes himself to Eternal Death: runs a greater hazard, than his Enemy intends him. For want of the one Armour, the Blow, that wounds through the other, may be too mortal, pierce to the Soul, and not only dislodge it, but dispatch it to Hell.

This likewise is certain, that, as our Saviour came not to disband Armies, so he gave out no new Commissions: he licensed War, and permitted a Prosecution of Right, which the Violence and Injustice of Man might continue to make necessary; but he commanded none, nor will have any levied in his Name. And therefore, that Dominion is founded in Grace, that the most Godly Man has the greatest Title to this World and its Empire; is a wide Mistake of Earth for Heaven; is the Doctrine of the *Prince of this World*; and whoever advances it, has as small a Pretence to Grace, as he has to Dominion; and is no more a Christian, than he is a King. In like manner, that Heathen, or Heretick Princes and Countries, may be given up to the next Orthodox, and most Christian Occupant; that then a Saint is to put on a Sword, and if he falls in the Quarrel he dies a Martyr; this is a Doctrine of the Cross never taught by our Saviour, nor thought of by his Apostles, since St. Peter put his Sword up in its Sheath; it needs Indulgence and Remission; a greater Heresy, than any it goes to extirpate; and more becoming the Followers of Mahomet, than of Christ. War indeed has been levied upon such Pretences; the Wooden Cross carried in the Front of the Battle, and

the Counterfeit of it borne in the Arms and Ensigns; but He, that was Crucified, could not own the Cause; it was a Holy War, against the Design of his Holy Religion.

Whenever Religion is pretended by one Nation, for the Title of an Offensive War against another, it is only put for the Colours: but Ambition, or Covetousness, or Cruelty, has the chief Command. It may indeed be the lawful Pretext of a Defensive War: but occasionally only, and as it is a Possession in which we ought not to be disturbed. Religion itself is of too pure a Nature, for the *Arm of Flesh* to reach it; that *Violence* cannot come near to hurt it: when it is persecuted, it improves; purifies in the Fire, and is *perfected by Suffering*. But the free Profession of this Religion, as it may be impeached, so it is capable of being a Right and a Propriety; and a War against an invading Neighbour, just and necessary in its Defence. But as a Propriety only, and to which we have a Civil Title, it gives an Occasion for War: it makes of itself no new, nor separate Pretence. And therefore in all those Cases, where the Laws of the Country prohibit the taking up of Arms generally, on the account of any Possession; there Religion understands her Title to be included too, throws down her foreign Weapons, trusts only to her own, and practises her proper *Warfare*. In such a Case, for a Christian to be found Resisting, for the sake of the Gospel; would be as incongruous, as for a Subject to Rebel, in defence of a Statute against Treason.

Where ever the Human Law has established Non-resistance, the Divine does by no means relax it: and where the Human Law absolves or releases, the Divine does not tie up or restrain. The Christian Religion encourages Passive-Obedience, and enforces it, where it is due; as it must be thought due to the Legislative Authority: but what Measure of Obedience is due to the Regent Part, that the Law of the Country must prescribe; for *who*, says our Lord, *made me a Judge and a Divider over you?* As we are also left to understand, not only that all Nations have not in this Matter the same Law, but that the same Nation is not always governed by the same; that even the Rules, sometimes reputed fundamental, are mutable; and it is in the Power of Men, and Time, to introduce and establish others: though this will be always true, That the best Policy is not the loosest; and that in any, a good Patriot, as well as a Good Christian, will be the least forward to resist with *carnal Weapons*.

Such is the true *Warfare* of a Christian, and these his *Weapons*: but Man would rather engage in the *carnal*. He is ready to be angry, and revengeful in the Cause of God; would be glad to have a Commission from Heaven to kill, waste, and destroy. Such a Licence drew those vast Numbers to *Mahomet's* new Sect: all those lawless pilfering *Saracens* were ready to receive a Religion, that would make it their Duty to rob, and accept of their Zeal to murder. When too we read of those great Bodies of Men, that marched from Christendom,

dom, on that their *Jewish* Expedition, for the *Holy Land*; we may imagine, the greatest part of them would not have gone an unarmed Pilgrimage so far, to weep and repent; nor would have stayed at home and forsaken their Sins, taking upon them the True Cross, and the Apostles Holy War. Had not Intemperance, Licentiousness, Rapine, Discontent, Anger, and the rest of that train, been admitted to the Muster; fewer possibly would have gone out, than ever used to return.

So does the Christian *Warfare* seem to the carnal Man base and ignoble, degenerate and effeminate: He would not with a weaker Enemy, and an easier Conquest: If the *War* be not *after the Flesh*, it is contemptible; and if the *Weapons* are not *carnal*, they are feeble. But this Imagination the Holy Apostle prevents in a Word, and directs to the contrary Conclusion; which we are now, in the *Second Place*, to consider. *The Weapons*, says he, *of our Warfare are not carnal, but mighty*: were they *carnal*, they ought to be despised, and would be weak; but they are *mighty*: As the *Flesh* is heavy, and unactive; all Force, and Power, is from the Spiritual Part.

For First, The Spiritual *Warfare* is of itself attended with a Courage, that does not deserve to be contemned; that is highly esteemed on other Occasions: a Courage not furious and brutal, that fumes and rages, but calm and sedate, founded upon true Resolution, and accompanied with Presence of Mind; that bears the Shock, and receives the Charge, unconcerned and unmoved; keeps its Post against the Assault, and against the Provocation of the Enemy; needs not to be heated and chafed; can bear and endure, expose its Life in cool undisturbed Blood, and die without the Satisfaction of a Revenge. This is the Christian, this is the true Fortitude, not always safely insulted; dreaded, rather than despised, by a wise Enemy.

When such a Christian has Leave to put on Human Arms, in Defence of his Country or Religion; it will not be found, that his Saviour's Doctrine has enervated, or intimidated his natural Courage: *Non ille pro caris amicis, aut patria timidus perire*. His real Concern for his Religion will outdo all pretended Zeal; and his true Charity for his Friends and Countrymen will make him not unwilling to be (in St. Paul's Sense) an *Anathema* for them; little valuing This Life, which he shall exchange for Life Eternal.

So powerful will the Spiritual *Weapons* be in a carnal *Warfare*: but they are of themselves, and in their own passive nature, *mighty*: powerful against those that are not barbarous, obdurate, and insensible: powerful over all that are noble and generous: *mighty* to assuage Anger, and to reconcile Enmity; they are powerful over God himself, and appease his just Indignation.

Through God they are often *mighty* upon the Earth: He comes down to their Succour, and frequently in their Aid engages his Almighty Arms: interposing in the Defence of those that obey his

Word, and depend upon his Pleasure. They *stand still*, and *see the Salvation of God*: they *hold their peace*, and he *fight*s for them.

But whatever the Fate of this *Warfare* be in this World, however it may be made passive here by the Contumelies and Injuries of Men; yet then, in that State, it shines brightest towards Heaven, and finds the greatest Favour there.

The Court of Heaven, whose Princes and Nobles are those who have been afflicted and tormented, stript and murdered, has those in greatest Regard, who are engaged in the same *Warfare*. The Great God, the Fountain of true Honour, whose Kingdom stands not by the *Arm of Flesh*, nor by the false Bravery of Human Strength, requires of His the Courage to suffer, the Daring to undergo Affliction and Disgrace, for his Sake: the *poor in Spirit*, the *meek*, the defamed, and the *persecuted*, they are by God himself declared blessed, and proclaimed noble; theirs is the *Kingdom of God*, and their Title, the *Children of the most High*.

For so *mighty* are the honourable *Weapons* of this *Warfare*, that they must prevail, and cannot be defeated of their Design: after a little Opposition here below, which too only increases the Reward and Glory of the Arms, a Victory will certainly be obtained, and Crown given. For *who shall separate us from the Love of Christ? Shall Tribulation, or Distress, or Persecution, or Famine, or Nakedness, or Peril, or Sword?* Nay; in all these things we are more than Conquerors.

This is the *Warfare* of the Christian Church, and these its *Weapons*: nor shall they, by the Grace of God, be ever wrested out of our Hands: we in all things approving ourselves as the Followers of Christ, by *Pureness*, by *Knowledge*, by *Long-suffering*, by *Kindness*, by the *Holy Ghost*, by *Love unfeigned*, by the *Word of Truth*, by the *Power of God*, by the *Armour of Righteousness on the right Hand*, and on the left, by *Honour and Dishonour*, by *evil Report and good Report*; still maintaining our Ground and our Duty, and suffering no Man to take this Glory from us.

This was the *Warfare* of the Royal Sufferer of this Day, next under Christ the Supreme Governour of our Church, its foremost and most valiant Leader, and most illustrious Example: who excelled as much in Christian Graces, as in Temporal Dignity; in his Life and by his Death, the Defender of the Faith.

On this Day the *carnal Arms* received their Disgrace; and the Honour and Advantage of the Spiritual *Warfare* appeared. The *carnal* prospered on the Wrong Side; the *Weapons* of the *Flesh* were the Weapons of the Rebels, and prevailed in their Hands; they failed the righteous, the Royal Cause, and gave it up treacherously to the Issue we now lament. But the Other *Armour*, which this Pious King received by special Grace from the immediate Hand of God, and in which he trusted, of that he could never be despoiled; the Enemy could

could no more take it, than he would wear it: it remained all along with his Sacred Person; protected him from all the Harms of Earth and Hell, and brought him off safe to his Heavenly Country and Eternal Mansion. The *Sword of the Spirit, the Word of God*, was always successful in his Hand, in all Encounters against the Heretical and Schismatical Adversaries of our Church. Truth and Innocence were *mighty*, on his Side, against all the Frauds and Calumnies of his Enemies: and his Faith in God and Hope of Heaven secured him against their Terrors: his Patience stood firm and unshaken; and his Charity was absolutely invincible.

The very Show and Appearance of this Spiritual *Warfare*, how powerful it is even among Men, was too visible from the Favour the Rebels found by the Pretence, and from the Friends they drew in, deceived by false Colours and borrowed Armour. But the True *Weapons*, how *mighty* they were, appeared on this truly Christian Prince. They were able to reclaim many of his Enemies to their Duty to a lost Cause, and subdue them to Right and Reason: but they were indeed *mighty* with God; prevailing with him to confound the Councils of the irreclaimable; to break their Force, and open a way through their bloody Combinations, as through the *Red Sea*, for the Return of Peace and the Royal Family: God being pleased all along to disappoint the most likely Attempts of Loyal Men, the most probable Human Designs; to make way for a Miracle, with which he intended to Honour the Royal Cause, and eminently to own his Martyr.

For the same Reason too, may the same Divine Providence be presumed to have defeated the carnal Auxiliary Force of his Servant, that he might this Day fight alone his Own Battle for Religion and the Laws. He fought this Day alone successfully, against all the Conquests of his Enemies: more happy, and more victorious, than if he had trod them under his Feet in the first Battle.

They were able indeed often to hinder his Passage to his Forts, and Access to his Royal City: but the Correspondence between Him and Heaven could not be so barred, nor his Progress that way obstructed. But as the same Soldiers, by the wonderful Providence of God, willingly afterwards guarded his Son to the Throne; so did they now unwittingly attend the Royal Father to a nobler Triumph, and put him in Possession of an *immarcescible Crown*: making him effectually, by God's secret overruling Will, a more glorious Prince, than the strained Phrase of their Hypocritical Leaders had ever promised, or pretended to make him.

For however the Prospect might appear to his Rebels, that looked through a Vizard of Religion; or to a carnal Eye, that sees no farther than the Shadows and Pageantry of this World: a Christian will not doubt to affirm, That this his Last Day was the most glorious of his Reign; and that he was more happy, when he ascended the Scaffold, than when he first mounted the Royal Throne.

For we are not to let our carnal Imagination so much deceive us, as to estimate the Glory of the Day by its outward Appearance. *Every Battle of the Warrior is with confused Noise, and Garments rolled in Blood.* The Victor is covered over with Sweat, and Dust, and Gore; and hardly to be discerned from his conquered Prisoner. If we will take a View of the Conqueror, we must follow him to his Triumph: not see our Saint only mingled with the Enemy, and as he fights his way out of This World; but as he is received into the Other: what Glories he then puts on, and what his triumphant Entry into Heaven: How bright he rises the Morning after his bloody Setting.

Other Conquerors, that have *made the Earth to tremble*, and have *shaken Kingdoms*, that have *made the World as a Wilderness*, and *destroyed the Cities thereof*; when they receive their irrecoverable final Overthrow, and go at last to those miserable Men, that they have sent with Complaints and Accusations before them: *Hell from beneath is moved for them, to meet them at their Coming; it stirreth up its Dead for them*, to receive them into the same Misery, and insult over their Darkness and Chains. Whereas the Victors of our *Warfare* ascend to *Mount Sion*, to the *City of the Heavenly King*; to the *innumerable Company of Angels*; to the *Army of Martyrs*, joying in their Society, and congratulating their Success; to the Blessed *Jesus*, the first and the great Sufferer, sitting ready with Laurels and Crowns, to bestow them on the glorious Companions of the same Arms.

The Seat of Honour in Heaven, at the *Right Hand of God*, is possessed by our Blessed Saviour, as the Purchase of his Passion; and near him, in Order, the Christian Soldier is advanced: According to the Proportion of the Hardships they have overcome, the *Recompence of Reward* is assigned, and the Rank is given.

This View the Faith of the Christian Church has always had; has still congratulated the Deaths of its Martyrs; looked upon the Days of their Passion as their Birth-Days, as the Days of the Birth of Princes; and made them Times of Joy, and their chiefest Festivals.

Our Church is not insensible of the Glories of this Saint, and of the Lustre thence reflected on Herself: She congratulates to the Royal Blood that Portion of it so Divinely shed, and the Addition of a MARTYR to our Kings. Had he fell by Pagan, or by Foreign Hands; had he fell by the Treason of his Other Kingdoms only; had Our Nation not had the Guilt, as well as the Honour, of the *Martyrdom*: this had been a Coronation-Day, in the Ecclesiastical Calendar, a Perpetual Memorial of an Eternal Crown.

Such a Day of Glory this was to that *Royal Sufferer*; of Honour to God, and to his Church among us: but to the Nation it was a Day of Guilt and Ignominy; for which they were then *covered with Confusion*; ashamed before Men, and humbled before God; as We now profess to be. In

In the Stroke of this Day, the Guilt of the *carnal Arms*, employed so many Years against the Laws and the Prince, was summed up and compleated. All the preceding Thousands of Murders were accomplished in This; and the Whole Kingdom, as it were, at once Beheaded by that Blow.

The Spiritual Wickedness too of that *Warfare*, the false zealous Profession for the Cause of God, and Laws of the Country, was suitably concluded with that solemn Mockery of Justice: which, rendering the Assassination more criminal and inexcusable, than if it had been done in private by Poison or Dagger, exposed openly to the World, in their High Court, and on the Scaffold, the Hypocrisy of all their former Pretences.

In the Guilt of this Blow all those too were to confess their Share, who had but once lifted up their Hands against their now dying KING. And many of those who had strove for the Juster Side, but *not lawfully*, (in the Apostle's Phrase,) and fought under the Colours, but not after the Example, of their Prince, might reflect upon themselves also as not wholly guiltless; and, remembering now their Disorders, and Breach of the Rules of the Christian *Warfare*, adore the Justice of God, in the Defeat of their carnal Strength. They might with Trouble reflect, how much, by their irregular Conduct, they had dishonoured and enfeebled the Royal Cause: recommending the Hypocrisy of the Enemy to the undiscerning People, by the contrary too visible Appearance of Profaneness and Intemperance upon themselves; and fighting for their King, in the Breach of his Laws, and Spoil of his Subjects.

For all these Reasons, the Nation, at that time, was effectually afflicted, and very sensibly humbled before the Almighty: the far greater, and much better Part of it, continuing also, for many Years, to groan under the oppressive Consequences of that fatal Blow. And when afterwards God was graciously pleased to hear their Cry, and to take from their Necks that intolerable and shameful Yoke; as they could not possibly forget those great and long Miseries; so they could not but think it necessary to set aside One Day, that should represent those many past Years, and be to them an Annual sad Memorial of those Calamities, and express their pious Sense of the guilty Causes. This was a just and humble Acknowledgment, due for their past Deliverance; and their surest and wisest Preservative, for the future: that their Ingratitude might not be punished by some new worse Miseries; or that they might not, at least, be again abandoned to the Delusion of such destructive Impostures.

This Remembrance therefore they Religiously instituted; a *National FAST*, for *National Crimes*: always sensibly observed by those who are of Age to remember those past Calamities; but yet more devoutly to be kept by them, when they hear again the *Sound* of the Forerunners of the carnal *Battle*; and see those Principles unhappily revived, and audaciously owned, which brought on the now lamented

Excision. The same wicked *restless Spirit*, returning to a Land once *swept and garnished*, may well bring into its Remembrance in what manner it was formerly *possessed*; and will not suffer a Time, no further distant, to be forgot by those who have but heard, or read the Story. I may say, that, had this *Yearly Memorial* expired with the last Century; such Endeavours as these would have called loudly for the Revival and Reestablishment of it: as the too open Contempt, which some have had the Boldness to express for this Religious Duty, may give the Lovers of their Country and Church a new Cause for a yet stricter FAST; to atone for the Plague of so great a Guilt, fresh breaking out, and to supplicate against its direful Contagion. But,

Secondly, This Day, as it Religiously expressed, before our God, a Detestation of those several Sins which *provoked his righteous Judgment*, so was it designed to be further serviceable, to keep up this Abhorrence in the Minds of the coming Generation; that they might not be unawares engaged in the same *Warfare*, and *perish in the Gainsaying of Corah*; that they might not, by the like Practices renewed, have another Occasion for such a *Fast*; and be forced then always to keep it in private, (as their Predecessors long did,) for want of another *Restoration* of the Crown and the Church.

For as it admonishes the Government not to exceed the Measures of the Law, nor to give the least reasonable Occasion to the Subject of any just Complaint; so it lets the Subject know the Blessings and Advantages of an antient regular Government, and of a stated fixed Succession: that it is not to be disturbed, without absolute evident Necessity; and that as the Prince is for the Sake of the People, so are They, for their Own sakes, to guard his Person, and maintain his Rights: That all Governments have their Inconvenience, and all Mankind their Imperfections; that Subjects are not free from inordinate Desire of Dominion and Riches, from Envy and Ambition; and that those often most vehemently exclaim against arbitrary Proceedings in others, who would be the most arbitrary themselves: That they, whose Discourses pretend to teach the Subjects of any lawful, not wholly intolerable, Government, in what Cases they may Resist, are no better Catechists, than those, who should make it their chief Business to instruct Children of good Parents in what Case they may lawfully disobey their Fathers, and lay violent Hands on their Persons: that such Cases, as they are not to be presumed, so are not to be supposed; and cannot be put without Impertinence, unless with this Implication, that they are likely to take place, and of present Use: Lastly, That a Civil War is the utmost Absurdity in Human Policy, to be prevented with all possible Care by the whole Community; and that it is no more a State of Nature, than it is of Grace.

So will this *Day*, in order to *teach* the following, remember us of those that preceded; and put us upon reflecting, by what Arts, and under what Popular Pretences, that furious War was raised; how
unmanage-

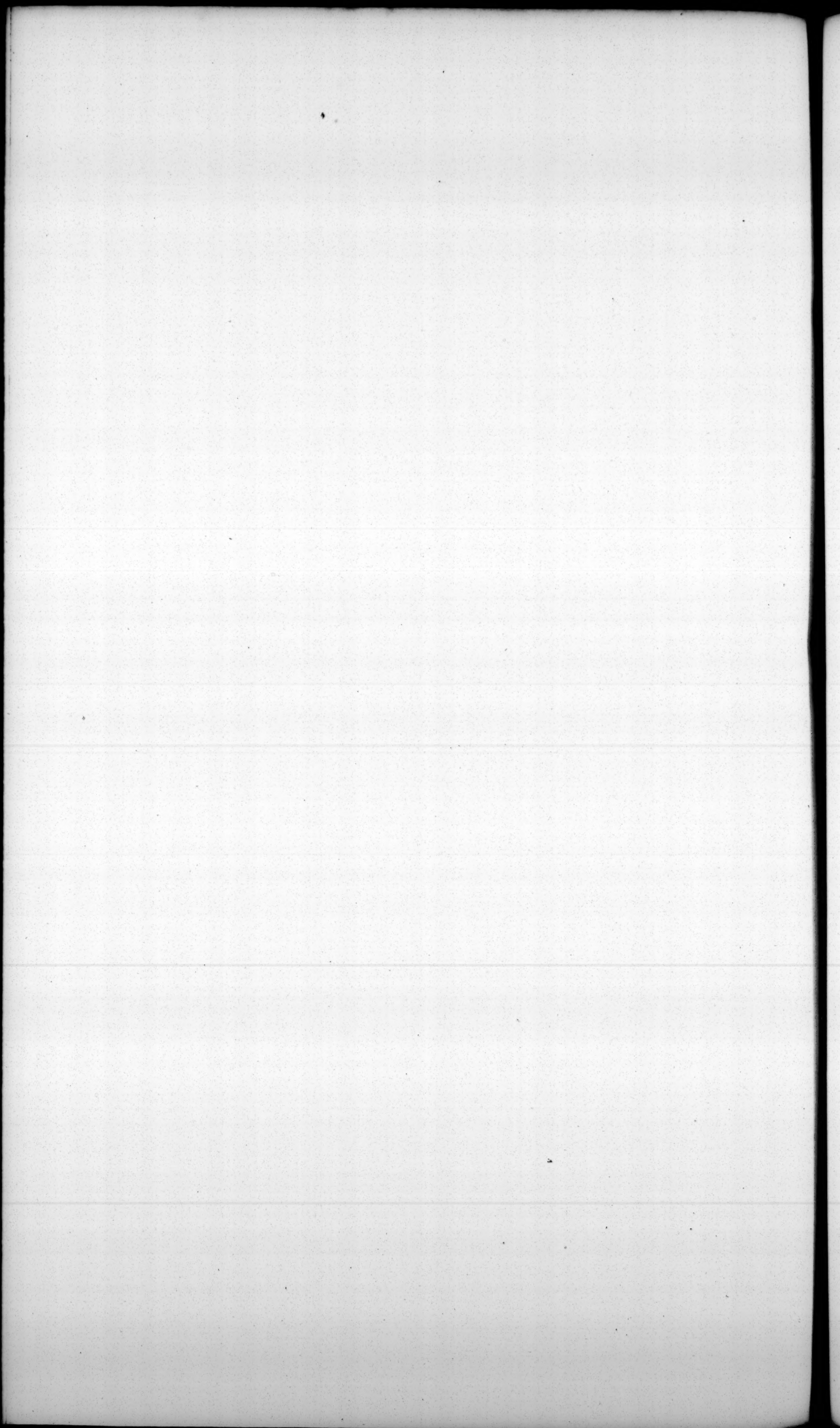
unmanageable and ungovernable it proved to those that first promoted it; how much They failed of their Designs, and the People of Their Promises: many at last as much stripped, and all as much at Mercy, as their Sovereign on the Scaffold.

But, *Lastly*, Whether this Day instructs us, or no, in this useful, and not foreign Lesson; warning us against such Principles and Seeds of Mischief, as in this one Property are unhappily like the *good Seed* of the Gospel, that, though *small* in the *Grain*, they may quickly take root, and grow a Tree; and, like the *little Leaven*, may lie neglected, till they sour and swell up the whole Mass; however the Day, through our own Heedlessness, may fail of that good Effect: yet let it teach us that which is most proper to it, and which it speaks out directly; what little Certainty there is in the Possession, Authority, and Force of this World; and where our chief Trust and main Confidence is to be placed.

If any one might have presumed himself free from all calamitous Events, this Prince well might: indisputably rightful Lord of a great, flourishing, and then peaceful Country; himself of unbiaſſed Rectitude, and exemplary Piety: and yet was God pleased to suffer that profound Quiet to be broke up and harassed, and not to spare the Virtues of his Servant.

The Great Men of the Kingdom were then in the Height of Honour and Power; by an undisturbed Prescription of many Reigns, possessed of the Reverence and Obedience of the People: no Enemy from abroad, or Rebellion at home had interrupted that long Course of Authority and Prosperity. But in a little time they were brought low; their noble Blood mingled on the Earth with the common; their Estates confiscated, their Authority levelled, and they distinguished only by the Rudeness and Contempt of their new Equals. This was then the Portion of Princes and Nobles: and now they have no greater Security against the Arm of Flesh; they have rather the Precedent of the last Age against them: and will therefore have the Example so far at least before their Eyes, as to know the *Arms* of the Christian *Warfare* to be the *mightiest*, and that Defence the surest.

Men of all Ranks, the less Precaution they are able to take against the *Warfare* according to *the Flesh*, the more they are to arm themselves with the *Weapons* of the *Spirit*. And those, that are forward to have recourse to *carnal Arms*, are to know, they must *not boast* of that *Harness*, till they *put it off*; that those *Weapons* are frail and treacherous; a Spear, brittle like the *Reed of Egypt*, and wounding the *Hand* of him that *leans* too much upon it. Our Observance of the Orders of our Lord, and Exercising ourselves by his Discipline, will best secure our Present Safety; but will most certainly assure us of Everlasting Salvation. For That we ought to be restlessly solicitous; And That may the Good God grant us, through his Son JESUS CHRIST; To whom, with the HOLY GHOST, &c.



A
S E R M O N

PREACHED BEFORE

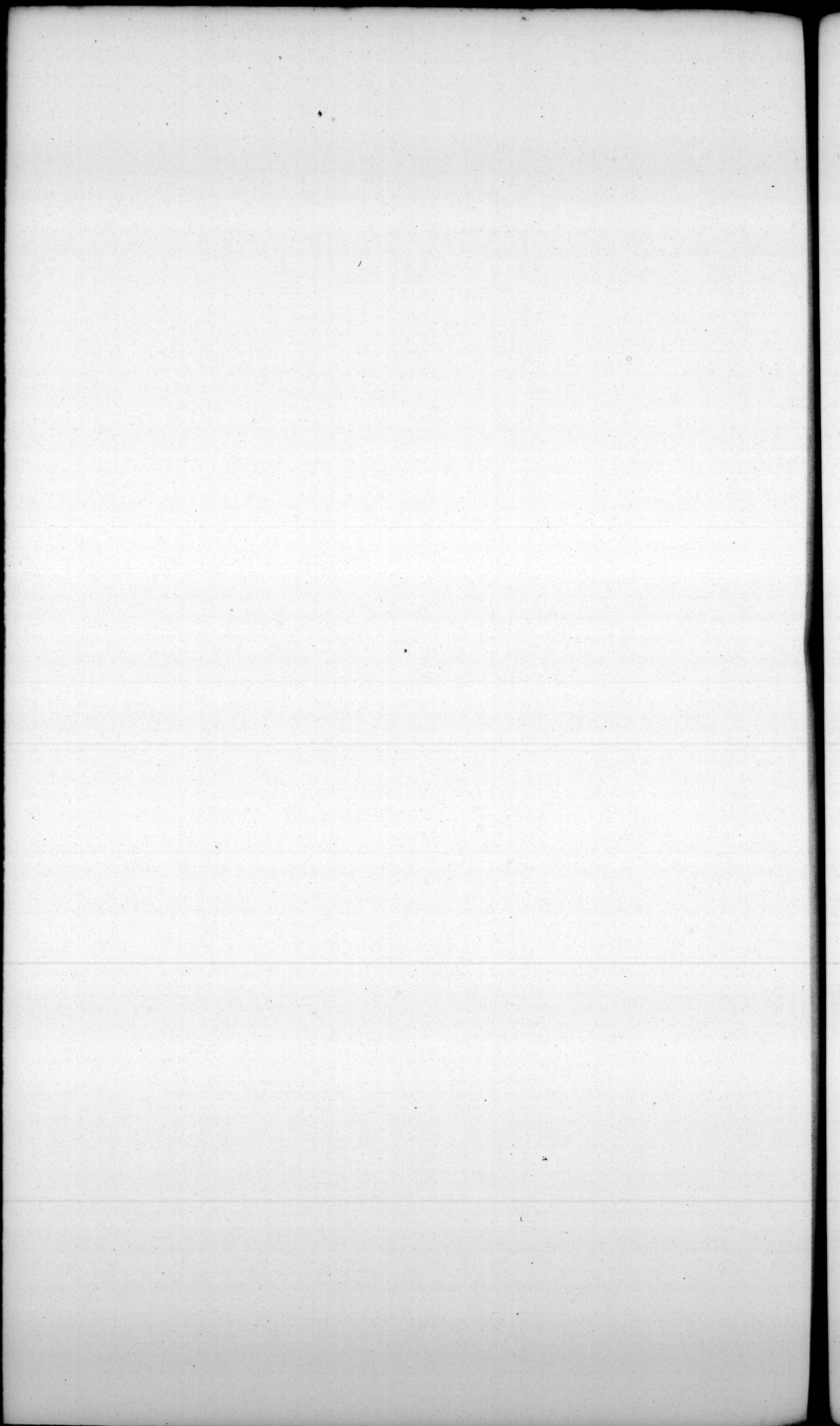
Both HOUSES of PARLIAMENT,

IN THE

CATHEDRAL CHURCH of St. PAUL,

On *Tuesday, July 7.* 1713.

Being the Day appointed by Her MAJESTY for a General
Thanksgiving for the PEACE.



S E R M O N VIII.

PREACHED BEFORE

BOTH *HOUSES* OF *PARLIAMENT*, &c.

PSALM CXXII. 7.

Peace be within thy Walls, and Plenteousness within thy Palaces.

THIS Psalm is one of those, which are called the Psalms of *Degrees* or *Ascents*, and are supposed to have been purposely indited for the solemn Processions of the Children of *Israel*, when they went up to *Jerusalem*, either upon Stated, or Extraordinary Festivals; and there ascended the Mount of the Temple: entering its Gates with the Voice of Joy and Thanksgiving, with Hymns and Melody; and received answerably by the *Levites*, in an alternate Chorus, with mutual Gladness and Benedictions.

And it has pleased God, in his Goodness to *these* Kingdoms, to put a happy End to a necessary and victorious, but tedious consumptive War; and to bring *Us* at last to the joyful Festival of a long desired Peace. And the Piety of *Her Majesty* has thought it fit and dutiful, that the Thanks to God for this great Blessing should be paid with the greatest Solemnity: and that the general Joy, which the People have every where conspired to express at its Publication, should not only be gratefully and devoutly testified by them to the Divine Majesty in all their Religious Congregations throughout their several Cities and Places of Habitation, apart; but be unitedly presented up to him by this great Assembly, the States of the whole Kingdom; and our joint Thanks offered in the most authentick Manner, and as enacted before him.

So are the *Tribes* of our *Israel*, the Princes and Elders of the People, by the Direction of their Sovereign, who sits on the *Throne of Judgment*, victorious as *David*, and peaceful as *Soloman*, come up now to the Great House of God in our Metropolis. *Our Feet stand within these Gates*, and we appear before the Throne of the Almighty, as a People that are at *Unity within themselves*; and convened to the same holy Purpose, *to testify unto Israel, to give Thanks unto the Name of the Lord.*

And this pious august Assembly so come up, I, like one of those antient Priests, take leave to welcome, as from the Top of the Degrees, with the first Words of the Text; after the Manner of the Greetings of the *East*, and in the comprehensive Phrase of the Holy Language; *Peace be unto you: Peace*, as it was then understood; Quiet and Security, Health and Prosperity, Heavenly Grace and Benediction, all Joy in this Life, and in that to come.

Peace, in this large full Sense, (and may God be pleased to give it You!) was the Meaning of this customary Salutation. But whether the Word, as it stands in the Text, be taken in that Latitude; or in the restrained Signification, to which the Occasion of the Day may more particularly apply it: the Sentence it makes up might have been understood by the Psalmist, not only as I now used it, as a hearty Wish and Prayer for *Peace*; but as a glad Annunciation of it, either already come, or certainly to be expected. And the better to consider the present Duty of the Day, by the Direction of the Words I have chose for it, you may be pleased to take them in that double Construction; both Congratulatory, and Precatory. *Within thy Walls Peace IS come, and Plenteousness returning: or, MAY there be Peace within thy Walls, and Plenteousness within thy Palaces!*

The Words of the Text are not incapable of the First Construction. And our glad Minds may be most willing to lay hold of it; and ready to break out into the most joyful Congratulations among ourselves, and the highest and most exulting Thanksgivings unto our God.

For, to the greater Glory of the Almighty, and Honour of his Vicegerent over us, and for our greater Joy, we may truly affirm, that this Day of Peace is with much more Reason to be congratulated, than that of the most celebrated Victory gained by us, in any the most fortunate Year of a long War.

For our Joy then was not so Unchristian, as to rejoice over the Destructions we had made, and to insult over slain Enemies: This Nation has always been a more honourable Adversary; and given the vanquished more generous Treatment. It was a Joy for our own Deliverance, for a Check given to hostile Fury, for the Repression of the Invaders, and for the Abasement of the haughty: for the Hopes of their Reduction to Reason, and of that Peace which we have now obtained.

The Triumph now is for an entire, finished Victory; over not the Enemy only, over War itself: A Triumph truly Christian, and which comes nearest to that of the Last Day; a Triumph over Death and Destruction.

In any Christian Country, the Place from which I speak can give but cold Encouragement, hardly Allowance, to any but a Defensive War. War, if we consult our Religion, must be highly necessary, to be in any Degree just. And, if it be not; a Thanksgiving to God for its Success is an open Affront: it is a kind of Blasphemy. It is

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to boast before him of the Breach of his Laws; and to suppose the righteous *Judge of all the Earth* to have decided the Cause in favour of our Iniquity. And even in a just War, such as we have waged; and for the Victories of which we have returned due, and, as we piously presume, acceptable Thanks: to persist longer in it than is necessary, is to change the Side; to begin to war against the Gospel; and by a bold Appeal to provoke the Almighty to judge for himself, and to condemn us in a Sentence he may leave to be executed by the Adversary. This is one, and, to a Christian, the most dreaded Danger of a protracted War. And for a Delivery from This, a Pious *Queen* and People are most chiefly to be felicitated: Congratulated, not only for securing to themselves the Fruit of their Success, but for the Grace God has given them to resist the flattering Temptations of it; to quell in themselves all rising Provocations of Animosity and Revenge; and to return from this State of Nature (as it is falsely called, unless of degenerate corrupt Nature) unto the State of the Gospel, and unto a full uninterrupted Obedience to the Kingdom of Christ. *Blessed are ye, Peace-makers; blessed, as the Children of God.*

But the long Continuance of War might not be much less disagreeable to our Temporal Interests, than to our Spiritual. It was that, in which the Care of Ourselves, but more especially of our near Neighbours, at first engaged us: And by the Success God has been pleased to give us, those who lately were again Distressed, are now again Mighty; and from being narrowly Straitened, are very amply Enlarged. And it was high Time, that we should have leave at last to think of Ourselves; and should remember, We too were a Nation depending upon Commerce, and that ought to look to our own Balance, and, Merchant-like, to consider in what End a long Ceasing of Profit, and vast Increase of Loss must necessarily determine; that we are an Island, divided from the Territories of the Continent, and not placed by Nature a Barrier between them; that our Wealth and our Strength is from the Sea, and that the Vessels, that import our Riches, must defend them. It was Peace, that was to restore us to Ourselves, and to our true Situation; that should return our Ships, and our Mariners, to their right Use; and put us in a Capacity of recovering, by the only proper Method, the Treasure we had so largely wasted. And This it is, we are now congratulating: rejoicing, as those who have been out on a long Voyage, and thorough great Perils are returned: welcoming one another home; and glad that we are arrived *at the Haven where we would be: Praising the Lord for his Doings; and declaring the Wonders that he doeth for the Children of Men.*

The natural Courage of our People pushes them on to mingle in the Quarrels of our Neighbours; and Foreign Conquests, glittering in our Annals, make those glorious Days appear to have been the happy. But as a painted Battle, with all its Horrors, may be an agreeable Entertainment to the Eye; so the Reigns, that are read with

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The natural Courage of our People pushes them on to mingle in the Quarrels of our Neighbours; and Foreign Conquests, glittering in our Annals, make those glorious Days appear to have been the happy. But as a painted Battle, with all its Horrors, may be an agreeable Entertainment to the Eye; so the Reigns, that are read with

Delight, may have been lived in with Misery. Those Acquisitions abroad, when made to Ourselves, are known to have been ruinous to our Country. It was drained of Natives, to overcome Strangers; and vast Subsidies went out, to purchase the less substantial Spoils of Trophies and Glory. And the Issue generally was this; that the present Generation was impoverished by the Foreign War, and the next harassed with a Civil. So little to our Advantage was the extending of Territories, and *subduing of the proud*; in those Ages, of Military Tenure, and unacquainted with the Benefit of Commerce. But less now is that boasting Motto of the *Romans* to be the Ambition of our Isle; no more than it was theirs, to excel in Painting or Carving. To her it belongs, to maintain her own natural Barrier, that which was given her *by the most High, when he divided to the Nations their Inheritance*; to preserve to herself, through all its wide Extent, the Correspondence of the bordering World: like the *Wise Woman* in the *Proverbs*, to see that her Merchandise is good, and that it brings her Food from far; to seek Wool and Flax, and to work it willingly with her Hands; to look well to the Ways of her Household, and not to eat the Bread of Idleness: This is the Business and the Glory of our Island: So will her Children arise up, and call her blessed; and her Husband, the Prince, have no need of Spoils. To this, our proper Condition, the Wisdom of our Excelling Governess has brought back her Household: And for this, her Works will praise her in the Gates; and she, that feareth the Lord, directs us to thank him.

It may be enough to have given, in the Cause of the Continent, so ample a Demonstration of our Good Nature, Valour, and Riches: to have engaged so heartily in it; to have fought so many glorious Battles, and bestowed so many Thousands of Lives, and Millions of Money upon it: enough has been sacrificed to those Considerations. And it was as fit, we should give a Specimen of Domestick Prudence; and shew, that our Courage, however natural to us, as to some of our Animals, was yet under the Government of Reason; and to pursue, or retreat, as it should direct: that our Charity was not so indiscreet, as wholly to exhaust Ourselves; and leave us without a Reserve for any yet nearer, and more urgent Occasion. The common Burthen, laid equally at first, and in some due Proportion, upon the several Shoulders of the United, had in process of Time, and by various Movements, so shifted its Situation, and came to press so unequally, as to be the heavy Labour of the one, and the Exercise of others: one crouching and bending under it, and ready to faint; while the other went vigorous and erect, with a Hand still at liberty for their wealthy Industry. The transfused Blood had ran so freely from the whole Body of the Kingdom, and by so many opened Veins, that, though the Patient might not yet be sensible of the Loss, the skilful had Reason to apprehend a fatal *Deliquium*. The only Consolation was, that our Enemies suffered more: and this was the usual Congratulation, that we were not as miserable, as where the War raged.

ged. For that Difference, indeed, we were to give God Thanks: but infinitely more, for that which he has now put between our late, and our present Condition. Henceforth, by the Grace of God, we may compare Ourselves not with the miserable, but the happy: even with those that lived in that flourishing opulent Condition, in which the late Wars found Us; and which some Lovers of War would have us forget, but the Sons of Peace may hope to regain.

Neither is it to be wondered, if the Satisfaction upon this happy Change be not yet entirely universal. Some, notwithstanding so many repeated Disappointments, may have still entertained vast impracticable Hopes; without any Consideration of the many Dangers, and great Inconveniences, that might much more probably have attended us: like hot, eager Pursuers, in a successful Wing of an Army, commanded to make a Halt; who may speak of nothing but lost Advantages, and think not of the Reasons obliging the General to it, who had the whole Battle in his View, and the Safety of All in his Care. The War too has been now so habituated to us, as to grow almost a Part of the Constitution; and, like some Excrescencies of the Body, which have got their Veins and Ligaments, may not be taken off, without some Complaint of the Parts adjoining. As our Trade likewise, long stopt in its great Channels, and diverted to others less beneficial, or detrimental to the Country, may, when it returns to run freely in its old and full Course, leave some not so fruitful, or wasteful Corners, less plenteously supplied. But these particular Inconveniencies, following upon Peace, are not to be imputed to That, but to the War: as the Pain of a Wound received, but not felt, in the Heat of a Fight, is not to be charged afterwards upon the Repose, and the Application for a Cure. These Complaints are what was to be expected, whenever the War should end; and would have grown more, and louder, the longer it had continued. And we are therefore now to congratulate ourselves, that their Time is come; and that they will in a little while be over: as we do, that the other Burthens, which else too would have increased and multiplied upon us, have henceforth their fixed Period of a few Years, in which they must determine.

Such Causes have made it our Duty to congratulate before the Great God, who *maketh Peace, and createth Evil*, the great Blessing of Peace: just and honourable, I may say, in the Condition, in which by the Events of his overruling Providence we are placed; and, in that respect, safe likewise and advantageous. But the Safety and Advantages, which we may have in Prospect, as well as the Duration, are not to be mentioned before Him, without due Submission to his All-wise and Almighty Pleasure: nor to be expected from him, but upon our hearty Prayers and Endeavours. And those the Words of the Text bespeak from us, as they stand translated, and taken in

the Sense I mentioned in the Second Place: *MAY Peace be within thy Walls, and Plenteousness within thy Palaces!*

And in this hearty Wish, and devout Prayer, all, no doubt, will unanimously agree; however they may differ in the Affirmative of the Congratulation. In this they will concur for their own Interest: or, more honourably and Christianly, for that of their Country and Religion. Led by the Direction of this Psalmist, *for their Brethren and Companions sakes, they will wish to Jerusalem Prosperity; and for the sake of the House of the Lord their God, they will seek to do her Good.* This must certainly be the common Prayer of all, and without any Dissent; that *Peace*, in its most extended Sense, *may be within our Walls, and Plenteousness*, with all its Affluence, *in our Palaces.*

And now *Her Majesty*, in her Wisdom and Goodness, has secured our Walls from all Enemies without; and the most difficult Part of this Great Work of Peace is no longer the Object of our Wishes, but become the Argument of our Thanksgiving: what have we left to pray, but that, in order to the Preserving of this Peace, and to the Reparation of our Losses, and Restauration of our Plenty; all our Domestick Contentions, and little Wars at Home should cease? All our Desires for Peace being now reduced and contracted into This only, that it should be, in the narrow and strictest Acceptation, *WITHIN our Walls.*

For This we are now to pray to God; but as that which he expects likewise from Us: who are therefore to join our Endeavours, and to understand the Words, not only as expressing a Wish or Prayer; but as an Admonition of Duty, and Exhortation to its Performance. *LET Peace be within your Walls.*

And this is the Peace that must be allowed, on all hands, to be necessary, honourable, beneficial, and safe; to agree with the Maxims both of Religion and worldly Piety. As on the contrary, nothing certainly can be more opposite to the Spirit of Christianity, nor more destructive of Human Society, than Feuds and Animosities, when they divide and distract a Nation.

For whatever the seeming occasional Cause of Divisions may be; the true original and principal Efficient, the Apostle St. James has told us. *From whence come Wars and Fightings [or Brawlings] among you? Come they not hence? even from your Lusts, that war in your Members?* The Warfare the Apostle St. Paul tells us to be that of the *Flesh against the Spirit*; a Warfare within our Breasts, the Cause of that *within our Walls.* And there, in that Service, *Hatred, Variance, Emulations, Wrath, Strife, Seditions, Heresies, Envyings* are mustered up, as so many Corps, and just go before *Murders*; being ranked among the *manifest Works of the Flesh*: manifest, as *Adultery and Fornication, Uncleaness and Lasciviousness, as Idolatry and Witchcraft.* Of these he tells the *Galatians*, having too told them so before, that they, *who do such things, shall not inherit the*

the Kingdom of God. And likewise admonishing those, that are *called unto Liberty*, (and the Exhortation holds in the Civil Liberty we enjoy,) that they *use not Liberty for an Occasion to the Flesh, and its Lusts*; but that *by Love they serve one another*: he then warns them, *if they bite and devour one another, that they take heed they are not consumed one of another.*

They *who do such things*, the Apostle expressly tells us, if they repent not, *shall not inherit the Kingdom of God*: and if they persist, he plainly intimates, they will greatly endanger their Temporal *Inheritances*. For even the *Kingdom of Beelzebub*, the first and great Author of governing Men by Parties, *if divided against itself, cannot stand*: So little Hopes has any Human to continue, if it suffer itself to be divided by his Machinations. Such a Proceeding will be justly delivered up, by the Divine Vengeance, to its own natural Consequences; the Calamities of a Civil War. And this is a State, by all Human Caution to be avoided; and to be deprecated, at the Throne of Grace, with the most earnest Supplications: as destructive to the Conversation of Men, as the Plague; and to their Cohabitation, as a Fire. May our Enemies, if we are again to have any, fall; I should say, under that Curse: were it not unlawful for a Christian to wish it, even to them. And may we rather be remanded to the Foreign War, from which we are now delivered; I should add: had it not given Way and Increase to our Divisions; as if it had been training and exercising us, for another at Home.

For to what other End could Changes of Government be perpetually rung in our Ears: and Mens Heads made giddy by eternal Repetitions of Revolution? Why, under the most legal, and regular, and mildest Reign, actually enjoyed; were our Imaginations to be filled with odious unlikely Suppositions; with the Possibility of the utter Subversion of our Laws, and of absolute Tyranny? Why, instead of the Rules of Submission, and Obedience, and Conservation of the Publick Quiet, are Cases ready put of the Lawfulness of Resistance, and Duty of Rebellion? And, instead of letting Sociableness be one of the Properties of Human Nature, why is Mankind declared to be Wild and Savage, and originally in a State of War; and born to the Liberty of returning to it, upon any Dissatisfaction, as to their Hereditary Right, by an unalienable indefeasible Title?

The *Tares* of the Gospel were sown *in the Night*, and when the *Husbandmen slept*: and those, though to be Tolerated, and not rooted out, (for that Work was reserved to the Last Day,) were yet acknowledged to have been sown by an *Enemy*; and were spared, for the Quiet and Preservation of the *Wheat*; not bid to be watered, however, and cultivated, by the Good Men. But these Seeds of Sedition, which have been sown too in the Absence of the Husbandmen, when their Eyes and their Cares were called necessarily from Home by External Dangers; they are a noisom Seed, that poisons the Ground, and will kill the Corn. The venomous Weed is left to

the Discretion of the Husbandmen ; and carefully to be heeded, that it take not much root, and spread not far. And the uncautious *Gatherer* is to be warned, that, for Sustenance *in the Pot*, he meets not with *Death*. For none but a mortal *Enemy*, both to Body and Soul, would have sown This: and the whole Family of the *Householder*, to whose common Bane it grows, must be very *sleepy*, if they neglect it.

In Political Speculations, a Civil War is the utmost grossest Absurdity ; and the Notions, that necessarily lead to it, must be necessarily false : it is, of itself, the greatest Civil Evil ; destructive equally of all Interests, sacred and profane, landed or moneyed ; (for *Peace within our Walls* is the Fund of Funds ;) but, if attended and assisted with Foreign Arms, an Assistance called naturally in by both Sides, and as readily lent, it is then utter Desolation and Ruin. Our *Spoil shall be gathered, like the Gathering of the Caterpillar : as the running to and fro of Locusts they will run upon us*. To furious Slaughter, as between enraged Brethren, will be added from abroad greedy Devastation : and the Quarrel, once left to the Decision of Foreign Swords, is not like to be soon determined ; not till they are fattened with Blood and Plunder ; till we have been as long the Seat of War, as the Country on which it lately dwelt, and from which it has been now so loth to withdraw.

The Civil War, that ended within the Memory of the present Generation, raged not a little, and lasted for many Years : though our Neighbours were not at leisure to aid it ; to tend, and to feed the Fire. But if we go higher up, into the Times of the *Saxons* and *Danes* ; did not our Histories inform Readers, the Face of our Country might mind the Traveller of the Ravages then made. The Memorial Heaps of Earth, that retain no longer the Names of the Buried, are lasting Monuments of the wretched Condition of the Ages they lived in ; when Wolves and Tigers, instead of Sheep, overspread the Plains.

While *Jerusalem* remained, as the Psalmist describes it to have been built, as a City at Unity within itself ; and Peace was within its Walls ; it was as the Mount Sion which might not be removed, and which was to stand fast for ever. But when Strife and Unrighteousness were in the City, Day and Night going about within the Walls thereof ; Mischief also and Sorrow in the midst of it ; and Deceit and Guile went not out of the Streets : it was thenceforth an easy Prey to the *Assyrian*, *Babylonian* and *Egyptian* Nations. The City, fast founded upon a Rock, was removed like a Cottage : and the joyous Place was a miserable Seat of Wo, and Theme for Lamentations. As afterward, when assailed by the *Romans*, it was destroyed and consumed not so much by the Force of that powerful Empire, as by their own intestine Discord. The War within the Walls was more cruel than that without ; and the Disunion of their Minds did not only ominate, but effect, the total Demolition of their Buildings, and the final Dispersion of the Inhabitants. So

So necessary is this Prayer, for the quieting and ceasing of these intestine Divisions, to the Safety, and even to the Being of our Country: And as necessary to the Return of our Plenty. If this *Peace* be not secured, *Plenteousness* will be wished for in vain.

For whereas, for the recovering of Trade, long intermitted or diverted, to its right Channel, by which Wealth is to be reconveyed; great Application, and Diligence, and Industry are to be used; and all Mens Heads and Hands to be turned that way; our Commerce, as well as the War, wanting to be prosecuted with Vigour, and with united Contributions: Feuds and Quarrels are known to employ their Thoughts and Activity on contrary Purposes. They are then most busy in opposing, undermining, overthrowing one another; and contending, not who shall enrich, but who shall dispose of the Country; who shall be of the governing Party, the Traders of some inland Company, that is to have the Monopoly of the Publick: In such Disputes not only forgetting their honest Callings, but ready to change them for the military; and, contrarily to the Spirit of the Times under the *Messiah*, to beat their *Plowshares into Swords* and their *Pruning-hooks into Spears*. Little *Plenty* will be brought into that Hive, where the Bees, instead of labouring in their Cells, or flying abroad to gather, are rather intent upon sharing the poor Remainder of the Stock; and upon using their Stings among themselves, which were given them against Drones or Robbers.

A People angry, and quarrelsome, will make a very disagreeable uneasy Neighbourhood to the few quiet, industrious, and honourable Traffickers, that may be left amongst them. And these will love their Native Land very well, if they *wish not the Wings of a Dove to fly away from it*, though into a *Wilderness*; and to be *at rest from the stormy Wind and Tempest*. But a Country under such Agitations and Disturbances can never promise itself to be a Mart for Nations; a Staple of Wealth and Plenty. As soon will a Merchant place his Magazine in a Soil liable to Earthquakes, and upon a Ground smoking under his Feet, and continually threatening Eruptions. It is Venture enough to the fair Trader, to be exposed to the Storms of the Sea, to Rocks and Quick sands there. The Harbour, he steers to, is a Place of Quiet and Safety; where he shall want no new Insurances. And to such a one, he will again put out to Sea.

These Considerations have peopled, and enriched a Wise Nation; and made them a sure Refuge from the Disquiet and Confusions of other Countries, and a friendly, advantageous Habitation for the exercise of honest Industry. All that wonderful Increase, they have attained, they owe to that *Peace within their Walls*, which they have had the Skill all along to maintain; and which no Force of the late War could invade, or Artifice disturb. A Nation I mention with Honour; not to be looked upon with a malignant Eye, but observed with a more prudent Imitation. They shew, how great a *small*

State may grow by *Concord*: And may we never verifie that other part of the Sentence, as if left for our Motto; and be an Example, how much by *Discord* a great one may *diminish*!

But I am sensible, that I may be gone too far from the optative, hopeful Sense of the Text; and that, mixing Fears and Apprehensions of the Future with the present Good Tidings, I may seem to have clouded the Day, and cast a Melancholy over the Thanksgiving.

And yet these well-meant Thoughts concerning a future Contingency I need not excuse, by pleading, either that Thanks however are now justly due to God and the *Queen* for the great Blessing, although we make not the right Use of it hereafter; or that this ungrateful Prospect of the Evil may warn us to prevent it, and to secure and perpetuate the present Joy. I may, and I shall rather chuse to say, that this Foresight of a sad Possibility may serve to redouble our Satisfaction, and heighten our Thanksgiving.

For this Day has something in it, which is to be congratulated in that respect: and which greatly assures us against those Fears; and credibly promises the Reestablishment of our Tranquillity, and the Return of our Plenty. That hearty Care of *Her Majesty* for the Publick Good, that large Wisdom and steady Resolution, which have been blessed by the Almighty to procure us this Peace, may, we hope, by the same Divine Assistance, restore to us Quiet at Home, and overcome all Oppositions against it. Those prudent, and gentle, and patient Methods, which have prevailed upon Princes and States, and brought them to Concord, cannot, sure, fail of winning upon her Subjects, to lay down their Differences at her Feet, and submit them to her Laws, and her just Arbitration. And the great Affair of Reconciliation, which has been so dexterously managed Abroad, and at a Distance, by her transmitted Orders, will be more effectually transacted at Home, under her Eye, and by her immediate Conduct.

This will be her effectual, for now it will be her only Care. The heavy War, which was demised to *Her Majesty* with the Crown, and has since required the continual Application of her whole Reign, is now happily ended. And she is at leisure to set about the Work, she has long desired to take in hand: to regulate her Domestick Affairs, and reinvigorate her Laws; to advance true Piety and Virtue, Fidelity and honest Industry; and, like the Queen, her glorious Predecessor, (whose Example she does her the Honour to follow,) to put her Kingdom into a Course and Train of Peace and Plenty, that may convey them to future Generations.

This longed-for Opportunity, now put into *Her Majesty's* Hands, is another, and a just Cause for this Thanksgiving. The Festival is, as it were, that of a New Inauguration: She has been now Crowned with Peace. And, for a new *Æra*, a Reign of Peace is henceforth commencing: as glorious, we hope, for the Advantages it will bring

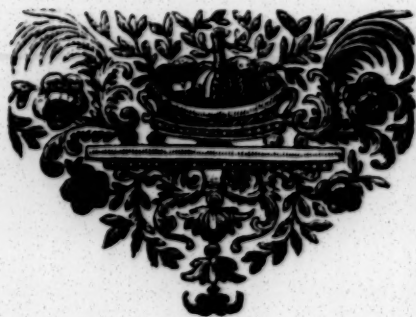
bring her Subjects; as the other, the Martial one, for the Resistance and Repulses, it gave a mighty Enemy.

And, at this her Coronation, we her Subjects are likewise to repeat our Professions of Allegiance, and our Wishes for many Years. Our Vows of Allegiance we shall pay; not only as due to a Prince by Law, and upon a customary Promise of Ruling by it: but upon certain Experience, and knowing Assurance of a Gracious Government; and out of the absolute Necessity of it, for our own Security. And many, many Years we shall pray for: Many, that she may perform her whole Work; and many, that she may enjoy it: wishing there may at least be added, to the natural Course of her precious Life, those Years she has spent in the Fatigues of War.

Our Duty to *Her Majesty*, such is her Love of the Publick Good, will be best shewed by our Subservience towards it: and so will she be enabled, by the best of all Human Means, to attain it. And our Thanks to God, usually and properly attended with Acts of Compassion, and more necessarily now to the many Objects the War has created, will at present come most acceptably before him, if accompanied with a more universal Charity, and extended to the whole Kingdom, with sincere Dispositions and Vows of Love and Peace, Unity and Concord. So may He, *who maketh Men to be of one Mind, that are in a House*, be pleased, in Return, to strengthen these our Resolutions with his Grace, and prosper them to their desired Effect. And so may He, the Great Sovereign of Sovereigns, by his Royal Assent, answer the optative, petitionary Words of the Text with a Confirmation and Grant, and say, *Let it be Done, as it is Desired*: Himself now dismissing this Congregation hence, as by a Voice from Heaven, with this responsory effective Benediction; *Ye ARE the Blessed of the Lord, who made Heaven and Earth; Peace BE within your Walls, and Plenteousness within your Palaces.*

This may the Great God be pleased to grant, by the Mediation of our Lord, and Assistance of the Holy Spirit! And to Them, in the Unity of their Trinity, give we, as is most due, all Honour and Praise; vowing all Obedience, now and for ever.

F I N I S.





ERRATA.

Page 4. line 9. read *berself*. P. 61. Margin, l. 24. read *makes*. P. 92. l. 27. for *a* read *no*. P. 98. l. 5. read *Guide*. P. 113. l. 31. read *and*. P. 150. l. 33. read *Churches*. P. 156. l. 39. for *is* read *it*. P. 165. Marg. l. 22. read *choofe*. P. 176. l. 9, 10. read *Novatians*. P. 207. l. 36. for *or* read *our*. P. 231. Col. 2. l. 1. after 4. insert [. P. 304. l. 10. read *Perception*. P. 321. l. 37. before *וְיָ* put *. P. 362. l. 7. for *justly* read *just*. P. 365. l. 4. read *Middling*. P. 369. l. 3. read *Cairo*. Ibid. l. 7. dele *or Deinar*. P. 380. l. 30. for *tenths*, and *its hundredths* read *tens*, and *its hundreds*. P. 384. l. 19. after *Decimals* insert *for a Medimnus*. P. 385. l. 14. for X read IIX, or VIII. P. 409. l. 11. after *Atticks* add *its Ounce being the Integral $\frac{1}{12}$ of their various Minæ*. P. 428. l. 3. for *duas Drachmas* read *duo Didrachma*. P. 436. l. 37. for 1268 read 1266. P. 439. Marg. l. 2. read *Halak*. P. 454. l. 32. read *Minæ*. P. 484. l. 29. after *have* add a Comma. P. 487. l. 10. dele *a* before *Sixty*. P. 488. l. 7. dele 60. P. 505. l. 26. for *then* read *there*.